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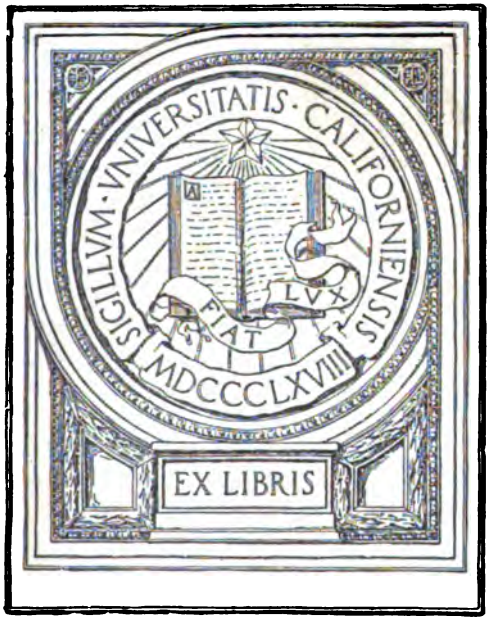

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COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO DOCTOR BLACK,

On the Consequences of rejecting the Reform Bill.

Kensington, 4th April, 1832.

DOCTOR,

IN my last *Register* I observed, that those who hugged themselves in the hope, that, if the bill were rejected, the people, after *a mutual cutting of throats*, would gladly return to the old state of things, and that the Lords would, all the while, have *snugly kept their estates*; I observed, that those who cherished this kind and just hope might be deceived; for that, as in America, the reformers might say, "*stand fast;*" that is to say, let every one *keep, as his own*, the house and land that he may *occupy!* Now, Doctor, you (lest, I suppose, the Lords should be *alarmed* at this) *hasten* to express your *opinion*, that there is *no such danger* as this, let the Lords do what they may; but you gave us *reasons* for this opinion, and these show that the opinion is not worth a straw; and this, when I have quoted your words, I shall, I think, clearly prove.

But, DOCTOR, one might, after all that has passed, have expected a little more modesty from you, though a Scotchman, in speaking of a thing, no matter what, *put forth by me*. After speaking, in 1822, with the utmost *reprobation* and *contempt*, at the same time, of my proposition to give *poor-laws to Ireland*, and after becoming yourself the most strenuous of all the advocates for those poor-laws, you might, though a pert Scotch feelosofer, have shown a little more modesty in speaking of any opinion *of mine*. After having called the *History of the Protestant Reformation* "PIG'S MEAT;" and after having seen its prodigious effects all over the kingdom; after having seen it shake the tithe-system to the very centre; and after having lived at the *trough* yourself for now about two years: after all this, you might have been a little more cautious how you talked in such a dogmatical style upon any subject in opposition to any expressed opinion of mine. It was not for *this* that I made you a Doctor; and, by —— if you go on at this rate, I will un-doctor you, and reduce you again to your very kilt. I will now insert your commentary, and show how little comfort it ought to give to those whom it is manifestly intended *to embolden to reject the bill!* I say this quite advisedly; because, I defy you to assign any *other* motive for your commentary, which I shall now take, paragraph by paragraph, and show how incompetent you are to write upon such a subject.

The account of the means by which the tenants of Pennsylvania were made such warm friends of the revolution, is, no doubt, *exceedingly instructive*. If the Cortes of Spain had *divided the church-lands among the peasantry*, the revolution in that country would not have been *so easily overturned*. It happened fortunately for the new order of things in France, that the provinces in which there were most church-lands were the provinces *bordering upon the most powerful of the enemies of France*, and the distribution of these lands made the people of *Alsace, Burgundy, Lorraine*, &c., the most staunch supporters of the revolution.

The phrase "*exceedingly instructive*" is a little piece of Scotch *sorcosm, mon!* A "*spacamen* of *antalluct*." I tell you what, Doctor; the Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct* are got out of vogue. I have trampled them under foot, and Englishmen laugh at the insolence, except it be those few base fools who affect superiority of mind, and who are the real two-legged jackasses of the kingdom. The Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct* were fast becoming objects of general ridicule and contempt, when GREY had the surprising sense and decency to perck up BROUG-

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man upon the woolsack. That gave a finisher to the Scotch *antalluct*; that successor of Thomas à Becket, Fortescue, and Sir Thomas More, standing before me in the Court of King's Bench, in the manner that he did in the month of July last; laying down, from the woolsack, the doctrine that the tithe-owner was a sleeping partner with the land-owner in the proprietorship of the land; pledging himself, from that same woolsack, to bring in *a new code of poor-laws*; these things, Doctor, have given the finishing stroke to Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct*; and the people in all the more than fifty towns in which I have recently been, and in which I have addressed the people, Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct* are a subject of laughter and of scorn. Therefore, Doctor, if you will be ruled by me, you will avoid all attempts at *sorcosm* in future, until, at least, your prime Scotch cock has brought in, and caused to be passed, his new code of poor-laws.

Now, as to the Cortes of Spain, pray what has their overthrow to do with the observations and facts that you were commenting on? Why, their overthrow has a great deal to do with the matter; for it furnishes a strong additional argument to those that I made use of: for what does it say? Why, that the revolution was easily overturned, and the old order of things easily re-established, only because the Cortes did not divide the church lands amongst the country people. If this were the case in Spain; if a division of the lands amongst the people would have rendered the revolution successful there, why should not our nobility be upon their guard lest the nation should be tempted to resort to similar means? aye, to those very means which you blame the Cortes for not resorting to. Nothing can be truer than what you say here, Doctor: nothing can be truer than that the Cortes were overturned because they did not divide the lands *amongst the people*; but, instead of that, like a set of base rogues or of grovelling fools, they began to borrow money of our infamous Jews and jobbers to make a national debt, pretending that the church property, which was, in fact, the patrimony of the poor, was pledged for the payment of that debt; and thus, in reality, taking the borrowed money, and dividing it amongst their unprincipled selves; not selling the property and bringing the money into the treasury, as the much-abused Jacobins had done.

Doctor, let me here again remind you *how right I was upon this subject*; and how wrong the Scotch *antalluct* was upon the same subject. Long before the French marched into Spain, I said that the Spanish people would receive them with open arms; and I said that the Spanish bonds would not be worth one farthing. You, Doctor, said just the contrary: your *antalluct* discovered that the people would fight for the "*free constitution*" that they had got; I told you that the people saw clearly that they were about to be robbed, and that, if they fought against the French, they would be fighting for a national debt, and for a gendarmerie. Upon this memorable occasion I stood absolutely *alone*; both of the greedy factions, and the whole of the nation, friends as well as foes, were against me; every one said I was wrong, but results proved that I was right; and, if you read that little Spanish book that I am publishing, Doctor, you will see that the people of Spain were sensible to stifle in its birth that monster, a national debt, which the stupid or rogueish Cortes were nursing up to devour them.

If, indeed, the Cortes had divided the lands amongst the people, the French would never have dared to enter Spain; but this not having been done, the new order of things fell at once. But, Doctor, what inference do you mean to draw from the fact, that the church of France had most riches in Alsace, Burgundy, and Lorraine, and that this made these provinces the most staunch supporters of the revolution? Both facts are false. The church had the greatest riches in the richest provinces, and the richest of all was in the north, and in Normandy. The most staunch supporters of the revolutions were in Provence and in Normandy; so that both the facts are false; and if they were both true, they make directly against your own posi-

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tion; for they only show that the people were zealous for the revolution in an exact proportion to the quantity of property distributed amongst them. This paragraph, therefore, contains a string of statements, which, whether true or false, make against your argument and in support of mine. But we now approach a little nearer to close quarters.

But though we believe that the first to repent any attempt to involve the country in confusion would be the anti-reform nobles, we do *not think they are likely to be much alarmed* with the *possibility of their being supplanted by their tenants.* It was very easy for the tenants of the great proprietors of Pennsylvania (the descendants of PENN) to *stand fast*, because *the yeomanry of America* were then nearly the whole of the people. But a tenant would not find *it so easy to stand fast in England.* Every *man on his farm* would think he had *as good a right* to stand fast as the tenant, and there might be a good deal of shoving before any one could stand fast.

This is the first time that I ever heard about "yeomanry of America;" and you know nothing about the then situation of Pennsylvania, if you imagine that the descendants of the Penns were the only proprietors of the land. The proprietors were then very numerous, and the occupiers were all tenants in some way or another. Your notion of the *farm-labourers* contending with the farmer for the proprietorship of the farm, argues as complete a state of ignorance of the rural community of England as if you had been born but yesterday. You do not know, then, that the farm-labourers are renters also! You do not know this, and that their sons and daughters, as well as themselves, would think themselves in heaven to become the owners of their cottages and gardens. And, observe, these are the only people that the farmers would have to care a straw about. You seem to think that the Irish labourers would pour out from St. Giles's, and from Kensington, and take the bands of pickpockets along with them, and go and scramble for the farm houses and the fields! This only shows that you are totally ignorant of the state of the country and the people; that you know nothing at all of the manners, tastes or dispositions of the country people; that you have not the most distant idea of the relationships which exist between them, and of the ties that bind them to one another. If you take a village of five or six hundred persons, you will find above fifty or sixty heads of families who are renters; and, if you had any knowledge at all of the matter, you would know, that if you were to take all the little renters, and offer each of them a palace to reside in, and a coach-and-six to ride in, not one of the whole would accept of your offer; and that, if they were left to cut and carve for themselves, nineteen out of every twenty would choose the cottages and gardens in which they reside.

The truth is, that in a country *so thickly peopled as England*, and with so large a portion of the population without property, the dread of anything like a scramble is always uppermost in the minds of all who possess property, and will always lead them to make every effort to preserve *a respect for justice.* Now there would be *no justice* in giving the farm to the occupying tenant. If the *landlord misconduct himself, his property ought to become public*, and the proceeds be applied to the relief of the public wants.

The *thick* population I have answered. No question, that all who possess property must most anxiously wish it respected; must most anxiously wish for the preservation of the laws of property; and it is my great anxiety not to see these laws shaken, that makes me so desirous to prevent the pretence for shaking them from arising. You say that there would be no "*justice*" in giving the farm to the occupying tenant. To be sure there would be no *justice*, but most monstrous injustice; but I was supposing that direful state of things, in which, as in America and France, law and justice were made to give way to the necessity of making blood cease to flow. I am as sensible as you are, that such a distribution would be contrary to all justice; and it was to prevent the possibility of it that I was and am labouring.

Besides, in this country, there are few estates which belong absolutely to individuals. Estates *are often mortgaged* to their full value, and it would be *hard* indeed if *an unoffending mortgagee should be ousted by a tenant.* These estates are carved out of estates in a hundred different ways, *well known to conveyancers*;

so that the same estate may belong to a score of individuals. In the case of the Derwentwater and other *forfeited* estates, *all incumbrances were religiously respected.*

Here one cannot help smiling at the simplicity of the remark, that an unoffending mortgagee "*ought not to be ousted by a tenant*:"—no, faith, nor ought the landlord to be ousted any more than the mortgagee. But you seem resolved not to perceive that I was supposing a case where the law would have no force, and not a case where *conveyances* and *liens* would have any effect; and I was labouring to prevail upon the Lords to be upon their guard against listening to advice that might by possibility produce this horrid state of things. The last paragraph presents us with a set of curious notions; such as never could have arisen out of any thing but prime *ditalluct.*

God forbid that this country should be thrown into confusion by any set of men. What might be the consequence of *paralysing credit and confidence in a country*, where millions of strong-backed men live from day to day, and are never possessed of more than a week's wages at a time, it is impossible to predict. But this we can predict—*so long as any respect for law and property exists in the country*, the tenants will never be allowed to *usurp the property of the farms occupied by them, without paying the market price for them. When law ceases to have force*, and the simple plan of ROB ROY prevails, that every man may take who has the might, and every man may keep who can—the tenures will of course be *exceedingly short.*

We have here, first, a most pious prayer, to which I say, with equal piety I hope, Amen! God forbid, indeed, that such a state of things should arise. But when you immediately talk about paralysing *credit* and *confidence* in the country, you open a new and vast subject, upon which I shall have to touch presently. First, let me dispose of your remark, that, "so long as any respect "for law and property exists in the "country, the tenants will never be al- "lowed to usurp the farms occupied by "them without paying the *market price* "for them." Why, Doctor, if they were to pay the market price it would not be a usurpation. These words, *stand fast*, seem to have occasioned a complete confusion in your *antalluct.* But the great curiosity here is the prediction. You predict that, "so long as respect "for property exists, the tenants will "not be allowed to usurp the property "of their farms!" This is being long-sighted with a vengeance! This is, indeed, seeing through a four-inch plank. This is equal to a prediction, that, if it rain all day long to-morrow, the earth will not be dry at night. You are sure not to be wrong in your prediction, at any rate; and the only wrong here is, that your prediction would seem to imply, that I *recommended* that the farmers should be allowed to usurp the property of their farms; which is a little more than prediction, it being malignity unspeakable; you well knowing that every line on which you were commenting had a direct tendency to make people shudder at the thought of the existence of such a state of things; such a total breaking up of that English community which I described as having been, and indeed has still being, with a correction of some abuses, the very best that the world had ever seen; notwithstanding there are, as you say, "millions of strong-backed "men who were never possessed of more "than a week's wages at a time." And, Doctor, do you happen to know of any community in this world, where the strong-backed men have more money than this at a time? I have been a considerable employer of men in the United States of America; and I solemnly declare that I do not recollect one of them who had, as I had reason to believe, the possession of more money than a week's wages at any one time. The fashion there is for mere labouring men to run in debt in winter and work out the debt in summer; and, if they were richer than this, very few of them would work you may be very sure. The fault with us is, not that the working people do not save their money; but that they do not get enough to keep them in good victuals and good clothing. This is the fault with us. If they had this, not all the publications and all the preachings in the world would make the millions of labourers stir hand or foot to produce

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any change in the Government or the Parliament; and, in this respect, I should most assuredly strictly follow their example. My quarrel as well as their quarrel with the present system is, that it pinches their bellies and strips their backs. I do not want them to have each a parcel of money; and therefore what you say about their want of money making them eager for a scramble, is one of those natural effusions of *antalluct* commonly called nonsense.

But, now, for this danger which you have started about "*paralysing*" *credit and confidence* in the country! This credit that you allude to, is false credit; the confidence that you talk of is a delusion. They are two words which mean the circulating, in one shape or another, false things to represent money and property; but these things serve to uphold innumerable usurious transactions and innumerable monopolies, by which industry and labour are robbed of their due. Nevertheless, if a rejection of the Reform Bill should induce any considerable part of the community to *set their faces* against these false representatives of money and of property, the consequences would be important indeed. I make it a rule never to sleep with what is called a note in my house. There is no money which is legal to be tendered as money, except that which comes out under the authority of the King. I never look upon bits of paper as worth anything at all. The law has given me security in the coin of the King. For mere convenience to those who deal with me, I sometimes take the other stuff, and take the trouble of turning it into money; but if, unhappily, this Reform Bill were to be rejected, I should certainly give notice to my customers not to tender at my shop, as money, any thing but the coin of the King; and I would take special care, not to receive in payment anything but that coin. With regard to the rest of the nation, I am under no obligation to take any particular pains to guard them against this danger; but *to my readers* I am under such obligation; and I should deem it a criminal neglect of duty were I not to warn them against the possible effect of a rejection of the Reform Bill, with regard to the pecuniary affairs of people in general; and to advise them by all means, not to place their reliance upon the possession of any thing which they have been accustomed to deem the representative of money; but, on the contrary, to acquire and to preserve, by all just and legal means, as much of the King's coin as they can. I hope, that even if the Reform Bill be rejected, the people will be *patient*; that they will duly consider the danger attending every species of confusion, and that they will proceed, as they hitherto have done, with their petitions and remonstrances; bearing their sufferings with their accustomed fortitude, and calmly waiting the result, being assured (and this assurance I venture to give them) that the end will be a complete restoration of the civil and religious liberties of the country, and of the ancient good living of the working people; and, until they behold these things, I trust that they will never slacken in their legal efforts to obtain them.

But, while such are my hopes, I am by no means certain that these hopes will be verified. Knowing, as I do, how sudden sometimes events come and overturn all our hopes and expectations; beholding, as I do, a resistance of the yielding of tithes in Ireland; knowing, as I do well, the feelings of all England in this respect; seeing the very Ministers themselves reduced to the necessity of extinguishing tithes in Ireland; seeing here one vast branch of the tree of power ready to be shaken from the trunk; remembering the many open propositions that have been made, according to statements made in the two houses of Parliament, of an intention to withhold the payment of taxes; and knowing it to be impossible that what is called credit should be sustained for an hour, if such resolution were to be acted on; beholding these things among many others which I need not name, it would be scandalously criminal in me not to advise my readers to forbear from every unnecessary expense; to give no

credit if they can possibly help it, except from a feeling of humanity; to turn their eyes from paper promises of every description, and, like sensible men and loyal subjects, rely solely for security in the possession of the coin of the King.

As I said before, first, I hope the Lords will pass the bill; next, if they should not pass it, I trust that the people will find their angry feelings overpowered by their love for their country. The mischief done by this long suspense is wholly incalculable. While our wise Government are sending as many working people as they can to the colonies, *men of property* are flocking to the United States! Perhaps more than a hundred thousand pounds in hard money are weekly quitting our shores for those of the United States, leaving the debt, leaving the tithes, leaving the dead-weight, leaving the standing army, leaving Peel's police, which the Whigs have girt with swords, leaving the cholera-morbus-law, the game-laws, the trespass-law, Sturges Bourne's bills, the pension and sinecure list, and the tread-mill, behind them. This is one of the great evils of this suspense. It is useless to tell such men *to wait*; they have before their eyes certain ruin from the effects of the system, or probable ruin from the effects of convulsion. This they all tell you when you desire them *to wait*.

All this injury, falling and yet to fall upon the country, will be fairly ascribable to those who shall cause this bill not to be passed. While, therefore, I hope that the people would bear even a second rejection with that laudable forbearance which has hitherto distinguished their conduct, I cannot but fear the consequences, amongst which consequences a sudden and total destruction of that which is called credit is, at least, a possible item. Against this, therefore, I trust, all my readers will provide to the utmost of their power. This is an evil, Doctor, against which no *antallact* can provide. The *fires* set all vigilance and all power at defiance; but in them there is always the commission of heinous crime, and the manifest risk of life to the perpetrator. Here there is no risk at all; but on the contrary, here is the practice of *the virtue of prudence*, sanctioned and even enjoined by the law.

I beseech all my readers to recollect, that, in 1826, month of January, Huskisson (he being then one of the cabinet) said that we had recently been WITHIN FORTY-EIGHT HOURS OF BARTER! That is to say, within forty-eight hours of having no money to pass in the country; no measure of value in the country; no means of causing debts to be paid or contracts executed; no means, no possible means of legally providing food and raiment for the people. Always recollect this, when any one desires you to believe that you ought to place reliance on the wisdom of the Government. If barter had come at that time, there would have been *no property* the next day, excepting that which a man had in his own personal power and possession. All who had been in want would have taken what they wanted; and nothing would have been to be bought, but for gold: bank-notes, exchequer bills, promissory-notes, bills of exchange, written obligations of every description, would have been worthless as the dust upon the road. Those who had gold, though possessing little bodily strength, might have lived through the storm; for gold would have bought them victuals, drink, and clothing; but all debts would have been cancelled for ever; and, in short, property would have completely changed hands. No man would have dared demand a debt contracted before the barter; the goods of no man would have been sacred; even common humanity would have rendered property common; that is to say, belonging to one man as much as to another.

Doctor, if your *antallact* will not permit you to take this vulgar view of the matter, I trust the plain sense of my readers will induce them to do it, and will convince them of the necessity of taking every measure by which they can honestly possess themselves of gold. The barter from which we so narrowly

occupied in 1825 and 1826, arose from an alarm, which made people run to the Bank for gold. The alarm might arise from a different cause now; but no matter what the alarm arise from, its effect must always be the same in nature though not always the same in degree. Every one acquainted with the matter knows well, that a total discredit of all paper money of all sorts; that is to say, a shutting up of the banks, would render it utterly impossible, if it took place suddenly, to pay wages to any part of the people in the great and populous towns. In the country men might do; barter might take place there for some time without much inconvenience; but, at Birmingham, or Manchester, or Leeds; or, indeed, in any one of sixty towns that I might name, all would be utter confusion. The thousands would take the victuals and clothing as long as there was any to take; and, though I do believe that the humanity of the people would go very far towards preventing acts of blood, it is too much to hope that even blood would not be shed in abundance. But, if the danger would be great in those towns, what would it be in this enormous place? I have long accustomed myself to contemplate all the possible effects of this ruinous system; but, when I have come to view this Wen, under the effects of a sudden destruction of what is called credit; under the effects of a sudden discredit of all that is called paper money, I have always turned from the sight with dismay; and have always said, that he must be a devil in human shape who, seeing the possibility of such an event, did not, having the power, and seeing the danger, set himself instantly at work to provide against it.

Now, Doctor, try your Scotch sermon, now; try your *antallust* upon these observations of mine; tell us what security we have that the same Government who has seen tithes extinguished in Ireland by the people, will not live to see paper money extinguished also. Tell us what security we have that a second rejection of the Reform Bill should not produce a great convulsive movement in some part of the kingdom, or some formidable combination against the fiscal powers of the Government. Pray tell us, you who have the *antallust*, what security we have against being *brought to barter* in this way; and, if a state of barter now come, tell us, I pray you, how rivers of blood are to be prevented from flowing unless by some such measure as that adopted by America or that adopted by France.

Leaving you to answer this question,

I remain,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

CHOLERA BATTLES.

In London there have been several skirmishes with the doctors, with the police on one side and the enraged people on the other side. The police are now become real *gendarmerie*, as I always said they would become. Here are ten or twelve thousands of them with swords girt on to their sides. The Tories gave them half military uniform and constables' staves: the Whigs have given them SWORDS. They are mostly Irishmen. I always said it would come to this; and I now say it will go a great deal further yet. How vigorous old GREY is *as to these matters!* If he were but half as vigorous in pushing on the Reform Bill, people would think a great deal more of him than they now do. Surprisingly vigorous in the case of the *West-India Colonies*, too. Vigorous à *faire peur* in every thing but in his own conduct towards the Tories! However, one of two things will take place: he will get the Bill passed unmutilated, or he will not: if the former, he may be as *vigorous* as he pleases afterwards: if the latter, he will be nothing at the end of twenty-four hours from the time of his failure,—for he may be well assured that nobody will entertain hopes a third time.

The Cholera Battles arise from an opinion in the people, that the sick people are taken away to be dissected. This is erroneous, no doubt; but its

effect is very terrible; for, people being taken away by compulsion, their relations make a dreadful outcry; and fights frequently ensue; so that the Whig sword-bearing police, guard the doctors and the *cholera carts* through the streets. At Paisley the battles have been still more serious. I insert the account from the *Glasgow Chronicle*. The account is made as unfavourable as possible to the people of Glasgow by the infernal hired press. However, here it is, and let it bear record of the transactions under this Whig Ministry.

CHOLERA BATTLE AT PAISLEY.

On going out to meet the mob from the Moss, the sheriff and magistrates, accompanied by two or three other individuals, fell in with them in the narrow passage, Glen's Lane. On a signal from Sheriff Campbell, the coffin borne by the crowd was lowered to the ground; and that gentleman addressed them on the impropriety of their conduct, at the same time expressing his detestation of the resurrection system which had been going on. While he was engaged in this, those on the outside of the crowd were calling out for the raising of the coffin, and in the attempt to do so, through the exertions of Provost Gilmour, and some of the police officers, it was broken to pieces. The crowd succeeded in getting a piece of it up, however, and commenced pelting those who were resisting them, and Neil Whyte, a police officer, who had taken an active part, was considerably injured and under the necessity of taking refuge in a house, the windows of which were broken. They then entered the town, smashed in the shop-windows of Mr. Vessey, St. James's-place; from that they proceeded to the shop of Mr. William Young, Old Sneddon-street, the windows of which were rendered a complete wreck; then to the house of Doctor A. K. Young, of New Sneddon-street, and smashed the windows of it likewise. Here a halt for a short time took place till the future course should be resolved on, and the rabble then proceeded direct towards the Cholera Hospital by the front of the County Buildings, and up the School Wynd. When they came opposite the hospital, they were shortly addressed by Mr. Robert Wright, on the wickedness of breaking the windows or anything else about the establishment, and on the cruel results likely to follow to the poor patients. This advice had the desired effect at the time, and they passed by the hospital, forced up the gate, loosed the horse out of the cholera hearse, and ran off with the carriage, and broke the windows of Dr. Kerr and Son, in passing through Orr-street. The next route was down Storie-street towards the canal, for the purpose of throwing the vehicle into it; but on reaching George-street, and recollecting there were some surgeons in the neighbourhood, they changed their course, went up George-street, and broke the windows of Mr. Bell and Mr. Falconer, surgeons, and plundered the shop of the former gentleman of some articles. They then came up the Lady-lane, and down High-street, gave a cheer opposite the house of Mr. Stewart, surgeon (who is unjustly represented to be an unbeliever in cholera), broke a few panes in the shop of Mr. Henderson, a member of the Board of Health, and in the tenement in which he resides; then proceeded direct to the residence of Doctor M'Kinlay, Medical Secretary to the Board of Health in New-street, broke all the windows of his shop, and the Trades' Library, and several of those in his house; next to the shop of Mr. Lymburn, surgeon, Causey-side, where a great deal of damage was done; from that to the residence of Mr. Jeffrey, surgeon, Orchard-street, broke the windows of his house and shop, then proceeded (all the while with the hearse in their possession, breaking and smashing it as they went) along Seedhills bridge, through Cotton-street, and broke the windows of Dr. Torbet's house, and those in the house and shop of Dr. M'Kechnie, in a very serious manner, in their passage up towards the Cross. When at the West-end of the old bridge. Mr. John Bell, Woodside, went forwards alone and took the remains of the hearse from them, which

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by this time had little else than the axle and wheels left. Mr. Bell was soon joined by some others, who assisted him in keeping possession of the wreck. The mob having thus gone over the most part of the town, and having lost their main object of attraction, began to thin considerably, but a number of them went down to the county buildings, where a party of the military from the barracks and the staff of the Renfrewshire militia had by that time assembled to pacify them. At this time we understand that the sheriffs and magistrates made an offer of paying a party of labourers to go over the whole of the burying-ground to inspect the graves, under the direction of a committee which the crowd had chosen at the burying-ground.

In the course of the riot a party, headed by two chimney-sweeps of the name of Green and Welsh, broke the windows of the hospital, struck the dying patients, forced the doors, and broke open and plundered the spirit-store. A meeting of special constables took place in the Court Hall in the evening, at which it was resolved that they should do duty over the hospital and other places where there was any likelihood of a disturbance taking place. At this meeting it was also stated that the people employed in examining the graves had gone over a considerable number, and that in every case the body was found in the coffin. It was accordingly resolved that this notice, with the names of those engaged as labourers, and that of the committee who had superintended them, should be instantly published to allay the public excitement, and that the examination should be continued till the whole of the graves were gone over.

This party accordingly resumed their labours next day, and when they had gone over 21 graves, every one of which had the body in the coffin, at the suggestion of a member of the Board of Health, who was on the spot, the ground in the immediate vicinity of the grave, where the first empty coffin was found, was examined, and on going a short way into the next grave, on the south to the one in question, a resurrectionist's hook, and a parcel of grave-clothes were found, and on reaching the coffin it was found to contain a woman's petticoat only. The examination was continued till about half-past five at night, when the whole coffins buried there, 80 in number, were gone over, and the bodies were found in the whole of them, with the exception of three.

RURAL AFFAIRS.

IN the last Trash, just published, I have given full directions for planting, cultivating, and applying COBBETT'S CORN, as far as LABOURERS, or persons growing small quantities, are concerned. Those who grow large quantities must refer to my "TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN," and particularly to the ADDITION which I made to it last autumn, when I published a new edition of the book. Some Registers back I said, that when I got home, I would give an account of my mangel-wurzel beer. I find that it has been rummaged about in my absence; and that, at any rate, it would have been but rather bad small beer. I suppose that it was not made in the proper manner; and so the reader will suppose, when he has read the following letter, the signature to which I do not put, because it is not necessary; because I have not the leave of the writer to publish his name, though I dare say he would have no objection to it. Now I beg this gentleman to have the goodness to write me a letter, telling me very exactly how he makes his beer. I know the qualities well of the mangel wurzel: for horses, cows, pigs, sheep, I know it to be the most valuable root of all. I have some sugar recently made from it in Essex; and very beautiful sugar it is. I shall soon, I hope, have a complete treatise ready to publish on the subject; but, in the mean while, I want the information from this gentleman, in order that I may set the labouring men to work upon it all over the kingdom.

"*Paisley, 31st of March*, 1832.

"SIR,—Have the goodness to send "the value of the inclosed, One Pound,

"in mangel-wurzel seed, addressed to "me here. Let it be sent to Carron "Wharf, to be shipped per smack.— "Last April I purchased at your shop "20lbs. of the seed, which turned out "exceedingly well, being all of the right "sort, and yielded a produce at the rate "of 45 *tons per acre*.—I have *brewed* "*beer* from this root regularly, for the "last three years: and find it very good. "It will produce the strength of *Lon-* "*don porter*, at a cost not exceeding "*four-pence per gallon*, calculating the "root at 25*s.* a ton, which price it sold "at here last season.—I observe you in- "tend giving a treatise on this subject "soon, which I am confident will be of "great value to farmers and others who "may cultivate the plant.—I remain, "Sir, "———

"*William Cobbett*, Esq."

N.B. My friends, Mr. Joshua Johnstone, of *Manchester*; Mr. Abel Healwedl, of *Huddersfield*; and Mr. Wm. Marten, of *Birmingham* (or Gatteridge Farm); have some of all my seeds, which they will be so obliging as to let anybody have at the *prices* specified by me, and which are not *quite half so high* as the seedsmen's prices. They, I am told, accuse me of *underselling* them; with more reason I might accuse them of *overselling me!* I am told that they reproach me with selling mangel-wurzel seed at 7½*d.* a pound, while they sell it for 18*d.* *I wanted to sell all to them*, but I could find none of them who would GIVE ME FOUR-PENCE A POUND FOR IT! As to the *quality*, it is the *very best* that I ever saw.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTES.

The following letter, by Mr. Whittle, the editor of the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, my readers will thank me for inserting. The *intentions* of the far greater part of those who are engaged in these establishments, are excellent; and, I hope, that *this* establishment will be preserved from the uses to which others, under the same name, have been applied. *That* which is in London, is a mere tool of the Government. Wilmot Horton lectured in its theatre, in favour of a scheme for *sending the working people out of the country*; and he, in his lectures, *censured me by name* for my opinions on the subject; *this* was *not politics*; but when I wanted to hire the theatre, in order to *answer him*, it was a *rule* of the Institute *not to permit politics* to be discussed in the theatre! I hope that this Institute of Manchester will be preserved from uses like this. I most cordially agree in Mr. Whittle's opinions on the subject: I am for no doctrines that teach working people to be *content with empty bellies*: I do not like "*intellectual*" payment for bodily labour: a proof of real "*ignorance*" is, in my mind, *quiet submission to tyranny*: I despise the man who, when children cry for bread, gives them "nice little moral books:" I detest the hypocrite who, when the people call for *good* and *cheap government*, tells them *first* to reform themselves: I say that that man is a fool as well as knave, who pretends to seek public liberty by the means of teaching men that they are *never to resist oppression*: I assert, that all associations, be they what they may, which teach "*passive obedience and non-resistance*," are base and detestable: I know it to be a monstrous error to suppose, that the choppsticks (who, in fact, have produced all the recent changes) have been *ignorant* of what they have been doing, or of *the consequences*, remote as well as near, of their acts. In Mr. Whittle's sentiments with regard to Mr. Hetherington I heartily concur, and I beg leave to be understood as here repeating his words.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

Gentlemen,—On the *evening* of your third anniversary, which I had the great pleasure of celebrating with you, it was stated by one of your members that you had departed from a resolution originally taken to exclude works on politics from your library;—certainly politics

were not excluded from your evening's entertainment. There were several political allusions made in the course of the evening, and several principles of politics stated, on which I should have been disposed to offer a few observations, particularly as I then, for the first time, had the pleasure of meeting you as a body, had not the lateness of the hour to which your evening was protracted; before any opportunity of addressing you presented itself to me, made it unbecoming in me to detain you longer than the purpose for which I rose seemed imperatively to demand. On referring, however, to the report of the addresses on that very interesting evening, it appears to me to contain so much to invite commentary, that I cannot forbear taking this opportunity of recalling your attention to it.

It has sometimes been made matter of reproach to me, that I have seemed not to interest myself warmly in the success of either of the Mechanics' Institutions in Manchester. That I should have felt little interest in the success of the *first*, is naturally accounted for by the same motives which have induced you to establish a second. Those motives I have always regarded with the highest respect; as reflecting the greatest honour on those who had the virtue to feel them, and the spirit to act upon them; and, in proportion to the interest which I am sure you will give me credit for taking in the liberty and in the well-being of the working man, was my wish to see that virtue and that spirit crowned with the success which they deserved. My interest in your success was not, however, altogether unmixed with anxiety. I felt the important influence which mechanics' institutions might exercise on the political relations of society; I saw corruption watching over their birth, for the purpose of vitiating and debasing them,—for the purpose of converting them into engines of hostility to the just rights of the labouring man; I knew that the church establishment itself, and all its allies, subsist on the pretence of giving instruction, of giving *useful* instruction to the people; I knew that Lord BROUGHAM and VAUX, who is now the champion of that church establishment; I knew that Captain BASIL HALL, who wrote an article in the *Quarterly Review*, to prove that France could not get on without a parliament controlled by an aristocracy; to prepare the English people for the ordinances of POLIGNAC, and to justify Charles the Tenth, for repealing the charter, in order *to save the French people from themselves*; I knew that the Sierra Leone jobber, ZACHARY MACAULAY—I knew that the recent attorney-general, Sir JAMES SCARLETT, and his every-way worthy brother and successor, Sir THOMAS DENMAN,—I knew that the great pawnbroking silk-mercer, JAMES MORRISON, Esq., who within these few years has accumulated a fortune of millions by his *honest industry*, and soared from the counter-side to a seat in Parliament,—I knew that that spawn of a loanmonger, BINGHAM BARING, for striking whom Cobbett of Micheldever was hanged;—I knew that GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD, Esq., the worthy president of our Manchester Chamber of Commerce,—I knew that each and all of these had been officers of the Society for diffusing USEFUL KNOWLEDGE,—I knew that each and all of these were active patrons of mechanics' institutions,—and I knew, as I hope you know too, that there is not a man amongst them who would not see the people really "*taking their affairs into their own hands*;" with about the same complacency with which Satan looked down upon the bowers of Paradise;—and who does not tender to the people his "*useful knowledge*" with about the same benevolent intentions with which the tempter invited Eve to the forbidden fruit. It was not, therefore, without anxiety that I watched even your society, based though it was on principles of the purest democracy; and I confess that I felt my anxiety increased, when I found that your society was to be graced with the name of a political patron.

It is a common maxim with the shallow praters about abstract liberty, that the arts and sciences cannot flourish

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where liberty is wanting. It is a maxim as common with tyrants, and a maxim much more sound, that the true policy of crafty tyrants is, to give the utmost encouragement to arts and sciences, in order to divest the minds of quick-witted men from prying into the abuses of government. This is the account to which the above-named friends of liberty have hoped to turn the establishment of mechanics' institutes; and, while they retain upon the statute-book laws which were passed to deprive the people of cheap publications; laws for which Lord PLUNKETT voted, on the ground that the people were becoming too intelligent, and ought to be placed, *by law*, at a greater distance from secrets of state; while they thus indirectly secure to themselves *a monopoly of schoolmasters*, and all the positive advantages of a *censorship*; they circulate, *partly at the expense of the public revenue*, those cheap publications which are so much applauded; and not satisfied with the old trick of tyrants, of diverting the attention from politics, they endeavour to make their *cheap publications* the channels of perverted politics, of every sophistry, by which the principles of liberty can be undermined, its nature obscured, and its practical restoration in England retarded.

One doctrine they preach openly, and that is *passive obedience*; not, however, as a *matter of duty*, but as a *proof of wisdom*. Others they advance more covertly, under the shelter of some well-sounding general proposition. As, for instance, "ignorance is the cause of misery." The conclusion which it is hoped we will draw is, that we must not look to Government to relieve our miseries, *till our ignorance is first removed*; and as ignorance must be removed very slowly from amongst a people who are over-worked and underpaid, and who have, therefore, neither time, opportunity, nor spirits for acquiring knowledge of any kind, this process will give tyranny a very distant day of account. Or, to give another instance,—"All nations have as good governments as they deserve;" from which the deduction is, that when the government does wrong, instead of correcting them, we must reproach ourselves. All these are the sophistries of tyranny; and all these, down even to the question of passive obedience, appeared to me to receive a sort of indirect admission from some quarter or other, in the course of the evening.

Let it not be supposed that these observations are offered in that spirit of captious criticism, which some of the speakers so unnecessarily deprecated. I assent most fully to the justice of the observations made by your chairman in the course of the evening, that the members acquitted themselves as speakers, better than the visitors. I found, in all I witnessed, additional motives for feeling proud of the advocacy of the people's rights. I not only believe that the attachment of the members to those rights is as cordial as my own; but I have the satisfaction of knowing that many of them concur in all my views of the exact nature of those rights, and of the parties and the men, who are likely to restore us to their full enjoyment. I hope, therefore, that you will not deem it either invidious or presumptuous, if I seem to assume that, without possessing a better knowledge of first principles, my closer attention to the views of parties, and my more constant observance of the characters and conduct of public men, have put me more upon my guard than some of you, against the reception of specious sophistry, and against reliance upon worthless allies.

The first speech to which I shall more particularly revert is that of Mr. BEARD. "*What! do you object to that?*" I do. "*Do you place him among our* WORTHLESS *allies?*" In the sense in which I use the word, I do place him among the worthless allies; I do place him among the allies who will not serve us in our struggle for liberty. And that you may not start at this, know that with those high-sounding professions of attachment to theoretic liberty and popular rights, Mr. BEARD can contrive to unite the closest intimacy with Mr. JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR, can contrive to unite support,

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applause, and admiration of his paper. Do I affect to discover in these circumstances a proof of Mr. BEARD's insincerity? Far from it. But I do discover in them the proof, that the admission of general principles is not, of necessity, a practical love of freedom,—is not, of necessity, an active scorn of consummate political and personal baseness. I do discover in it the proof that Mr. BEARD will be but a useless ally of the people.

But what I object to in Mr. BEARD's speech is this—

"Much as the doctrine was recognised, that the Government could work out for the people its good, his opinion was, that the people must work out good for themselves; *it was not a good Government that made a nation happy*; but *honest hearts* and *active minds made the government good*, and the people being placed, by their *moral* and *intellectual power*, in the position which they ought to occupy, they will, in the elevation of the base of society, raise the whole structure."

Now if good government be not capable of making a people happy, why should good government be an object of desire? Why is any thing desirable on this earth but as conducing to secure individual or general happiness? Or does it mean only that the *good people* must come first, and the *good government* come afterwards? How does it happen, then, that Rome, the asylum of run-away slaves, commenced by establishing a good government; and that, under the institutions of those fugitive vagabonds, grew up the severe morality which laid the broad foundations of the Roman empire? How comes it to pass, then, that America, peopled in great part by the refuse of jails and the outcasts of society, presents an example of national morals, which puts to shame the decendants of the moral people who cut off those outcasts from their community? How comes it, but because the purity of American institutions has purified the morals of her people; and because the corruption of our government here has spread its poison through the community? How comes it, but from the all-important truth that the institutions of every country are the fountains of the morals of the people? What, then, means this absurdity? It means that Mr. BEARD is a worthless ally of the people; it means that he is the hood-winked disciple of the Change-ally philosophers; it means that the people ought not to expect *any immediate benefit from reform*; that they must *educate* themselves *first*, and improve the government *afterwards*.

But that this will not do, what further proof need we than the facts stated in the speech of your member, Mr. RICHARDSON—

"The Mechanics' Institution had few members who worked in the factories of this town; and of those few the greater part came to their classes so much fatigued with their daily labour, that it was with the greatest difficulty they were prevented going asleep."

We shall make but slow progress, then, if scientific knowledge is to come before freedom. No! we must plant the tree of liberty first, and pluck its fruit afterwards. And, indeed, if such knowledge were to lead to the results which Mr. RICHARDSON anticipated; if it were really true that in all cases of "*riot*" and "*violation of property*," the persons so *outraging the law*, were persons of inferior intellect and information; that such outrages did not take place "where education was more general;" if this were true, this is exactly the result which Lord BROUGHAM and VAUX anticipates from the establishment of Mechanics' Institutions. But before a reformer condemns an outrage of the law, he should ask whether the law be just. It has been the law of England more than once in this century, that the minister should have the power of imprisoning any person for any time, without preferring any charge against such person. If the Reform Bill be thrown out, and if the Duke of WELLINGTON again come into power, this must again be the law of England this very year. And will none resist that law but persons of *inferior intellect and information*? Then perish *intellect* and *information*; and live the manly spirit of the people; live their hatred of tyrants, live their scorn of passive obedience! But this sentiment of Mr. RICHARDSON does not do justice

to science or to history. The American revolution commenced, as all violent revolts against established authority must commence, by "riot and outrage." In order to evade "taxation without representation," the Americans entered into a combination against the use of tea; but fearing that the cupidity of traders might defeat their object, and a cargo of tea arriving in the port of Boston, some of the inhabitants of the town boarded the vessel in the night, and tossed the whole cargo into the sea. The Americans do not look back to this exploit, as one unworthy of men of *intellect and information!* The taking of the Bastile was a "*riot;*" the raising of the barricades of July was an "outrage against the law;" but the gallant youths of the Polytechnic School thought it not unworthy of "*intellect and information*" to rush to the defence of these barricades. To the question of Mr. KEIGHLEY, "*When did we find "the members of Mechanics' Institutions "breaking through the laws of the land, "or concerned in acts of violence?*" my answer is—*In July, 1830, in the streets of Paris.*

Even as concerns the recent tumults in the agricultural counties: what were they? The people, according to the recent testimony of a member of the House of Commons, who had travelled much, were more hardly dealt with than the people of any country in Europe; (and that Europe contains Russia, Austria, Italy, and Portugal; and the country of which we speak is the once "merry England;") they were told by those who affected to consider them ignorant, that their wages were low because they were too numerous; they found their country invaded by crowds of poor Irishmen, who, driven by their own necessities, were willing to work for half *their* hire; they rose and drove out the invaders; they found the thrashing which they were ready and willing and *able* to do, done by machinery; they broke that machinery; they insisted generally on the observance of the law of the Scripture, that "*the labourer is worthy of his hire.*" Many have been put to death; many have been transported, but they have maintained that law; they have at that sacrifice, permanently raised the wages and improved the condition of their fellow-labourers; by doing so; they converted the servile farmers into reformers; and at the same time sent a dagger to the vitals of that which has subsisted, and can only subsist, by the plunder of the industrious, and the oppression of the poor. And does it become us then to speak lightly of the sacrifice? Only as it would become me, who shall enjoy the advantage of his devotion, to speak disparagingly of the efforts of HETHERINGTON, who, running every hazard of prosecution and suffering, bravely publishes his unstamped paper in defiance of unjust law.

In politics all now depends on this, that the people really rouse themselves, and that they *be not deceived by any vague or general expressions in favour of liberty.* The very men who are now engaged in stifling the throes of liberty in France, are the men who led the opposition to Charles the Tenth. But they did lead it, and it was unavoidable that the people should be deceived by them. But what is history to say of us, if we allow ourselves to be deceived by the party of HUME, who supported the administration of the Duke of WELLINGTON through a whole session, when a breath could have destroyed it; by the party of JOHN WOOD, who was reluctantly driven from the Duke's side, by the Duke's declaration against all reform, and who, returned by the brave weavers and spinners of Preston, is now joining the Ministry to defeat the Ten Hours' Bill, by parliamentary management? With regard to Mr. RICHARD POTTER, he has yet to make his choice *for* the people, or *against* them; I trust he will make it well. He has been with us, and with us I hope he will remain. I hope he will recollect that there is no middle course; that those who are not for us are against us. I should be sorry to find myself *against* him. But *against* him I must be, if he is not *with* the people.

I have too much respect for your love of truth, and for your love of the interest of the people, to suppose that any

apology is necessary for the freedom with which I have considered the opinions of some of your members, or rather their inadvertent assent to the opinions of others, on subjects on which it is my business to weigh all opinions well; and with the confidence, that in the coming struggle, you at least will do your duty,

I am, Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
and obedient servant,
THE EDITOR OF THE ADVERTISER.

GOOD NEWS.

I TAKE the following from the *Morning Chronicle*; and it is the best piece of news that I have seen for a long time. It shows that the THING is going to pieces in all its parts; that it is stricken; that the hand of death is upon it; that it is sold to the devil, and only wants fetching away.

"The very-scanty audiences at the "two great winter theatres, in the be- "ginning of last week, led to the most "gloomy reports regarding the inten- "tions of the Managers; and the belief "that Drury-lane would close suddenly "was strengthened by the fact, that "nothing was advertised in the bills to "be played after yesterday. On Thurs- "day night, however, the attendance "on the part of the public was so good "(at least 270*l.* having been taken at "both houses) that a new prospect "seemed to open, and it was resolved "to try the experiment for another "week. However great may have been "*Captain Polhill's loss*, it is understood "that it has not been so heavy by more "than 2,000*l.* as at Covent-garden.— "A prospectus has been issued *for the* "*sale or letting of Covent-garden Thea-* "*tre*, and we understand that a new "and plausible scheme is in agitation, "viz.—for the same person to hire both "Drury-lane and Covent-garden (at a "reduced rent of course), and according "to circumstances nightly, to play "*comedy at the one* and *tragedy at the* "*other*. At present, each theatre is "obliged to keep a tragedy and a "comedy company; but should this "scheme be carried into effect, *only one* "*complete body of actors will be neces-* "*sary*; while the public will have "*greater variety*, both in the pieces "and in the performers. It is also in "contemplation, in this case, to *reduce* "*the prices* of admission—the boxes to "5*s.*, the pit to 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the gallery "to 1*s.* 6*d.*, abolishing, if possible, the "shilling gallery."

There, I look upon that as real good news. I wonder who this wise fellow Captain POLHILL is; I wonder if it be the same little strutting cock that brought WOOD and JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR upon their marrow-bones at Preston? Faith, the clever speculator seems to have got his match here! I do pity these player-folks! All over the kingdom they are in tatters and in ruin. I have driven the jackdaws and bats out of at least half a score of their theatres, which really seem to present, in the way of proxy, the situation of the great tatterdemallion THING. All seems ruin and decay—the cobwebs sticking about everywhere. I must say, that the players people have always behaved with great civility to me; and, for their own sakes, I rejoice at the prospect of seeing them completely broken up. In the fields and on the downs they may become real shepherds and shepherdesses; real maids of the mill and milkmaids the divers damsels may become; make love in earnest, not in sham; and I can assure the females, that they will find the real "HODGE" a great deal better, a great deal more substantial and satisfactory, than the sham Hodge, whose limbs are made of bolsters, and the red of whose cheeks arises from rudlle. Those of them who are given to sing will find delightful assistance in the larks and the nightingales. The month of May is approaching—just the gay time for the birds. A wheat-field, she having a hook in her hand for cutting up the docks and the thistles, is precisely the scene for a Phillis who has just escaped from the stink of the gas. What a change! How happy these lasses will become! When we consider how they

are wanted in the fields, what a desire they must naturally have to act in reality that which they have so long been acting in sham! One must have the heart of the devil to wish them to remain where they are.

As to the heroes, they will turn their daggers of lath and tin battle-axes, or rather they will exchange them, for hoes and hooks and other implements of husbandry. I cannot indeed pledge myself that they will find the change altogether so advantageous *to them:* the ladies will be charmed with the rural simplicity and frankness and unhesitating conduct of the swains in real life: but I am afraid that the heroes of the sock and buskin will be found wanting in some of those requisites, which are absolutely indispensable to render their suits successful amongst the female chopsticks; whose great simplicity, and, as Doctor Black would call it, "*want of education,*" always make them prefer the substantial to the *antallactual.*

Now to business. If Captain Polhill have a mind to have his theatres filled, he *will let them* to me. I will be bound to fill them, each of them, once a week until the month of June; and he will have the further satisfaction of knowing that sense has, at last, been heard in these regions of everlasting nonsense. If he will let me have his theatres, I will, in the course of a month, make every sane creature in this WEN see clearly, that the people of this country ought not to pay one single farthing more on account of what is called the national debt. If he do not consent to this, I should not at all be surprised to see him compelled to let his houses for cholera hospitals. What a breaking up! What a surplus population of player folks! And what is the cause of this melancholy change? Simply this; that the chopsticks will no longer live upon potatoes. This is the true cause, and this cause will go working on, reform bill or no reform bill, until the jackdaws and starlings and bats inhabit these two monstrous places. The sooner this takes place the better; the flashy days of old SHERRY are gone never to return. Of this Captain POLHILL may be assured. Will PETER THIMBLE say that the want of employment here arises from surplus population? Yet if he do not say this, what becomes of his doctrine? That doctrine he means to apply, I suppose, only to those who create the victuals, drink, and clothing; in short, the THING is destroyed: it is not what it was any more. I have always said that the Whigs would destroy it, and they have destroyed it.

OF THE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE INCOME

OF THE

CHURCH OF SPAIN.

(*Continued from No.* 14, *col.* 833, *vol.* 75.)

CHAPTER VII.

Of several sorts of income derived to the Church of Spain on account of her Seignories.

The church in Spain possesses by royal grants, several seignories and domains, in which the tenants and vassals contribute by different payments to the church. From the Gothic times, the church got several appropriations; but according to the system of the age, the land was then cultivated by bondmen, and it was not until the expulsion of the Saracens that the church began to assume seignorial prerogative.

The vassals used to pay to their lords a sort of tribute, formerly called *mincio* and now *luctuosa* (i. e. mournful). This tribute consisted in the best head of cattle in the possession of a vassal at the time of his death. Nobody was exempted from this tribute, the very same domestics in the royal household leaving to the king the horse in their possession when they died. The king, as is already stated, used to convey some of his domains to several persons and churches, as a remuneration for their services; and in those cases, these

seignors substituted instead of their sovereign, received the same pensions which belonged to the monarch, before his accession, save only the tribute called *monada forera*.

The *luctuosa* was one of those seignorial pensions, and the churches accordingly used to receive it from the tenants and vassals within her domains. This contribution is now unknown in most provinces of Spain except Asturias and Galicia. It was indeed justly abolished, as a tribute which increased the calamity of the afflicted, since the unfortunate persons who were called for the payment of it, besides the grief they had to sustain for the loss of their parents and relatives, were nearly ruined by the loss of part of their cattle, the only means for the support of their families and the cultivation of their farms.

The council of Compostela, in 1114, in consequence of these inconveniences, perfectly known to the fathers, enacted that those tenants who kept up the cultivation of their farms left by their parents, should be exempted from the payment of this tribute; and it is a pity that this wholesome regulation has not been generally enforced, since we regret to see that the sons of the Asturian and Galician farmers are still grieved with the payment of the *luctuosa*, notwithstanding that they keep up the cultivation of their fathers' farms.

The clergy in Asturias and Galicia, generally speaking, are very zealous in the performance of the duties of their holy profession: but it is a pity that this very zeal turns out, though in an indirect way, to the disadvantage of their tenants. They usually entrust the administration of their ecclesiastical property to a sort of contractors with a view to keep themselves disengaged for the pastoral duties of their holy profession, and most of those men being commonly people of covetous habits, do not scruple to rob the poor.

The method observed by the secular seignors, is not so ruinous as that above-mentioned: they keep regularly their *mayordomos* or stewards, who are more intimately acquainted with the true condition of the poor tenants, and who, on the other hand, are affected by interests far different from those of the ecclesiastical contractors; so that, while these commonly extort in an unmerciful manner the *luctuosa*, the others, on the contrary, very seldom or never extort any sort of cattle from the farmers.

The usual manner in which the secular seignors receive the *luctuosa*, is more conformable to the will of the princes who originally granted this prerogative, as well as to the pious intention of the church. Berganza asserts that the tenants could offer in payment *twenty-four maravedis* (little less than two-pence) instead of a cow; and we learn from the *Becerro de Behetrias* (a sort of statistical book) that this was the plan adopted in former times. Now there is nothing settled on this account, so that a great many ruinous law-suits are undertaken for the exaction and payment of the *luctuosa*; and it would be a very wholesome improvement, that a certain sum of money should be generally agreed on and adopted, as an equivalent for the *luctuosa*, and if it could not be the *twenty-four maravedis* of old, at least it might be a moderate contribution.

There is in Galicia another sort of *luctuosa* known under the name of *abadia*, because it is paid to the rectors of parishes usually, called *abades* (abbots) in that kingdom. Those rectors, upon the death of their parishioners, used to receive the best garments or the bed of the dead person, and sometimes both. This tribute is not altogether incompatible with the *luctuosa*, since there are many parishes in which they pay the *luctuosa* to the jurisdictional seignor, and the *abadia* to the rector. Noblemen are exempted from the former, but not from the latter. This tribute is also known in other provinces in Spain, but on a moderate scale; upon the death of a *beneficiarius*, their heirs pay to the rector the clerical cap and the prayer-book of the deceased; but in some bishoprics in Galicia they are bound to pay the horse or mule of the deceased with the harness appertaining to it, the garment used by

the deceased just before his death, his prayer-book, his table with his table service, and moreover the tenth and eighth part of his property. This contribution is very ancient in Spain; but, nevertheless, it originated, no doubt, in violence and oppression. The very same seignors, who cannot but acknowledge the tyranny of this tribute, have come very often to a special agreement with their debtors, whereby this tax is reduced to a moderate sum.

The church in Spain acquired too, on account of her seignories, another sort of income called *infurcion*; or, as it is called in Galicia, *furnage*, which originated in the laws of Leon, under which authority, the kingdom of Galicia was populated after the conquest. In the 25th chapter of the ordinances of Leon, there is a regulation by which any possessor of a house built upon another's soil, is bound to pay to the seignor ten loaves of wheaten bread, half *cantara* of wine (2 gallons), and a good sheep, provided that he have neither a horse, nor an ass. Though this tribute is still in vigour, the seignors have substituted for it an equivalent sum of money, or a quantity of other fruits of the country.

The above-mentioned ordinance of Leon exempts from paying the said tribute those who possess either a horse or an ass, just because they were bound to employ their cattle in the service of the seignor two days in the year.

These and many other sorts of vassalage, an ancient relic of the feudal system, began to disappear gradually, the pecuniary taxes being more conformable to the present state of society than personal services. In the records of the Cortes of Valladolid, 1351, there are sundry indications of the tyrannical abuses introduced under this head; and in the 45th petition the Galicians complain of the covetousness of some seignors who extorted from them personal services without paying them as the ordinances directed. King Don Pedro the Justitiary issued some proclamations to protect his subjects from this oppression; but notwithstanding the justice of his measures, and the vigour usually displayed by that monarch, the described abuses still subsist in many places. Some ecclesiastical persons, particularly among the monks, receive still this sort of tribute, as a part of their patrimony, according to the principles of the feudal system.

There was in Spain another sort of seignorial pension, called *maneria*, by virtue of which the lord of a domain took possession of the property of any of his vassals who died without lawful heirs: this was a kind of reversion of the property, incident to the territorial dominion of the seignor: but this privilege was far from being a necessary consequence of the dominion, since we observe that it was granted to the monastery of Cardeña, many years after it had got the seignorial domain. A great many churches in Leon and Castilla were possessed of this privilege.

Another sort of income incident to the dominion, is the *laudemium*: the possessors of an *enfiteusis*, whenever they convey their lands to another person, must pay a pension to the *enfiteutic* seignor, as an acknowledgment of his dominion: the Spanish law reduced this pension to two per cent. of the price of the sale, which is, certainly, a moderate rate: but in spite of this statute, there are still a great many signors who extort five and even ten per cent. The church of Spain granted some lands of her domain under this sort of *enfiteutic* contract, and accordingly receives the *laudemium* in cases of conveyances.

There are many other kinds of dominical pensions enjoyed by the church in Spain on account of her seignories, which we purposely omit, being not very important.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Preseria; a contract known under this name.

1. Since the expulsion of the Saracens, the property of the church of Spain was greatly augmented, not only by the means already described, but by some others very little known before that period. We are aware, that, from the times of St. Augustin, some Christians

used to grant their property to the church, keeping, however, for themselves, and during their lifetime, the usufruct of it. This sort of contract is called *Precaria* by the decretalists. It was already known in Spain from the time of the Goths; since we find it mentioned in the records of the sixth council of Toledo; but at the same time it appears that it was not very often practised. After the expulsion of the Moors from the Peninsula, more frequent mention is made of the *Precariæ*, as we find people at that epoch giving their property to the church, with the condition of retaining it during their lives; and thus it acquired the dominion of it, leaving the usufruct to the donors until their deaths. Others consecrated to God all their goods, giving the property and usufruct to the church. Its administration was entrusted to the ecclesiastical ministers, who also took care to provide the givers with all they wanted.

2. The exemption of tributes that the property of the church enjoyed, was a very powerful inducement for many to give up their patrimony, with the agreement of retaining it during their lives, paying a small pension in acknowledgment of the dominion which they had given up. The people with pleasure made these donations, because from their liberality the very donors derived profit. The tax which the church imposed was as light as they could wish; and generally they did not pay so much, by reason of the property so contributed as before they had yielded it up. With this artifice, what they lost by their donations was very little; but this miserly liberality was highly prejudicial to their fellow-citizens, because what they did not pay to the royal exchequer was overcharged to the other contributors.

3. It appears that this corrupt practice was more common in the kingdom of Arragon than in that of Castille, because I have no knowledge of any precaution being taken but of that in the Cortes of Saragossa, in the year 1372. In it, at the instance of the people, it was determined that those who made donations of their property to the clergy or to the church, with the condition of retaining it, should pay all the while that they possessed it, the same royal taxes that they did before they made such donations.

4. The church was acquiring by degrees as much revenue and as many privileges as it now possesses in Spain: as the patrimony of the church increased the hatred of the people, who could not see with indifference so much property taken from those liable to pay taxes, leaving so little to meet the weight of taxation, in a time when wars were of daily occurrence.

5. The clamours of the people moved our kings to put a stop to the unlimited power the church possessed of acquiring not only by general laws but also by particular charters. In the twelfth century the Spaniards were so displeased with the acquisitions of the church, that in the charter which Alfonso VII. gave to Baena, he introduced the following law:—"No one shall sell or give to "the monks, or men of religious order, "any real property; because, as their "order prohibits them to sell or give "real property to laymen, so it is pro- "hibited to you (laymen) by your "charter and custom, to do the same." All these limitations lost their vigour in consequence of the dreadful plague which afflicted Spain in the years 1349-50; and all former complaints were renewed which our sovereigns had endeavoured to silence with their orders.

6. In the year 1351, the Cortes met in Valladolid, by order of Don Pedro the Cruel, and the representatives of the towns repeatedly urged the renewal of the laws of amertization; but as the tumults of that reign did not allow the consolidation of such dispositions, their desires were never fulfilled. From that period the property of the church continued to increase, as was confessed by the Spanish clergy, in the convocations of 1608. By the information taken for the establishment of one general tax, we know that the ecclesiastical revenue of the twenty-two provinces of Castille, amounted to 29,713,667 reals; but we know, too, that in the year 1747 the number of churchmen consisted of

137,627. All these were to be maintained with the revenues arising from the patrimony of the church of Spain; besides the great number of laymen servants, who were provided for at his expense, the indispensable cost of the worship and repairing of so many churches, hermitages, seminaries, colleges, hospitals, and monasteries, where a great portion of the Spanish youth is educated, and the sick poor cured with much care and attended to. It will be a matter of wonder to one divested of prejudice, to know the economy with which churchmen divide their revenues, taking into consideration the enormous expenses required for the performance of so many obligations which fall upon the patrimony of the church, the sum which the king receives, and the part appropriated to the military orders. This admiration will be further increased, when it is seen, that after satisfying the above-mentioned charges, there remains sufficient to serve the state, not only in ordinary and perpetual necessities, but also in the extraordinary ones, as the nation always found in the church a prompt and not a scanty succour. The only thing to be justly desired, is, the more equal distribution of the patrimony of the church among her ministers.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Oblations and First Fruits.

1. When Jesus Christ established his church, the only patrimony he assigned to the ministers of the gospel was the charity of the faithful. The Christians, from the beginning, presented to the ministers, through their offerings, what was necessary for their maintenance. These offerings were always voluntary contributions of the faithful. Our holy bishops abhorred the idea of any being compelled to present them. This novelty was not authorised in our church until the expulsion of the Saracens. The faithful offered voluntarily to God, through the ministers, bread, wine, money, deeds of donations of real property, and, lastly, anything they chose.

2. In the council of Braga it was prohibited to offer on the altar more than bread, wine, and water. But, notwithstanding the Christians refrained not from offering the same oblations, it is true that the offerings were not presented at the sacred table, but in a place appointed for the purpose of collecting them, called Gazo-Phylacium, where the deacons examined whether those who made offerings to God were worthy of having their offerings received; because no one was allowed to offer who was not permitted to communicate. These offerings were afterwards divided by the deacons between the ministers of the church, according to their merits and necessities, but with the due subordination to the bishop.

3. In the first ages the custom of offerings was very frequent. St. Cyprian, St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and St. Charles Borremens, full of holy zeal, tried to preserve and re-establish this custom. In truth, they were not induced to promote this pious custom, on account of the advantages the clergy derived from the offerings, but on account of the spiritual benefits of the faithful themselves. The mother of St. Augustin never dared to approach the altar, without offering to God some part of the gifts which she had received from his bountiful hand. All those were grieved whose offerings were not accepted by the deacons, because the Eliberitan fathers, for punishing those who did not communicate, had prohibited their offerings being received. In the present day the custom of offering is so much out of use, that no one would be aggrieved by being prevented from offering; as this pious custom is only preserved in the villages of some provinces, where the simplicity of the inhabitants adheres tenaciously to the old traditions.

4. The great accumulation of property acquired by the church has been a powerful inducement to the people to discontinue their oblations; as we now wonder at the liberality with which many great towns contribute to the maintenance of so many monks, whose only patrimony is the charity of the inhabitants. We see, too, that notwith-

standing some of the rectors are in greater want of those alms than the very friars, the parishioners are more inclined to present them to the convents than to parish churches, because they do not consider them in so great necessity.

5. To remedy this abuse, and to prevent the rectors of poor churches being in want of the necessities of life, the diocesan synods were obliged to take some methods that were considered indispensable. In some bishoprics it was necessary to oblige parishioners to make offerings. But to prevent disputes, which would be the consequence of forced offerings, it was determined what the people should offer for baptisms, weddings, and funerals; and in some synods it was determined, too, what was presented to the minister at the hour of death.

6. By virtue of those measures, authorised by royal laws, the rectors received as legitimate debts the offerings of their parishioners, and gave to them, justly, the name of parochial rights. In almost all the provinces of Spain, though nothing should be offered to the church on account of an individual deceased, yet the heirs are obliged to pay, in the way of offering what is assigned to the rector, without discount, according to the custom of the country. The offerings made at the funerals served not only as an atonement for the dead, but also as a sign that the deceased died in the communion of the faithful: for this reason the custom of offerings was justly introduced in the first ages.

7. There is no doubt that the rectors, not having sufficient means of subsistence, might oblige the parishioners to make offerings; but they would not be such if they were not made willingly, because God appreciates only that which is offered to him with holy cheerfulness. To obviate this inconvenience, and to remove from the clergy the slightest shade of covetousness, it was prohibited by St. Charles, the most zealous promoter of canonical discipline, that the presbyters of Milan should receive, even under the title of alms, any thing for the administration of the sacraments. Necessity sometimes obliges the most zealous prelates to relax something from the strictest discipline; therefore it is not strange that, in some of our synods, measures may have been taken contrary to those of St. Charles. There are various churches in Spain whose revenues are not sufficient for the maintenance of its rectors, therefore it was necessary to provide for their subsistence. Notwithstanding, it appears that there was no necessity of laws general to all the dioceses, if especial measures were enough to relieve the poverty of some of their churches.

8. Daily experience shows us the reluctance with which those involuntary contributions are presented by the faithful, and the liberality with which they offer when no precept impels them. Man naturally abhors coercion, and legislators ought to accommodate themselves to his ideas if they wish their laws to be permanent. As the people of Navarra had no precept which obliged them to make offerings in the new masses and baptisms, they showed themselves so liberal in their donations that it was necessary to limit their generosity.

We find, too, that in various provinces of Spain, the peasants offer sparingly on the days when they should present their oblations to God, and they shew their liberality in the funerals of their fellow-citizens when they are not compelled to make offerings.

9. In the first ages of the church the custom of oblations was general, as no one, unless very poor, approached the altar without some offering; and we lament the discontinuance of so pious a custom

In the funerals all made abundant offerings to God for the souls of the departed, and at the end of the fatal year they repeated them, celebrating with the priests and the poor a pious anniversary in commemoration of them. This custom is preserved now only in some villages, and though in almost all the kingdom something is offered by the heirs of him whose obsequies are celebrated, but not being voluntarily offered it is rejected by God.

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10. The holy archbishop of Milan was desirous of restoring this custom in his diocese as a thing so commended in the ancient law; as a thing practised from the time of the apostles, interrupted by the corruption of custom, and impugned only by the enemies of the church, but would not impose upon the people confided to his care any precept for offering. His zeal was satisfied with recommending to the preachers to instruct the faithful in the usefulness of making offerings to God, in order to obtain his pardon for their sins by presenting to the Creator through the hands of his ministers so acceptable a worship.

11. The synod celebrated in Oviedo in the year 1769, followed as nearly as possible in the steps of St. Charles, by preserving in the diocese the use of oblations which should not have the defect of want of willingness, and ordained that the people should continue offering in all the parishes where they were established; at the same time leaving to their choice the quality and quantity of such offering.

Before the invasion of the Saracens, all were buried in their parish churches, because the churches of the monasteries had not the privileges they now enjoy, that of burying the dead. After their expulsion, many parishes were given to the care of the monks, and their churches converted into monasteries, in whose yards were interred the parishioners. The kings and grandees founded many monasteries, where they generally were buried; and their example, and the privileges given to the monks to the prejudice of the rectors, were powerful stimulants to the faithful in preferring the sepulchres of the convents to those of the churches, where during life they had received the sacraments. The offerings were brought with the corpses, and though all the oblations made in limits of the parishes belonged to the rector, the friars received them justly if according to the will of the deceased persons, because they depended on the inclination of the offerers, and the same Deity it was to whom they were consecrated in the parishes and in the monasteries.

13. Those offerings were necessary for the proper maintenance of the rectors, and it was right that he who administered the spiritual food to the faithful while living, should receive some remuneration at their death. It was therefore ordained by our laws, that if any one should be buried out of his parish church for the sake of defrauding the rector, the rector could claim the body and the accompanying offer. It was also ordained, that any person might choose his own place of interment, provided he left some legacy to his own parish church; at the same time giving the rector the right of taking the fourth part of all the offerings made in the churches where their parishioners were buried, excepting those which had a determined purpose.

14. The poverty of the parish churches has been the cause of the rectors having acquired, by an uninterrupted custom, the right of receiving from their parishioners various taxes under the name of offerings. It appears, that the causes of those offerings having ceased in many parishes, the rights ought to have ceased also, yet they still continue to exact them in the same way.

15. Most of the abbots of Galicia (rectors) are not in need of such means to maintain themselves as respectably as their order requires, and therefore would willingly admit a law prohibiting such oblations, as being excessive; but until this be done, they will continue to receive them. Some of them believe that their conscience requires them to preserve all the rights belonging to their churches: others fear that their superiors will punish their apparent negligence: and there are others also who have not sufficient with the richest livings to satisfy their covetousness and unbounded luxuries; so that there is but little hope for the Galicians to be freed from the oppressive yoke of so many taxes.

16. At this epoch the patrimony of the church was augmented by another species of offering unknown in the fifteenth century. Our laws prescribe that the executors commissioned to

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disposed of the property of the testators, may employ the fifth part of the inheritance for the prayers of their souls. They decree, too, that if the executor does not accomplish his commission within a year, the property of the deceased may pass to their heirs at law, with the obligation of distributing the fifth part of it in favour of his soul if they are not legitimate descendants or ascendants of him to whom they succeed. Authorised by these laws, the ecclesiastical judges, and even the rectors, disposed of the fifth part of the inheritance. This was expended in prayers, and the produce acquired by the church and the clergy; but the inheritors were deprived of the power of distributing it in the pious marks they would have wished, and which was given them by the law.

17. Not satisfied with this, they extended the above-mentioned provisions to cases where no will was left, so that notwithstanding the law of Toro, the rectors consumed the fifth part of the property of their parishioners who died intestate, in prayers, even though they had legitimate ascendants or descendants. Certainly this was an abuse contrary to the pious intentions of the church. To remedy this, it was ordained that the rectors should not compel the inheritors of their parishioners to expend in prayers the fifth part of the inheritance as formerly. The only thing now allowed them is to inform the judge to whose jurisdiction the defendant belongs, that he should compel him to celebrate the obsequies according to the custom of the country.

18. There are in Spain some churches which by reason of some especial vow receive from the towns some taxes. Their inhabitants, grateful for the benefit received from God, through the intercession of some saints, made themselves tributary, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of their gratitude. The two most famous offerings are those of the vows of St. Millan and St. James.

19. When Don Ramiro I. assembled the Spanish army to free his vassals from the infamous tribute of the one hundred maids, he saw this famous apostle St. James fighting in his favour, and since then, our armies begin their battles with the cry of St. James; and it is believed, that since that time he was recognised patron of Spain; and grateful for the singular benefit of the glorious victory obtained at Clavijo, through the mediation of St. James, made himself tributary to his holy church. We are not acquainted with the amount of the pension assigned, and it therefore depends upon custom, which is different in the different towns which are subject to this tax.

20. In the year 938, the brave Abderramen, king of Cordova, and the Mahometan princes of Africa and Spain united, formed an army of 150 thousand foot soldiers, and 50 thousand horse, and threatened the total ruin of the Christians. The first who appeared to check their pride, was the King of Leon, who after having implored the protection of St. James in his own temple, met the enemy at Simancas, and gained a famous battle. The Moors who escaped from the army of Leon, met in their flight with the Castillians, who under the command of Count Fernan Gonzalez, put an end to them. Those victories were as useful to the kingdom of Leon, as to that of Castille, and both grateful to divine favour; the Count and his people obliged themselves with solemn vows to pay to the monastery of St. Millan, linen, oxen, wine, and other produce of their lands. The Castillians paid this tax for some years, but it is not at present recognised.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Alms for Masses.

1. Our Saviour not only offered himself at the cross a ransom for the human race, but, remaining among men, would that we should every day renew the memory of his sacred passion. For this purpose he gave to his apostles and successors the power of consecrating his precious body and blood. From the beginning the church never failed to celebrate the sacred mysteries, establishing certain forms of prayer which differed according to times, and the different disciplines of different provinces.

2. The celebration of this holy sacrifice, called mass, a word derived according to some, from the Hebrew *Misack*, which means, oblation or offering, and according to others, from the word *Mes*, which means among the northern nations, festivity or congregation. St. Isidore says, that this word mass comes from the Latin *Missio*, which signifies leave, because the faithful should not go out of the church until dismissed by the minister, and they have received his benediction.

3. Though from the time of the apostles, private masses were used among the Christians, the faithful were not admitted to them, as the church always desired that all should be present and assist at the masses, which the bishops celebrated with their clergy; which is the present practice in some cathedrals on certain days. It seems that this discipline began to change when the piety of the Christians relaxed, and they failed in their attendance at the sacred table. We know that at the time of St. Augustin, it was prohibited that the priests should admit the faithful to private masses, on holy days. This prohibition existed yet in the eighth century, as Theodolphus, Bishop of Orleans, who flourished in the year 781, repeated a similar precept in the instructions to his diocese.

4. In Spain the same discipline was observed, because, though in the first council of Toledo it was determined that all churchmen should be present at the mass, which was celebrated daily at the principal church, the priests were not prohibited from celebrating one or more private masses each day. According to ancient discipline the priest could only celebrate one mass at each altar, and therefore we see that in the churches there were altars besides the principal one. This is proved by the inscription copied by the bishop, Don Pelago, which, though after the councils of Toledo, shows that this discipline was then already introduced in Spain; as the ecclesiastical laws made by the Goths were observed in the first ages of the restoration of this monarchy.

5. The faithful were participators in the spiritual advantages of the mass, by means of oblations, and therefore the church wished that all should offer, though this privilege was not available to every one. The person who made an offering was admitted to the communion, and as among the Christians there were always some who on account of their crimes could not be admitted, it was ordered that their offering should not be accepted until their re-admission to the communion of the faithful, at the end of their canonical penance.

6. The deacons were to examine into the merits of the offerers to participate in the divine mysteries, and received or rejected their offerings. After this scrutiny the oblations were made at the end of the singing of the creed, and after the offerers were named by the deacons, the priests prayed for them in particular.

7. Though the sacrifice of the mass is of infinite value on account of the sacred victim offered in it, the church always believed that especial application was of great importance to the faithful; for which reason St. Monica requested her son St. Augustin always to make mention of her in the holy sacrifice. This custom was very popular in Spain from the first Christian ages, and we find in the Muzarabic missals, prayers pronounced by the priests after naming each of the offerers, and even at the present day those especial commemorations are made in the mementos.

8. In the council of Merida, 666, it was ordained that the priests every Sunday in their churches should make especial commemoration in the mass, of the founders and benefactors, whether alive or dead. This gratitude demonstrated by the church towards her benefactors still continues in an improved degree, as, instead of a weekly mass for them, one is daily performed in all cathedrals and monasteries, and the same celebrated in parish churches for their parishioners on the days in which they are required to attend the mass.

9. In it offerings were presented to God by the faithful, through the priest, of any thing they thought proper, but generally they consisted of bread

and wine, of which sufficient was consecrated for present use, and the rest divided between the bishop and priests in the cathedrals, and the rector and his ministers in parish churches.

10. In the council of Braga, 572, it was prohibited to offer any other things than wine, bread, and water, but notwithstanding others were made and deposited in the appointed place, as is mentioned by Cardinal Bona. But it does not appear that money was offered in Spain at mass previous to the council of Merida, 666; in its canonical rules we find that at the time the faithful communicated, which was only at the mass, they offered money for the maintenance of the priests.

11. It does not appear that in any of the western churches any other bread was used but the common sort, before the seventh century; and if, at a time when only common bread was used at the mass, the ministers accepted offerings of money, it is not likely they would refuse it when it was necessary to buy a particular kind for the sacrament. This custom was established in Spain, 693, by the sixteenth council of Toledo, when it was ordained that the priests should in future consecrate, instead of common bread, small white loaves made for that purpose. From that time offerings of money were more frequently made.

12. In the time of St. Augustin these offerings were customary, as he writes to Bishop Valeries, that if any one should offer money it should directly be divided among the poor. St. Peter Damianus, who lived in 1057, says, that a duchess offered to him, while saying mass, some monies of gold named *Byzancious*; and the same saint having found a piece of money when a boy, presented it to a priest to say mass for the soul of his father, according to his Life written by John the Monk. Honorius Augustodomensis, who lived in 1130, says, that after the faithful began to absent themselves from the communions, the custom of offering money in the mass commenced. From these facts it appears that in the twelfth century this custom was already general.

13. The faithful made their offerings for the maintenance of the priests, which was thus secured. He who officiates at the altar, should be maintaind by the altar, as says St. Paul. To participate in the offerings was to receive an equivalent for the introduction of unfermented bread or azymus, the offerings in kind having ceased. St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Mes, who lived in 1750, was of opinion that the priest might receive any alms from the faithful, and dispose of it as he pleased. This opinion is approved by the divines of the church, because the priest does not receive the money on account of the consecration, but for his maintenance.

14. According to the old canonical rules, offerings made in the mass were divided among all the clergy, but we do not know when those offerings began to be considered as belonging to the officiating priest. Some think that this custom was not established until the twelfth century, but we may presume that it commenced in Spain in the sixth, or perhaps before.

15. In the council of Tarragona, 516, it was ordained that in churches where there were many priests, they should officiate weekly, alternately, each receiving the offerings during his week of office. This decree occasioned many dissensions, and to obviate them it was ordained in the council of Braga, that one of the churchmen should receive all the offerings made in the commemorations of the dead, and in the festivities of the martyrs, and should be distributed among all once or twice in the year; an order which had no reference to the churches which had but one priest, in this case he received every thing offered.

16. The last-mentioned decree comprehended only the offerings on holy days, but those made in private masses belonged to the officiating priest. This is the meaning of the council of Merida, in whose acts we find that one third was adjudged to the bishop, another to the priests and deacons, and another to the rest of the clergy. The bishops then celebrated the solemn masses, and it was but just that they should receive a greater recompense for their trouble. This proportion between the merit and

reward was the principal ground for the decree of the council of Merida, and upon this principle the offerings of private masses belonged to the officiating priest only, therefore this custom is supposed to have originated in this epoch.

17. The piety of the Christians began to cool in the fourth century. During the persecutions, the Spaniards communicated in all the masses at which they were present, but after peace was conceded they began to cool in their assistance at the sacred table, so that it was found necessary to deprive of the right of offering all those who did not communicate, with the view of exciting them to assist more frequently. This evil increased so much, that notwithstanding the above-mentioned punishment, very few received the communion, and the first council of Toledo was obliged to renew, with certain modifications, the before-mentioned decree, in favour of the many who did not receive the communion.

18. Those deprived of the right of offering, could only partake of the fruits of the sacrifice through the means of alms. Many of the priests were poor, and lived at the expense of the faithful, whose liberality they repaid by applying to them the especial fruits of the masses. We therefore see introduced the custom of receiving alms on account of the said application in the middle of the eighth century.

19. In the ninth, there were many in France who thought that the priests ought to receive but one offering in each mass, in the persuasion that the greater was the number of offerings the less was their merit. This opinion was perhaps new, as in the preceding ages no one believed that the multiplicity of offerings diminished the merit of those who consecrated them to God, and the church was rather anxious that all those who assisted at mass should offer, but when this opinion gained ground it was natural that the priest should receive but one offering at each mass.

20. It is not known whether this discipline of the church of France was introduced into Spain in that century, though it is probable from the great intercourse between the two nations; and Cardinal Bona says, that the discipline of the two churches was the same. The first information we have about the stipend of the mass, is from the eleventh century. The only mention made of it in our history is, that Doña Mayer Sanchez, daughter of Count Don Sancho, in her will, dated 1066, left the third part of a number of cows which she had in Asturias, in order to celebrate masses for her soul.

21. This custom was the cause of many abuses, as many priests, faithful followers of Judas, offered for sale the precious body and blood of Christ, making various conditions for the infamous price to be given for the mass; others celebrated many masses, not for the sake of spiritual advantages, but to satisfy their unbounded thirst for gold. In vain Alexander II. tried to put a stop to those abuses, prohibiting the priest from celebrating more than one mass daily, as they despised his decree, consecrating at once as many wafers as they had received offerings.

22. These and other similar disorders did not escape the censure of the church. The zeal of the bishops armed itself with sufficient energy to extinguish them. The origin of these disorders proceeded from the poverty of the clergy and the abominable crime of simony, so prevalent in those miserable ages. In the present day we are free from those defects, though not from others.

23. The celebrated Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, who lived in 840, declaimed forcibly against the covetousness of the priests, who kept up the idea that no alms were useful to the dead, but those given to the priests to say masses for their souls. Perhaps there are among us some who maintain this opinion, as we see many testators distributing all their inheritances in stipends for masses, without remembering the poor of the hospitals and houses of charity. The advisers of such persons should remember the doctrine of the celebrated Melcho Cano, who, upon the authority of Paul and James, says, that the purest act of religion is to visit the sick, to

comfort the fatherless and the widow, and to love our neighbour as ourselves.

24. After works of charity began to be substituted for canonical penances, the desire of satisfying divine justice, without the pain or trouble of mortifications, was very ardent among the Christians. Our king, Alfonso VII., in the twelfth century, said, as prayers, fasting, and alms banish sins, and we do not know how to fast and pray properly, it is well that we should with our alms make the fasts and prayers of the servants of God ours. The Abbot Reginon says, that one mass remits twelve days of penance, and ten masses four months. This discipline necessarily multiplied the alms, for it was more natural that the rich should prefer expiating their crimes with masses than by personal mortifications.

25. In the twelfth century, the mendicant friars were introduced into the church, whose evangelical profession did not allow them, at the commencement, any other property than the charity of the faithful. They received their alms, and their mass was applied generally for all their benefactors, as is now practised by the Capuchins, by which the pious custom of giving alms for the application of masses was increased. In other religious orders, the prelates received those alms, and necessity obliged some of them to compel, indirectly, their subjects to celebrate the mass daily. It would be desirable that no one should be compelled to say mass every day, because all have not the necessary zeal, nor are all who inhabit monasteries faultless; but these abuses will continue while priests are poor.

26. The income of many of the monasteries of Spain consists principally of the alms for masses; and the portion assigned for the maintenance of the priests is so small in almost all the dioceses, that without this help they could not subsist for three months; and therefore those alms should be considered as church revenue: as such they are considered by the council of Trent, and by different diocesan synods, which regulate the stipend of the masses in proportion to the value of provisions. It is true that, according to the declaration of Urban VIII., the priests ought not to attend so much to this regulation as to the will of the giver.

(To be continued.)

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP, No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6*s.* a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14*s.*

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10*d.* a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9*d.* a pound; above 100lbs., 8½*d.* A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant*

this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6*d.* a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, FIRST *as bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; SECOND, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; THIRD, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; FOURTH, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; FIFTH, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans

make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE. £.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly TWO RODS	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

OFFICIAL PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENT.

THE number of four-penny stamps issued from the Stamp-Office for all the London newspapers in the year 1831, was 22,048,509, for the supply of twelve daily journals, four three-day a week, fifty-six weekly papers, and the Government *Gazette*, out of which number Mr. Clement, the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, used, for that journal and his three weekly papers, 2,269,850. Mr. Clement alone consumed many more than one-tenth of the London press, daily, three-day, and weekly put together,—the total number of stamps had for all the London newspapers in the past year, 1831, having been 22,048,509; of which Mr. Clement issued 2,269,850, being 138,000 more than his consumption in the preceding year of 1830.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 30, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

HARRIS, R., Cheshunt, Herts, carpenter.

BANKRUPTS.

BALLINGER, J., Orchard-place, Kingsland-road, grocer.
COHEN, L. E., Brighton, printer.
DAVY, J. H., Parker-st., Drury-lane, coach-wheelwright.
HARRISON, G., Ebury-place, Pimlico, builder.
HEWETSON, H., Strand, carpet-dealer.
KENT, B., Bungay, Suffolk, innkeeper.
MACBEAN, D. jun., Liverpool, merchant.
WARE, G., Cranborne, Dorsets., ironmonger.
WEBB, C. T., Newport, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ADIE, R., Dallirie, woollen-manufacturer.
BEGG, J., Airdrie, builder.
MACDONALD and Ormiston, Edinburgh, cloth-merchants.
RUSSELL, A. and J., Whitcleugh, Lanarkshire, farmers.

TUESDAY, APRIL 3, 1832.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

DEAN, H., Nelson-st., Greenwich, tobacconist.
MAYELL, W., Exeter, jeweller.
THOMAS, N., Manchester, upholsterer.

BANKRUPTS.

AUBREY, J., Hatton-garden, money-scrivener.
BADCOCK, J., Shrivenham, Berkshire, linen-draper.
BEARD, J., Ludworth, Derbysh., corn-dealer.
BUNTING, R., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, lapidary.
ELLIS, R., Cirencester, Gloucesters., mercer.
HORSFALL, S., Halifax, dyer.
MERCER, J., Thrapston, Northamptonshire, innkeeper.
THORNTON, R., Horsham, Sussex, common-brewer.
TOON, H., Cornwall-rd., Waterloo-rd., grocer.
WATHEN, J., Rodborough, Gloucestershire, clothier.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GOW, L. R., Falkirk, Stirlings., cloth-merchant.
MORRIS, Kirkwood, and Co., Glasgow, warehousemen.
WATSON, W. S., Edinburgh, picture-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 2.—Our supplies have been moderately good since this day se'nnight, as to English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat and barley, as also English and Scotch malt, English and foreign flour, English beans, and Irish and Scotch oats. Of English and foreign oats, with rye, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, but limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by buyers.—In the early part of it advanced prices were rather stiffly demanded for oats and peas generally, and, in some few

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instances, for very superior samples of white wheat; but, as either the still abundant state of the import flour stock, advanced state of the malting season, or slackness of consumption on account of many families still leaving or remaining from town from dread of cholera infection, had induced buyers to anticipate a general abatement, the trade was, with each kind of corn, as also pulse, malts, seeds, and flour, exceedingly dull, at last Monday's quotations.

Wheat	50s. to 65s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	24s. to 33s.
——— fine	35s. to 41s.
Peas, White	35s. to 39s.
——— Boilers	38s. to 44s.
——— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to 27s.
——— Poland	22s. to 25s.
——— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	46s. to 50s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 50s.
Pork, India, new	182s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	—s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	84s. to 88s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	84s. to 94s.
——— Cork	88s. to 90s.
——— Limerick	88s. to 90s.
——— Waterford	80s. to 86s.
——— Dublin	76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire	56s. to 76s.
——— Gloucester, Double	56s. to 64s.
——— Gloucester, Single	48s. to 54s.
——— Edam	48s. to 54s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 52s.
Hams, Irish	58s. to 65s.

SMITHFIELD.—April 2.

This day's supply was throughout rather limited; but, though considerable numbers of its sheep and beasts were kept back, and brought in a few at a time, as these sold were turned out, to make it appear more limited than it was, for the purpose of producing a briskness, the trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at, though nothing beneath, but little variation from Friday's quotations. The general quality of the beasts was unusually prime.

Beasts, 2,516; sheep and lambs, 17,320; calves, 92; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 6.

The arrivals this week are small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83¼	83⅜	83⅛	83⅛	83⅜	83⅛

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This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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4. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5*s.*

5. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Greenhouses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6*s.*

6. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14*s.* bound in boards.

7. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5*s.*

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8. SERMONS:—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6*d.*

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14. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

15. ROMAN HISTORY, French and English, intended, not only as a History for Young People to read, but as a Book of Exercises to accompany my French Grammar. Two Volumes. Price 13*s.* in boards.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 14TH, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*

REFORM BILL.

Kensington, 12th April, 1832.

I AM almost tired of writing the above two words: they have been before my readers so long, that the sight of them becomes what that of the spade is to a digger, a thing rather displeasing than otherwise. "What!" exclaims to himself every man that has any sense and spirit left; "What! are we yet "without this bill! Are *three or four* "*hundred men* still *debating* whether "*twenty millions* shall remain in a state "of degradation, and sixteen or eighteen "millions of them in actual misery, or "be restored to their rights and to hap-"piness! Are these three or four hun-"dred *still debating*, whether the pen-"sion, sinecure, grant, allowance, and "dead-weight lists shall, or shall not "remain, to press the working people "to the earth! Are they still *deliberat-"ing* whether we shall, at the end of "eighteen years of profound peace, pay "for a standing army as great as we "had to pay for in war, and pay, at the "same time, for a *gendarmerie à la* "*Bourbon*, with swords by their sides! "Are they still making it *a question*, whe-"ther we shall continue to pay tithes to "this church, and pay *poor-rates* and "*church-rates* at the same time! Are "they, *they*, still making it a matter of "*debate*; THEY making it a matter "*debate*, whether the eighteen *working* "*millions*, who make all the food and "all the raiment, shall have anything "but potatoes to eat, and anything but "rags to cover them!" Such are the indignant exclamations of every man of sense and spirit, when he sees the above two words in print, and when he reads the stupid and impudent stuff which the publishers of newspapers put forth, under the name of "*debates*," and which publications would disgrace any club of sots, met for the purpose of smoking and drinking. I shall, however, notice (and I do hope for the last time) the stuff, called speeches, that have now been published under the name of *debates of the Lords on the Reform Bill*; premising that I do not ascribe the stuff to the Lords, but look on it as the ropy proceeds of the brains of a parcel of stupid *reporthers*, who must have been *drunk* into the bargain, and must have smelt as strong of offal gin as any pig-sty of any distiller in the vicinity of this beastly WEN.

The SECOND READING of the bill was moved by Lord GREY, on Monday, the 9th instant. But, before that motion, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM (Grenville) presented a petition against the bill, and gave notice of his intention to bring in *another bill* if this were thrown out. This is important matter, and therefore I will take the words of the *reporthers*.

"The Duke of BUCKINGHAM presented "a petition from freeholders of the coun-"ty of Buckingham (as we understood), "against the Reform Bill at present be-"fore the House, on the ground that, "although a moderate reform might be "necessary and expedient, this bill was "revolutionary. The petition was most "respectably signed. He did not think "it necessary to state is contents more "particularly. But, on moving that it "be laid on the table, he would take the "opportunity of giving notice that, in "case the second reading of the Reform "Bill now before the House should be "negatived, as he sincerely wished and "confidently hoped it would be, it was "his intention, *on Monday next, to bring* "*in a bill* for giving two representatives "in Parliament to those large towns "which, by their opulence and commer-"cial importance, were entitled to be

"represented, although at present they "were not represented. This would be "the first object of the bill. A second "object of the bill would be to conjoin "and consolidate certain boroughs, each "of which now returned two members to "Parliament, so as to return two mem-"bers for the consolidated boroughs; the "purpose of this being to prevent the in-"convenience of an addition to the pre-"sent numbers of the House of Commons "by the introduction of members for "places not before represented. And a "third provision of the bill would be to "extend the elective franchise to persons "not now entitled to vote, so as to prevent "the abuse of the elective franchise in "boroughs. In order to prove that he "was seriously resolved to bring in this "bill in the event which he had men-"tioned, he proposed that the notice "should be entered in the books, and "that the Lords be summoned for Mon-"day next."

Good! So we have now *two parliamentary reforms!* Instead of no reform at all, we have the two parties contending for the honour of giving us a reform! How different from the declaration of the *Duke of Strathfieldsay*, when he was our *Prime Cock!* And let us now, before we go any further, see what that declaration was, for it is a thing, not only not to be *forgotten* by the people, but something for a reformed Parliament to take into view, when they will be inquiring (as I trust they soon will be) into past transactions, and particularly into transactions connected with this man. The declaration, as published in the newspapers, was as follows:—

The Duke of WELLINGTON. "But then "the noble Earl had recommended the "expedient of *Parliamentary Reform*, "and remarked that he did not think "that the Government was as yet pre-"pared with any plan on the subject. "The noble Earl was right, for cer-"tainly the Government was not pre-"pared with any plan of Parliamentary "Reform. I will go further, and say, "that *I never heard that any country "ever had a more improved or more "satisfactory representation than this "country enjoys at this moment.* I do "not mean to enter upon that subject "now, as it is probable we shall have "abundant opportunities to consider it "afterwards; but I do say that this coun-"try has now a Legislature *more calcu-"lated to answer all the purposes of a good "Legislature than any other that can "well be devised*—that it possesses, and "deservedly possesses, *the confidence of "the country*, and that its discussions "have a powerful influence in the "country. And I will say further, that "if I had to form a Legislature, I would "create one—not equal in *excellence to-"the present*, for that *I could not ex-"pect to be able to do*, but something "as nearly of the same description as "possible. I should form it of men "possessed of a very large proportion "of the property of the country, in "which the landholders should have a "great preponderance. I, therefore, "am not prepared with any measure of "Parliamentary Reform, *nor shall any "measure of the kind be proposed* BY "THE GOVERNMENT AS LONG "AS I HOLD MY PRESENT POSI-"TION."

We have this, then, *safely upon record*; and, it never ought to be forgotten by the people of England. If we were to believe the drunken *reporther*, "his Grace of *Strathfieldsay*" has softened somewhat; for the reporther says, that, in this *debate*, he said, that when the Duke of Buckingham's Bill came before the House, he would give it *his best consideration*, with a view to see *whether it could be safely passed into a law?* Oh, oh! he is becoming complying, then, is he! If he be ready to consider, whether *disfranchisement, enfranchisement*, and *extension of suffrage*, may not safely be adopted, what becomes of his declaration of *2nd November* 1830? That is gone, at any rate; or, rather, it remains, and will live for ever as a standard of the size of his capacity for governing a country. A little while before he made this memorable declaration, I advised him to give *some little reform*, as the effectual means of keeping the hungry WHIGS out of place. Thank God, he did not follow my advice; for if he had, we might have been noodled

along for another year or two, gaping for the further good things that he had in store for us. He now sees his error; but he sees it *too late:* like all men of this description, he becomes *wise* by tasting the fruits of his *folly*. What! It was bad enough to see him and his equally-wise colleague, PEEL's-BILL-PEEL, tack about, and propose *Catholic Emancipation*; but that was nothing to this; for here, if the *reporther* do not lie, he is ready to consider, whether that may not be *changed*, which he declared to be the most perfect system of legislation that the world had ever seen, and the equal of which no human wit could devise.

Having read the *reporther's* account of what passed in this *debate*, I shall remark on certain parts of it, knowing, at the same time, that to do even this, demands some apology to my readers. The debates have gone, as far as Wednesday night, this being Thursday morning. They are to end, it seems, on Friday, owing to the complaisance of Lord GREY towards the Strathfieldsay-Duke; and here let me stop to observe, that Lord Grey has lost, with the country, more by his unaccountable complaisance towards this man than it is possible for me to describe. The main body of the people are *sincere*; and they find it extremely difficult to believe, that the Minister can be sincere towards them, while he carries his complaisance to such a surprising extent, towards this great enemy of their cause, whose insulting declaration of 1830 they have never forgotten and never will forget, and with which declaration, I, for my part, have yet not done. In truth, Lord GREY has suffered prodigiously for his general complaisance towards the enemies of reform. STURGES BOURNE, for instance, quitted his seat rather than support reform, and the Minister seems to have been hugging him to his bosom ever since. HORACE TWISS lost his seat by his strenuous opposition to the first bill; and Lord GREY gives him a sinecure place, and he is now writing pamphlets against his Ministry and his measures. In short, to have been a bitter opponent of the bill and an abuser of the people seems to have been a title to favour with this Ministry, ever since they have been in power. For this reason their sincerity has been suspected, and is yet suspected, by every body. The people are indignant at seeing themselves taxed for the support of great swarms of the openly-avowed enemies of that reform which they are all so anxious to obtain.

The bill, if it pass a second reading, is, it seems, to go into a committee on Monday next; so that we shall soon know the result. With regard to the speeches, they contain, and they could contain, *nothing new*; but, there are two or three topics on which I shall offer a few remarks.

First, with regard to the charge so often made against Lord GREY of having been the cause of all this stir in the country, by having *unnecessarily* proposed his Reform Bill, Strathfieldsay's Duke is reported to have said this in the following words:

> The conduct of the Ministers has placed the country in this condition; and before the question can have a calm and deliberate consideration, *they ought to place the country in the state, as regarded this question, in which it stood before.* (Cheers.) Are we to be hurried on in this state of things, with a measure which no one had attempted to prove to be practicable? (Cheers.) Is the security of all the institutions of the country to be brought to risk, because the House of Commons is in a state which prevented it from giving to this bill a deliberate consideration? (Cheers.) My Lords, I cannot think that the difficulties which have prevented the Commons from duly considering this bill, and from taking the course which would have been consistent with its own character, and with the safety of the constitution, are of a permanent nature. They have been created by the Government. (Cheers.) They are only temporary; and they can, and they ought to be removed by the Government which created them. (Cheers.) Another reason which the noble Earl alleges for his change of opinion is, that the opinion of the country demands this bill. Now, my Lords, *I hold that there can be no doubt whatever that, from the close of* 1829 *to the beginning of* 1831, *there existed no opinion in favour of reform in this country.* (*Hear.*) *I mean, my Lords, no opinion generally prevalent amongst the people.* (*Hear! and a laugh.*) *I repeat, my Lords, that I believe the fact to be, that there was not any generally prevalent feeling on the subject of reform in that period.* (Cheers.) The fact was fully admitted in the discussions on the subject in the House of Commons, and has since been published to

the world. But when the revolution took place in France, and when Belgium set another example of the same nature, then a sentiment in favour of Parliamentary reform began to spread. (Hear.) That feeling was called into existence by the events which had occurred abroad, and it had a great influence on the elections which were then about to take place, and had, consequently considerable influence on the Parliament which met for the first time in 1830. The noble Earl opposite came into office at a time when such sentiments prevailed in Parliament and throughout the country. (Hear.) *But at that time both the House of Commons and the people would have been satisfied with a moderate reform*; but the noble Earl thought proper to dissolve the Parliament, and to bring on an election at a time of unparalleled excitement. (Hear.) There was no cause whatever for the dissolution at that time, for the House of Commons would then have passed a moderate Reform Bill. (Hear.)

What! was there no demand for reform from the close of 1829 to the beginning of 1831? How often will it be necessary to assert the contrary of this? There has been a demand for reform ever since I can recollect. I myself was in almost all the counties of England, in the first half of the year 1830: and I know that the cry for reform was more general and more loud than I had ever known it before. Doctor Black, in his paper of this day, has the following curious passage, which manifestly gives countenance to Strathfieldsay's assertions. The passage I allude to is this:—"A man cannot be always "pulling down and rebuilding his "house, for though he may be satisfied "of its defects, on casting up the ac- "counts, the inconvenience attendant "on an alteration may induce him to "submit as long as possible to these "defects. In this way for instance, "*the reformers*, aware of Mr. CANNING's "sentiments with regard to reform, "*agreed to waive the agitation of the* "*question, in order not to throw difficul-* "*ties in his way at* a time when they "believed that his Ministry *would be* "*highly* beneficial not only to this em- "pire, but to Europe in general." This is as great a falsehood and as impudent a falsehood as ever was put upon paper. "*The reformers*" never agreed to any such thing: they detested CANNING as cordially as they had always detested him. The history of the scandalous transaction, to which Doctor Black alludes, is this: CANNING became a minister in May 1827. Instantly the Whigs, with the exception of Lord GREY, ran, in greediness, towards the CRIB. Lord JOHN RUSSELL had, at that time, given notice of a motion for his Tonbridge-ware Parliamentary reform; but the old and insolent enemy of the people, CANNING, would have lost all his old friends, if he had not explicitly declared against Parliamentary reform. He did this, by saying that he would oppose it, in whatever shape or degree it might be proposed, *to the end of his life*. Hereupon Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Sir BOBBY, BURDETT, HOBHOUSE, and BROUGHAM, all tacked about: Lord John Russell withdrew his motion for the Tonbridge-ware reform; and he and Brougham both said, *that the people no longer wished for reform*. Lansdowne actually joined Canning, and became his secretary of state. And the *Edinburgh Review*, in an article written by this very MACAULAY, and published in the month of June 1827, almost called Lord Grey a stupid sot, for objecting to come into power, without being able to propose a Parliamentary reform! This was the occasion when BURDETT stuck his knees in CANNING's back. These fellows were agreed, indeed, to "*waive reform*;" and they would have agreed, upon their oaths, to abandon it for ever, upon condition of being admitted to the CRIB; but is Doctor BLACK warranted in describing this miserable crew as "*the reformers of England*?" Lord GREY did himself great honour by rejecting the overtures of Canning: he presented, in his conduct, such a striking contrast with the other mean wretches, that it became impossible for the nation not to have great confidence in him; and great confidence in him the nation has had on that very account. "*The reformers*" never waived their claim for one single moment; they remembered all the infamous abuse poured on them by CANNING; they despised the bands of literary hirelings, Irish and Scotch, who were well paid for singing the praises

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of that insolent and shallow upstart; they execrated the Whigs, who were ready to join him and to abandon the cause of reform; and they loathed, even to sickness, that BURDETT, one-half of whose speeches for twenty years had been employed in reprobating the principles and conduct of that very CANNING. It was a crew of base Whigs rushing to the crib, and not the reformers of England, who entered into this villanous agreement.

Strathfieldsay's Duke finds no countenance here, therefore; and as to the subject of reform not having been agitated during the years 1829 and 1830, what a statement, what an assertion to be put forth in print; when it is notorious that the Duke's declaration against it; that that and nothing else, drove him out of office! Long before the Parliament met in the fall of 1830; long before the last French revolution took place; even before the prorogation of the previous Parliament, the cry for reform agitated the whole country; so that, to ascribe the stir now existing in the country to Lord Grey; to ascribe the discontents of the people to him *and his bill*, is the most monstrous act of injustice that ever was committed. Upon this part of the subject, the speech of my Lord RADNOR was complete. It was a complete defence of Lord Grey against this charge; a defence which neither he nor any one for him has ever before made.

But the best part of Strathfieldsay's speech is this: he is reported to have said, that, *if Lord* GREY, *when he came into power, had proposed a moderate reform, the people would then have been satisfied with it.* Indeed! Why did not *you*, then, propose that moderate reform? Why did not you yourself propose that, instead of declaring that you would never give any at all? I advised you to do it; but luckily you rejected my advice: you followed your own course; and now you are feeling the consequences of it; and I trust you will continue to feel them, even unto the end of your life.

Another and very important topic introduced into this publication of a debate was, the expense which would be the consequence of making a reform of the Parliament. Strathfieldsay contended that reform of the Parliament, so far from relieving the people from any part of their burdens, will add greatly to those burdens; for that, *a much greater military force will be required to keep the people in order.* One would suppose it almost impossible that this could have been delivered in Parliament. However, it certainly does accord with that which the Ministers themselves have put forth. STANLEY, BABBINGTON MACAULAY, HOBHOUSE, and in this debate MELBOURNE, have all appeared anxious to declare that the reform will certainly bring the people no pecuniary relief; and if I thought that, I would *oppose* the reform as a cheat, as a scandalous fraud committed upon the people; nay, if I did not think it certain that the reform would bring us *cheap government*, and cheap religion, I would cast it from me as something too despicable to engage my attention for a moment. But now let us hear what Strathfieldsay is, by the *reporther*, made to say upon this subject; and I make no apology for dwelling upon this subject, for it is the all in all; and I declare beforehand, that the reform will not be worth a straw unless it give us government and religion *as cheap as those in the United States of America*; and I further declare, that, for my part, nothing shall induce me to sit in any Parliament more than one session, unless the people will support me, and that in the *proper manner too*, in my endeavours to produce that cheap government and that cheap religion. I do not want a parliamentary reform for the sake of a theory. I want it that I may get rid of the tax-gatherer; that I may be allowed to make my own malt, grow my own hops, turn my own fat into soap, keep what horses I like, keep what servants I like, keep what dogs I choose, have what windows I want without being liable to have my house rummaged, to be called before commissioners and judges, to be fined and imprisoned, or to yield half my substance in taxes and

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in tithes. These are the things that I want a reform for. I want it that the taxes and tithes may not take away from the employers the means of paying the working people wages that will give them meat and bread, instead of potatoes. I want it, in short, for the purpose of getting rid of the taxes and the tithes. But the *reporther* makes Strathfieldsay assert, that reform will make me pay more taxes instead of less.

The noble Lord (his Majesty's Secretary of State) who has spoken on this subject, has admitted that this measure, extensive as it is, *will not relieve the distresses of the country. I say, my Lords, that it will deeply aggravate them.* But let us look further, and see whether the system itself is good, and whether it is likely to produce good to the country. If your lordships will take the trouble of examining into what has passed within the last two years in France, you will see that the French expenditure has been increased in that time fifty millions sterling beyond the usual expenditure. You will see that its ordinary budget, notwithstanding the study that has been applied to be as saving as possible, exceeds the budget of the former reigns—of the extravagant reign of the Bourbons—by the amount of ten millions sterling; and besides this, there is the extraordinary expenditure of fifty millions in two years. (Hear.) *Look at that, my Lords, as a system of cheap government*—(*hear*),—and you will see that it is quite impossible to agree with the senseless assertions made on that subject. Now let us see whether in this country this bill, supposing it to be passed, is likely to make the government cheaper than it is now. Let us ask ourselves whether the civil government will have more power to govern the country than it now possesses; *whether it is possible that the government can be carried on with a smaller proportion of the army.* I beg your Lordships to look at the transactions that have taken place at Paris in the course of the last two years, and see whether that has been the case. I am sure you cannot think so, when you see that while Louis XVIII. and Charles X. were on the throne, they were enabled to maintain the peace of Paris with a *gendarmerie* of from 500 *to* 1000 *men; but that, since the Revolution of July, the Government has not had less than* 60,000 *men once a month put into requisition to maintain the peace of the city.* (*Hear, hear.*) Why, with a government founded as this must be, on the sovereignty of the people, a government such as we must have, if we adopt this bill, *will any man tell me that the country under such a government will be able to have its peace preserved with a small body of military?* The disasters that occurred at Bristol were put down, my Lords, by ninety men, as soon as an officer was found who would employ the force entrusted to him. Were the events at Lyons as speedily and easily quelled? I know, my Lords, that those events were of a larger nature, but they required not less than 40,000 of the best troops in France, headed by a most able general, the minister at war, and a prince of the blood, to put them down. Consider well, my Lords, first, the causes of this difference; and next see whether it is possible for you to expect that the civil government can be carried on as hitherto, under a government such as you will establish if you pass this bill. (Hear, hear!)

Here, then, it is *taken for granted* that there must be a stouter army still, and a much stouter *gendarmerie*, if the Reform Bill be passed, for that much greater disposition to riot will prevail amongst the people. What! let us see a little how this tallies with other objections that have been made to the bill. The great objection to the bill has been and is, that it gives too much power to the people; that it will make the members of Parliament dependant on the voice of the people at large; and the *reporther* makes this DUKE say in this same speech; *that demagogues and not gentlemen will be chosen in the great towns; and that the members will act upon instructions immediately received from their constituents.* Put men of *talent* and *integrity* and *public spirit*, instead of "*demagogues*," and then all this is very true; and such really will be amongst the effects of the Reform Bill. But *then*, what becomes of this monstrous additional expense and additional force, of which the Duke is made to talk? Either the people, the whole mass of the people, will obtain additional power by this Reform Bill, or they will not; if the latter, then where is the ground of apprehension to the aristocracy? If the *former*, is there a man so senseless as to believe, that this all-powerful people, who will instruct their constituents what laws to pass, *will give them positive instructions to augment the military and gendarmerie force in order to keep themselves down and to make them pay taxes*? Upon one or other of the horns of this dilemma Strathfieldsaye's *reporther* is fairly hung up; and let him get off if he can.

O no! The French story, as applied to us, is not worth a straw. The French are *not represented*, any more

than we have been for pretty nearly a hundred years past. Their present state arises, not from their having made a revolution in July 1830, but from their *not having made it*. From their having been amused and cheated; from their having, by base intrigues, been prevailed upon to suffer the old thing still to exist, with the mere change of the name of the man; from their not having believed me, who told them from the outset, that that LOUIS PHILIPPE was there to keep the nest warm for the house of BOURBON, and not for the purpose of giving them freedom and lightening their burdens. The brave people of Paris shed their blood for the deliverance of their country from the yoke of the Bourbons; but they suffered themselves to be amused with professions and symbols, while the yoke was again preparing to put upon their necks.

To make the cases analagous, our reform must be a *sham reform*; the members must still, in effect, be chosen by the aristocracy and not by the people, the people must become bewitched with the aristocracy; they must fall in love with those who rejected the bill of 1831; they must be ready to fall upon their bellies at the approach of a bishop, and look upon his benediction as communicating health, meat, drink, and clothing. All these must take place before the people of England, like the people of France, will be rendered more miserable by the change.

O no! STRATHFIELDSAY may be well assured that the people will never give instructions to their "*demagogues*" to add to the military force *in order to keep themselves down*. STRATHFIELD is, by this *reporther*, made to assert, that if this bill pass, England will have a government "founded on the "sovereignty of the people; and that, "like the government of France, *which "is founded on the sovereignty of the "people*, the Government must have a "monstrous military force to preserve "the peace of the country." The mistake here is, in asserting that France has a governmeot founded on the sovereignty of the people. It has it *not*. It has the *name*; and we have now the name of representatives of the people. But the French have been cheated out of the *thing*; and if we were to suffer ourselves to be cheated out of the thing too, the reform would certainly add to our degradation and misery, and we should have to pay more than we do now for troops and gendarmerie. But we mean not to be cheated out of the thing; if we have the name, we mean to have the thing also; we mean that the reformed parliament shall take off the burthens that are squeezing us to the earth; we mean to give our members instructions to pass laws that shall give us cheap government, and that shall render military force and gendarmerie unnecessary to keep the peace of the country; we mean that general misery and its offspring, general crime, shall cease; we mean that men shall no longer be set to draw wagons and carts, and be put up at auction; we mean that our earnings shall no longer be swallowed up by the idlers, but that skill, care, vigilance, activity, and toil shall enjoy their reward; we mean, in short, that England shall again be what England was. This is what we mean; this is what we shall instruct our representatives to effect; and therefore the argument which the *reporther* gives to Strathfield is not worth a straw. But once more look at his dilemma: once more observe how this opposition to the bill stultifies itself: the bill is bad, because it will make the people all-powerful; because it will make the members obey the instructions directly given them by the people; and it is also bad because it will enable the government to add to the burdens of the people by the means of additional soldiers and gendarmerie! so that it will at one and the same time create an all-predominant democracy, and an irrisistible military despotism! What a devil of a bill you have got for us, Lord GREY!

So much for the apprehensions which the *reporther* represents Strathfieldsay to entertain with regard to the additional expenses and additional force which the Reform Bill will occasion. And now, let me refer to the *reporther's* account of what he says was said by

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BOSCAWEN. This man, whose title is that of Earl of FALMOUTH, seems to be still haunted with apprehensions ABOUT ME. In opposing the last bill, there were four of the noble persons who argued that the bill must be bad, because it would be likely that in its operation it would put me into Parliament. The *reporther* gives to this BOSCAWEN, upon this occasion, the following words:—"As the noble Earl "never made a speech without referring "to his borough of Downton, he would "take the liberty of saying, that if the "noble Lord was really one of those "patriots who were prepared, as he "said, to sacrifice everything to their "country, that would be a very *unfor-* "*tunate thing for Cobbett*, whom the "noble Earl *once intended to put into* "*Parliament for Downton*, but whom "*the people would scarcely elect, if left* "*to choose for themselves.* The noble "Lord ought not to object so much to "nomination, if he thought that it "would be *for the good of the country* "*that Cobbett should have a seat in* "*Parliament.*"

The meaning of this is, that if Lord RADNOR lose his power of nominating members, it will be an unfortunate thing for COBBETT, because, if the people be *left to themselves, they will scarcely elect the said* COBBETT; and that the loss of the borough must be regretted by Lord RADNOR too, if he think it for the good of the country that COBBETT should be in Parliament; because, by losing the borough, he would lose the power of putting the said COBBETT in Parliament. This reporther must have been drunk, I think. In CANNING's time nearly the whole of the set were regularly drunk twice a day. That was the glorious time for the "gentlemen of the press." I was told, that, meet them when you would, they were blubbering drunk, and did so smell of gin! Of late they have been more sober I believe, those of them that survived Canning's drenching: but still this reporther of BOSCAWEN must have shipped a pretty smart cargo of gin; for the man never could, I think, have said this.

Upon the supposition, however, of its having been said, let me, in the first place, ask Boscawen what authority he had for saying that Lord Radnor *once intended* to put me into parliament for Downton? Next, why he deems it unfortunate for me not to be likely to be put into Parliament? Next, upon what ground he asserts, that the people, if left to choose for themselves, would scarcely elect me? Ah! Boscawen, Boscawen! You either never said this, or you do not mean it. You mean the contrary; and I believe, and am thoroughly convinced, that if I were not in existence, this Reform Bill would pass without any creation of Peers; and now it is evident that it will not pass without such creation. And *don't pass it, then!* Don't pass it, I say! and I can tell yon this, that a large part of the people do not care a straw *now* whether you pass it or not!

But, BOSCAWEN, if the people, being left to choose for themselves, *will scarcely choose me*, what becomes of all the arguments about the letting of demagogues into Parliament? BOSCAWEN, have you read my Manchester Lectures? If you have not, read them right away; and then you will know, to the weight of a hair, what you have to expect at my hands, at any rate. The word *demagogue* means, a man who stands forward in behalf of the people; though that corrupt pensioner JOHNSON, whose image is stuck up in St. Paul's, whence it will be removed, I trust, to leave a pedestal for that of Major CARTWRIGHT, calls a demagogue "a ringleader of the rabble." In the proper sense of the word, I am the greatest of all English demagogues. I have been lecturing on politics, I have been maintaining my *Manchester propositions*, in every great town in the north, as far as the northern confines of Yorkshire, with the exception I believe of Liverpool and Bradford, and I have everywhere maintained, that unless those propositions be acted upon to the full extent, a reform of the Parliament will be a delusion and a mockery. Every-where I have been received with every mark of approbation. In most of

the places where I have resided for more than a day, I have been at the house of some person of considerable property, who deemed it a favour to have me for a guest. Two or three words with my name, written by myself, have been begged, as a valuable present, by more than a hundred persons. No mark of disapprobation have I received, during the whole of more than half a hundred lectures that I have given. I travelled, during my absence in the north, including the journey thither and back, nine hundred and eighty odd miles. Altogether, I stood upon my legs, speaking, upwards of a hundred and thirty hours; that is to say, more than five days and five nights; during the same time, I wrote and sent to London manuscript for thirteen Registers; and I came home and set to work at my gardening, on the very afternoon of my arrival. 'Say or think what you will, BOSCAWEN, this is the stuff of which a member of Parliament ought to be made up.

But, Boscawen, though I very well know that the certainty of my being a member of a reformed Parliament, if I choose; though I know that your assurance of this is a sort of criterion of the danger which you apprehend from the Reform Bill, do you think that I should come *alone*; that there are no other such men; that there are not scores, endued with the same or with equally efficient powers, and having youth into the bargain? Let us have the bill: that will create men I warrant you. There are men enough; and the people of England will have the sense to perceive, that it is not title and fortune that they want to represent them; but talent, knowledge, and courage; a love of the honour of their country; men who see in every labourer their *countryman*, and who take to themselves a share of the disgrace of seeing him robbed of the fruit of his toil. Experience has now taught the people of England, that, to be restored to their liberties and happiness, they must rely upon one another; and though you do not know it, the country every-where teems with clever and well-educated young men. During my last tour, scores, and I might say, many hundreds of young men, sometimes twenty at a time, have crowded round me as I have been going out of the lecturing-places, one saying, as he shook my hand, "That is the hand that wrote the GRAMMAR;" another, "That is the hand that wrote the PROTESTANT REFORMATION;" another, "That is the hand that wrote the ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN." This was the case, more or less, at every place where I was. In hundreds of cases, the young men came on purpose to the inn or house where I was. Nor was this confined to the buoyant spirits of Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the heart seems always upon the lips; but I found it the same every-where. And, observe, I am no clap-trap orator; I am no flatterer; I every-where even ridiculed the outcry against the Corn Bill, unless prayed for in conjunction with an abolition of tithes, and a repeal of the hop and the malt tax. And, do you think then, Boscawen, that there is nobody but me? The country is full of men, and of knowledge and education too, resolutely bent upon the changing of this system.

You! You, indeed, talk of your Bibles and your schools! You talk of teaching the people! It is I who have taught the people. I have created a mass of young men hostile to corruption of every sort. "The *education* of the country," indeed. You want the education of the country represented; I know a tailor, and a journeyman-tailor too, living in a country town, where he has always lived, more really learned, a more able writer, possessed of more real knowledge as to public affairs, than forty-nine out of every fifty of the members of parliament that I have ever known or heard of. I have seen letters from him that ought to put to the blush the far greater part of those who call themselves gentlemen, whether as to grammar, language, or sentiment.

If the Peers were wise they would take this great change into consideration; a change wrought entirely by myself; and the more efficient for that;

because it has been uniform; because it has made such great numbers of young men sober, learned, full of knowledge, and thinking precisely alike. It would require but a very little sagacity to perceive, that against the operation of a cause like this, there is no protection for ignorance or corruption, however surrounded by power. This is the great cause that has been at work to defeat all the schemes of Scotch quackery. These schemes are the subject of laughter all over the country. There is no delusion that can now exist without being immediately detected. BROUGHAM and VAUX may send forth, even under *official franks*, his book of "*Useful Knowledge.*" It will produce no effect except upon the risible faculties of the readers, none of whom will go through many pages. In short, I have taught the whole country, and of that teaching this monstrous system, against which I have so long been at war, now feels the effects.

But, Boscawen, if you be so sure, that the people, if left to choose for themselves, will not choose me, you must believe that they, will not choose any men like me; that they will choose young lords and squires and dead-weight people, who abound as the sands by the sea. Well, then, you being sincere in that opinion, what danger is there in passing the Reform Bill? The house will be constituted as it now is: no demagogues will find their way into it: some rich merchants and manufacturers may; but they will be for upholding the system, rather than pulling it down; so that, you being sincere in your opinion, and being sure that to pass the bill will give great and general satisfaction, it would really appear to be a sort of madness to oppose the passing of this bill, or to endeavour to mutilate it in any degree whatsoever.

It becomes me, however, to be frank, and to tell you, that the people, aye even in the counties, will not always choose men for their title or their wealth; and that it must be a base set of people indeed who will elect a placeman, pensioner, sinecurist, grantee, retired allowance-man, dead-weight-man, or any tax-eater, or any one closely related to a tax-eater. Those who would elect a person thus dependent on taxation, would deserve the most degrading slavery to the end of their lives. As to *rich men*, there is no positive objection; but the riches rather tend to disqualify than otherwise, unless they be accompanied with tried devotion to the cause of the people. It is very curious, that, during the last debate on the bill in the House of Commons, GEORGE ROSE (the son of the notorious old GEORGE) used as an argument against the bill, that the people would not elect rich merchants and manufacturers; and in proof of this, he mentioned the practice in America, where, he said, it was very difficult for a rich merchant to get elected; and that was the reason, he said, that the commercial affairs of the United States were *conducted so badly!* Thank you, GEORGE, for this argument. The United States had, at the end of the revolutionary war, no such thing as a three-mast ship. They have now a mercantile tonnage very nearly equal to that of England herself. A nation so prosperous; a nation where the peace is so well preserved; a nation where the working millions are so well off, this world does not contain, and has never contained; and if such be the effect of rejecting rich men as law-makers, let us, for God's sake, try the experiment! We have had rich men to make laws for us; and these poor legislators have, in the course of forty years, actually created a nation to rival us. Therefore, BOSCAWEN, hug not yourself in the hope that the people are now ready to throw themselves prostrate before title and wealth. Let us have the bill again, I say, and we will let you see what we will do with it; and if you will not let us have the bill, why, then, we will . . . . do as well as we can without it; but if we have it, it shall be of some use to us I warrant you.

Now, as to the question, whether this bill will pass a second reading, I can form no judgment; whether new Peers will be made, so as to ensure the final passing of the bill without mutila-

tion, I can form no judgment neither; but this I know well, that, if Lord GREY be authorised to make the Peers and do not make them, so as to cause the bill to pass; and if he suffer the bill to be rejected without plainly stating to the nation that the king has not authorised him to make the Peers; that, in either of these cases, the public will and must believe, that he has all this time been contriving how he should cause his own bill to be defeated. I cannot believe that such will be the result. I will just add, that to suffer the ten-pound clause to be made less favourable to the people, would be an abandonment of the bill; a specific giving-up of the rights of the people. I trust that no such thing will take place: from the language of Lord GREY I should conclude that he has full power to make the requisite number of Peers. Having that power he will certainly use it; and then all will be well; and, if the bill pass *unmutilated*, I trust that the people will receive it with a resolution to give it a fair trial; and that the enfranchised towns will immediately set to work to deliberate and determine on the course which they shall pursue with regard to the fixing upon proper candidates.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF PRESTON,

1. *On the Cultivation of Cobbett's Corn.*
2. *On the Lies of the* FOOL-LIAR *respecting it, and particularly on his Lies relative to* MR. DIDDAMS, *of Sutton Scotney in Hampshire.*
3. *On his Charges against* MITCHELL *and* SMITHSON.

Kensington, 1st April, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

GREAT as has been my satisfaction at seeing the success of my corn generally, it has in hardly any case been so great as in learning its success at, and in the neighbourhood of, PRESTON, where I saw so many fine specimens, and where I saw every prospect of a great extension of the cultivation of the corn. I am now about to repeat *my instructions for raising the corn*; and I address myself to you in particular, because you have the misfortune to have to do with the FOOL-LIAR, who has been making all the efforts that his beastly stupidity would permit him to make for the purpose of preventing the working people from benefiting from this, as ARTHUR YOUNG calls it, "*the greatest blessing that God ever gave to man.*" It is curious enough that the FOOL-LIAR should so cordially pull with the PARSONS in this affair; for I have heard of several of them who have told the working people that the corn was *good for nothing*; and I know one of the latter, who had fatted a pig upon the corn, hold up a piece of the bacon to the parson, saying, "*Is't good for nought!*" However, I will first give you my instructions for the raising of the corn, and then the FOOL-LIAR shall yield us some sport, and we will find out, if we can, *where* that "*patrimony*" is of which he told you he had "*just received the rents,*" when he was called upon to pay for "*the medals.*"

Before I proceed further, however, I ought to notice, that when I returned home the other day, I found *numerous parcels of corn* from different counties, and amongst the rest, one parcel grown in *Westmoreland*. So that I have now received fine well-ripened corn from every county in England, CORNWALL excepted. The corn which I have now received from SUTTON-VALENCE in Kent, from HIGH-WYCOMBE, Bucks, and three ears that came without any name, *wrapped up in wool*, are amongst the finest samples that I have seen, and all of them finer than the average of my own corn; and I am very much obliged to all the gentlemen who have taken the pains to send me these samples. I would write to each of them if I had the time; but I have it not. They will have the satisfaction to see their cares and public spirit rewarded by the success of our undertaking; and they will have the pleasure to reflect, that the thing has been accomplished, not only without the aid, but, apparently, solely *against the wishes* of the Government!

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Oh, no! it is not *corn*; not *puddings* and *bread* and *bacon* that they want the working people to have: "*nice 'taties*" are their favourites; so that they may have the meat and bread for themselves, and for those who uphold and wait on them! The *Irish-diet* (for English labourers) is their favourite; but the English labourers will not, thank God, live on it; and I hope that the Irish will not do it much longer. The *sword-bearing police* do not, I warrant them, live on "nice *mealy* 'taties."

INSTRUCTIONS TO LABOURERS FOR RAISING COBBETT'S CORN.

I will first describe this *corn* to you. It is that which is sometimes called *Indian corn*; and sometimes people call it Indian wheat. It is that sort of corn which the disciples ate as they were going up to Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day. They gathered it in the fields as they went along and ate it green, they being "an hungered," for which, you know, they were reproved by the pharisees. I have written a treatise on this corn, in a book, which I sell for two and six-pence, giving a minute account of the qualities, the culture, the harvesting, and the various uses of this corn; but I shall here confine myself to what is necessary for a labourer to know about it, so that he may be induced to raise, and may be enabled to raise enough of it in his garden to fat a pig of ten score.

There are a great many sorts of this corn. They all come from countries which are hotter than England. This sort, which my eldest son brought into England, is a dwarf kind, and is the only kind that I have known to ripen in this country: and I know that it will ripen in this country in any summer; for I had a large field of it in 1828 and 1829; and last year (my lease at my farm being out at Michaelmas, and this corn not ripening till late in October) I had about two acres in my garden at Kensington. Within the memory of man there have not been three summers so cold as the last, one after another; and no one so cold as the last. Yet my corn ripened perfectly well, and this you will be satisfied of if you be amongst the men to whom this corn is given from me. You will see that it is in the shape of the cone of a spruce fir; you will see that the grains are fixed round a stalk which is called the *cob*. These *stalks* or *ears* come out of the side of the plant which has leaves like a flag, which plant grows to about three feet high, and has two or three, and sometimes more, of these ears or bunches of grain. Out of the top of the plant comes the tassel, which resembles the plumes of feathers upon a hearse; and this is the flower of the plant.

The grain is, as you will see, about the size of a large pea, and there are from two to three hundred of these grains upon the ear, or cob. In my treatise I have shown that, in America, all the hogs and pigs, all the poultry of every sort, the greater part of the oxen, and a considerable part of the sheep, are fatted upon this corn; that it is the best food for horses; and that, when ground and dressed in various ways, it is used in bread, in puddings, in several other ways in families, and that, in short, it is the real staff of life, in all the countries where it is in common culture, and where the climate is hot. When used for poultry, the grain is rubbed off the cob. Horses, sheep, and pigs, bite the grain off, and leave the cob; but horned cattle eat cob and all.

I am to speak of it to you, however, only as a thing to make you some bacon, for which use it surpasses all other grain whatsoever. When the grain is in the whole ear, it is called corn in the ear; when it is rubbed off the cob, it is called shelled corn. Now, observe, ten bushels of shelled corn are equal, in the fatting of a pig, to fifteen bushels of barley; and fifteen bushels of barley, if properly ground and managed, will make a pig of ten score, if he be not too poor when you begin to fat him. Observe that everybody who has been in America knows, that the finest hogs in the world are fatted in that country; and no man ever saw a hog fatted in that country in any other way than tossing the ears of corn over to him in the sty, leaving him to bite it off the ear, and deal with it according to his pleasure. The finest and solidest bacon in the world is produced in this way.

Now, then, I know, that a bushel of shelled corn may be grown upon one single rood of ground, sixteen feet and a half each way. I have grown more than that this last summer; and any of you may do the same if you will strictly follow the instructions which I am now about to give you.

1. Late in March (I am doing it now), or in the first fortnight of April, dig your ground up *very deep*, and let it lie rough till between the seventh and fifteenth of May.

2. Then (in dry weather if possible) dig up the ground again, and make it smooth at top. Draw drills with a line two feet apart, just as you do drills for peas; rub the grains off the cob; put a little very rotten and fine manure along the bottom of the drill; lay the grains along upon that six inches apart; cover the grain over with fine earth, so that there be about an inch and a half on the top of the grain; pat the earth down a little with the back of a hoe to make it lie solid on the grain.

3. If there be any danger of slugs, you must *kill* them before the corn comes up if possible; and the best way to do this is to put a little hot lime in a bag, and go very early in the morning, and shake the bag all round the edges of the ground and over the ground. Doing this three or four times very early in a dewy morning or just after a shower, will destroy all the slugs: and this ought to be done for all other crops as well as for that of corn.

4. When the corn comes up, you must take care to keep all birds off till it is two or three inches high; for the spear is so sweet, that the birds of all sorts are very apt to peck it off, particularly the doves and the larks and pigeons. As soon as it is fairly above ground, give the whole of the ground (in dry weather) a flat hoeing, and be sure to move all the ground close round the plants. When the weeds begin to appear again, give the ground another hoeing, but always in dry weather. When the plants get to be about a foot high or a little more, dig the ground between the rows, and work the earth up a little against the stems of the plants.

5. About the middle of August you will see the tassel springing up out of the middle of the plant, and the ears coming out of the sides. If weeds appear in the ground hoe it again to kill the weeds, so that the ground may be always kept clean. About the middle of September you will find the grains of the ears to be full of milk, just in the state that the ears were at Jerusalem when the disciples cropped them to eat. From this milky state they, like the grains of wheat, grow hard; and as soon as the grains begin to be hard, you should cut off the tops of the corn and the long flaggy leaves, and leave the ears to ripen upon the stalk or stem. If it be a warm summer, they will be fit to harvest by the last of October; but it does not signify if they remain out until the middle of November or even later. The longer they stay out the harder the grain will be.

6. Each ear is covered in a very curious manner with a husk. The best way for you will be when you gather in your crop to strip off the husks, to tie the ears in bunches of six or eight or ten, and to hang them up to nails in the walls, or against the beams of your house; for there is so much moisture in the cob that the ears are apt to heat if put together in great parcels. The room in which I write in London is now hung all round with bunches of this corn. The bunches may be hung up in a shed or stable for a while, and, when perfectly dry, they may be put into bags.

7. Now, as to the mode of *using* the corn: if for poultry, you must rub the grains off the cob; but if for pigs, give them the whole ears. You will find some of the ears in which the grain is still soft. Give these to your pig first; and keep the hardest to the last. You will soon see how much the pig will require in a day, because pigs, more decent than many rich men, never eat any more than is necessary to them. You will thus have a pig; you will have two flitches of bacon, two pig's cheeks, one set of souse, two griskins, two spare-ribs.

It is quite sufficient, that the corn will fat hogs better than any other thing will fat them: it need do nothing else, considering the amount of the crop, to make it more valuable than any other crop. But, as *food for man*, it is *more valuable*

even than wheat; because it can be conveniently used in so many ways. We use the *corn-flour*, in my family, FIRST, as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; SECOND, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; THIRD, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; FOURTH, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; FIFTH, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen-Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybonne. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to bake a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have, of course, twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

Now, my friends, observe, that, do what you will, you cannot get more than about *two gallons* of *wheat* on a *rod* of ground (16½ feet square), when you can always, with proper care, get *eight gallons* of *corn*; that *half a single ear* of corn will plant the rod; that a rod of wheat requires for seed a *tenth-part of the crop;* that there must be a floor to thrash and winnow the wheat, and that the corn may be shelled by the fire-side. If a poor man have a little bit of wheat, he finds it very difficult to do anything with it; but a bit of corn he can manage as well as a great farmer can manage his fields. If he have a garden of only *ten rods*, only think of the value of ten times 215 pounds of flour; 2,150 pounds, or within a trifle of *six pounds of flour a day for the whole year*, besides 210 pounds of offal, enough to fat, with some properly-cooked potatoes, a good hog! But while the instances of this crop of a bushel to the statute rod are innumerable, let us suppose the average crop to be *one half of this.* Then there is nearly *three pounds of flour a day all the year round*, and half enough offal to fat a hog; and, observe, I do not here include the value of the *fodder*, which is very great; and, mind, the corn is only *five months* on the ground.

But, in short, I need write no more on this subject: the fine corn that I have received from all parts of the country convinces me, that I have done this great thing for my country, and especially for

the Labouring People, to reduce whom *to live upon potatoes* was the damned scheme, which the *sensible* and *resolute* Labourers have defeated. "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES." When the *men of Kent* raised that motto, the fate of the *tithes* and the *funds* was sealed. If Englishmen could have been reduced to live upon potatoes; if they could have been brought down to the *Irish scale*, the basest of slavery would have been *the lot of us all!* The whole people owe their deliverance to the men of Kent. Ay, ay! The Whigs may go on with their *arming* and with their *other works:* but all will be of no avail, since they cannot make the millions of labourers live upon potatoes. I read, in the proceedings of the new *Mechanics' Institute*, at Manchester, a speech, in which it is remarked, and with apparent *pride*, that the members of *Mechanics' Institutes* NEVER RIOT! No, "*intellectual*" souls: not they! They commit no *violences!* "Nice *'taties*," and sea-weed and nettles, and shell-fish that have died a *natural death;* these keep their "*intellect*" unclouded by the load on the stomach. I am for loading the stomach with bacon and bread: the head may, indeed, be rather less "*celestial*," less abstracted from earthly matter; but, the *body* is all the better for the loading; and, one would think, that *mechanics* stood in need of bodies too.

But, now for the FOOL-LIAR, in connexion, in the first place, with *this corn*. The fellow has as much *low cunning* as any animal that ever existed, and his *disregard of truth* is equal to that of a *Negro*. Those who have had to do with Negroes, know how difficult it is to make them perceive *the difference between falsehood and truth*. Not one in a thousand of them can be made to *see any reason why they should not say that which it suits them to say at the moment*. The master of a black fellow, in Long Island, who had been sent to fetch up a cow out of the pasture, said, when the fellow came with the cow, "Did you put up the bars to keep the cows in?" "*O yes, Massa!*" There was a bars, round the end of which he had come with the cow, and the words were hardly out of his mouth, *before the cows came round the end of the barn!* "Why," said I, "that fellow "cannot reason any more than a beast; "for, otherwise, he must have known that "you would detect the lie in a *minute*." "Oh!" said he, "a minute is a long "while: he would swear that he was not "eating peaches, if you were to tax him "with it, with peaches in his hands and "with his mouth crammed with the "pulp." Your FOOL-LIAR seems to be, in this respect, upon *a perfect equality with the Negroes*. He has all their *animal cunning*; and all their disregard of truth; or, rather, their want of capacity to distinguish between truth and falsehood. These two qualities would carry him very far, were it not for the counteracting power of his *all-predominant malignity*. The lying of the Negroes is of little avail to them, because *nobody believes them*; because it is the *fashion of the community* never to believe a word that they say. But, it is difficult to bring ourselves to look upon a *white man* in this light. Yet, as you will presently be convinced (if you be not already), as far at least as relates to this *corn-affair*, your FOOL-LIAR must be looked upon in precisely this light; and it is truly curious that, at the last Somersetshire election, they should have *held up a Negro* to call him "*brother Blackey-man!*"

Last year, at this time, I published the names and addresses of the gentlemen, in each county, to whom I was about to send corn, *free of all cost*, even *carriage free*, for them to *distribute gratis*, in their several neighbourhoods, especially *amongst the labourers*. It seemed impossible for the devil himself to find a bad motive in this; yet the FOOL-LIAR, seeing in this list the names and addresses of a number of persons, who, he naturally supposed, had a respect for me, availed himself of the power that YOU HAD GIVEN HIM TO FRANK LETTERS, to send to each of these persons *a printed paper*, most infamously slandering me, signed with his name; and, to this infamous publication he added, *in manuscript*, that the corn was "A FRAUD;" and he begged the persons to whom he

addressed the letters, not, by any means, *to give it to the poor people to plant!*

As I said before, as to *truth* and *falsehood*, he is on a level with the blacks; but, having *low cunning* also equal to theirs, one wonders how he could have thus made sure of his detection as LIAR, by so many documents under his own hand; and at this every one must wonder, until they reflect on the power of the fellow's *malignity*, which is so great that it overpowers all his Negro-like cunning. I remember Farmer BRAZIER of Worth, in Sussex, where THE LIAR lived for a while, saying, that at times, his very look was so malignant, that if a drop were to fall from his eyes, it would burn cloth, or any other substance, like *aqua fortis!* This was a strong figure, to be sure; but really if we look at the fellow's conduct about this corn, we cannot help believing that the farmer was right. The fellow is monstrously ignorant, to be sure: I remember him telling his audience, "I have lautely bin in Normany, Genmun; a great *forren country* in Vrance, Genmun." But brutally ignorant as he is, *he knew* that his lies upon this subject *must be* detected at the end of about *six months*. Yet so great was his malignity, so deadly was his hatred of me, that he put forth this lie with as much alacrity as if the *saving of his own carcase from a beating* (upon which point he is very tender!) had depended upon the success of the lie.

The six months ended; the lie was exposed; *two thousand and forty-three persons*, more than half of them *farm-labourers*, have (by themselves or neighbours) sent me samples of their crops; all sending *expressions of gratitude*; all delighted with their *future prospects*; many of them *execrating the slanderous liar*; and more of them expressing their contempt of so *beastly a fool*, who has thus sent documents all over the country, signed by himself, to be at all times produced, if necessary, to prove him fool and liar, without an equal in the world, amongst either *blacks* or *whites*. But now let me exhibit to you in detail some of the works of this malignant liar; and then, I think, you will agree with Farmer BRAZIER in the *aqua-fortis opinion*.

You may remember that, in the *Trash for December last*, and in the Register of the third of that month, I published a letter from Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS of Sutton Scotney, near Winchester, giving me an account of the fine crops of corn, growed by the labourers and others, in that and the adjoining parishes, composing those which I have called "THE LITTLE HARD PARISHES." Mr. DIDDAMS is a village shoemaker, a man very much respected, and he recommended himself to my notice by his zealous endeavours to save several of the men who were transported by the SPECIAL COMMISSION in Hampshire. I went, in the fall of 1830, to find out the WIDOW MASON, and I was directed to this Mr. DIDDAMS, as a person likely to give me information. I have known him ever since, and from all that I have seen and heard of him, I believe him to be a worthy man. Now, observe, on the 4th of December last, I heard that THE LIAR had *been received* into, *and entertained* in, the house of a man in Hampshire, who had been, and was, in the habit of corresponding and otherwise communicating with me; whereupon I at once told the latter that the communication between him and me must cease. Upon this he observed to me, that THE LIAR had been *received also by Mr. Diddams*, and that Mr. Diddams would, he was sure, *hold correspondence* with THE LIAR. I believed neither of these: I did not believe that Mr. DIDDAMS would let the fellow into his house, if he knew who he was; and, as to corresponding with him, I was sure that Mr. DIDDAMS would have his hand chopped off rather than do it.

However, I wrote to Mr. DIDDAMS to tell me what THE LIAR *said to him*, and *how he received him*. In answer I received two letters from Mr. DIDDAMS, which I shall insert here, without the smallest alteration, either in spelling, pointing, or any-thing else. It is the plain statement of a plain and sensible man, and a man of honesty and sincerity. When at Manchester, I wrote to Mr. DIDDAMS, asking his leave to *publish* the letters: he gave me leave, as you will see in an extract from a third letter. After this I showed the letters in.

Lancashire and *Yorkshire*, particularly at Leeds. You will see what *use* THE LIAR made of his having got into Mr DIDDAMS's house; and I told my *other correspondent* in Hampshire *that this would be the case;* and that, therefore, I must cease all correspondence *with him.*

MR. DIDDAMS'S FIRST LETTER.

Sutton Scotney, Dec. 6, 1831.

SIR,—Hunt call'd on me munday week past. You wish to know what he said to me and how I received him. I do not know a better way to explain it to you than to relate the whole of the conversation that passed between us as far as I can recolect. He stoped at the Wicket in his gigg, I went out to him, *I did not know who he was*, he call'd me by name, and asked me if I was not a grower of Cobbett's corn, I said yes, he said he should like to see some. I said walk in Sir, I will help you to the site of some Directly. I showed him my corn what I had in the ear and also what I had shell'd. He said it was very fine, never saw any riper or better, he asked me what I meant to do with it; I told him, that in the ear I should save for seed, the other I should have ground, he asked me what it was good for then, I told him it would make very good pudings I was sure as I had tasted of it in that way, and I had been told it would make Bread, but I did not know that, but I should try it and then I should know. He said his opinion was otherwise.—He then asked me if there was many that planted the corn in this neighbourhood, I told him a great many in small quantity. Did it ripen well, I told him yes, in every instance. Did I think it would answer to plant a whole field. I told him yes, under proper cultivation it would pay better than any thing else. He thought it would not. Then he asked me how Mrs. Mason's Crop was, I told him very good. He said he had heard that this corn *would kill the pigs fed with it* by giving them *the murrin*, and by making pudings and bread with it it would *give people the yellow janders.* I told him that was not very likely in my opinion. Then he asked me *if I did not know him.* I said no. He said his name was Hunt, he asked me if I did not know what the people said of him. I told him *most people said he had sold himself to the Torys.* He asked me *if I thought so.* I told him *I did not know, but if he had I was sorry for it.* I thought at this time particularly every man ought to do his duty. *He said he had not nor never would.* I told him I did not wonder at his speaking against the corn *now I knew who he was*, as I *had a letter by me which he sent last april saying it would not ripen and that it was a fraud, he did not seem to recolect any thing about it.* I said it appears that you and Mr. Cobbett have a quarrel between you, but the nature of the Quarrel I do not know neither do I wish to know, but I think you have acted very wrong in Speaking against the corn as you have and do now, when you see it will ripen well, and I as well as many more in this part of the country are sure it will answer a good purpose and prove to be a great good. And I said I would not talk any more on that subject. Then we began talking about the Reform. He said *the Bill would do no good.* I told him Mr. Cobbett's opinion was it would do much good, I mean the first Bill. He said he had a quarrel with Mr. Cobbett, but nevertheless *he Esteemed him highly as a publick man.* I told him if so how wrong it was in him to try to set the naition together by the ears through a personal Disspute; then he asked about *the masons*, and *Cook* that was hanged, and asked me if I did not recolect he made a motion in the house about the men that was transported. I told him yes. He said *he had been about to get information on that subject*, and he meant *to face the Attorney General* again when the parliment met. He said he was going to Wallop and could not stop longer. He said he knew the corn would ripen, but did not think it would come so fine in this country. This is all that passed between us as far as I can Recolect now. This is the substance of it at any rate, and I believe he went away some what Disappointed, he gave me three Little papers somthing *about his Speech at Leeds*, some time past, but I have not had time to Read it. I heard he was at Whitchurch the day after he was with me. I think he was with me about half an hour. I hope you and your good family are well, and I remain,

Sir,
Your obedient servant,
E. DIDDAMS.

SECOND LETTER.

Sutton Scotney, Dec. 13, 1831.

SIR,—When I wrote last to you I told you all I could recolect about Hunt's visit to me since that time I have thought the matter over more particularly to myself, and what I have heard since fully confirms me in the belief that he is a — and that the object of his Journey to this part of the country, and his visit to me in particular was for no good; before he made himself known to me he asked me many strange questions. Such as *did I know the Barings*, what I thought of them, what I thought of *the state of people's minds*, and if they ware Quiet, and did I think they would continue Quiet, and many such like Questions, but to all of them I gave no positive answer, or made no reply, for I asure you I received him as I allways do those that are Strangers, with great caution. Before he made himself known to me and was at the door he asked me if *I had any fire within, as his feet was very cold*, I said yes, he went in and warmed his feet, and then he asked me if I had *any Bacon in the house*, which I thought was a very Strange Question. He said he should like some fat Bacon and Bread, at these words

I was very much surprised. I thought surely there is something wrong. I said I had none but a piece of lean Bacon which was not fit to be Brought out to him nor did I offer to do it, though I had a nice peice of Bacon in the House that we dined off the day before (which was Sunday) with some of the cabbages that those plants I had of you prodused. And then he asked me how far it was to Wallop, I told him about eleven miles, he said he could reach there in time for dinner, and when he found he could get no Bacon of me he left directly. He never asked me to correspond with him, only after he was up in his gigg, and got as much as ten yards from the wicket where I was standing he looked round an said good buy, *I should be glad to hear from you at any time.* I noded my head but made no answer. I have not wrote to him nor had I ever any intention to do it, for as soon as he was gone, my wife and me talked over the nature of his visit and we concluded between ourselves that there was somewhat of a mistery in it, and you must know Sir that it is not likely but I have been visited by many persons that I have had every reason to believe was —, and that is the reason I receive all Strangers and allso many other persons with great caution, and I know he cannot do me any harm if it was his intention. When I wrote to you about the corn I had forgot to tell you that I had sent a good parsel of corn to LONGPARISH, to another person (besides Hunter and Froom). Last Sunday I heard from him, he distributed it to several of his neighbours, he sent word to me they all of them had excelent crops, and are going to plant a considerable Quantity next year, and so are several about this place, I believe there will be some acres planted in this parish next year. Hunt went also to Longparish the day after he was with me, and tryed to persuade them *that the corn would give them the Jaundice and the pigs the murran*, but *they laught at him*, but whether he got any Bacon there or not I do not know; one more thing I forgot to tell you in my last letter about *the murrian*. He said that you killed a great many pigs with the corn at Barn elm farm, they all died with the murrian, which I said was very strange if true, seeing you so strongly recommended the use of it in the same way to other people; then he told me a good round lie to finish with which I thought not worth telling you about in my last letter, but I will tell you now Just to make you Laugh, he asked me if I thought the corn was *better than potatoes*, I said yes a great deal, he said he thought otherwise and Mr. Cobbett may say what he pleased about it but he once dined with Mr. Cobbett and other Gentelmen when there was all sorts of meat and every thing that was good. But he saw Mr. Cobbett take a great Quantity of potatoes on his plate he thought *half a gallon*, with some butter, and he made his Dinner on that *and nothing else*, and after Dinner *saw him Drink as much as three Bottles of wine.* And as soon as he was gone my Wife said if I was in that mans place I would lie if I did lie as some one could lie with me, for that lie was too bare faced. I will go to Longparish soon and get all the particulars about his foolishness. I hope the Reform Bill that was to be brought forward munday evening will be satisfactory to the country, for I assure you we are in a dreadful Situation, the Fires are Blazing almost every night, and on Sunday night last Cokham farm in the parish of Barton Stacey was Burnt, Barns Ricks Stables and every thing but the House and a Rick or too that stood at a Distance from the farm yard, if you have a paper that you have done with and can spare that gives the particulars of ministers plan of Reform, I should be much oblig'd if you would send it me, as I want to know how it is like to be and so do many of my neighbours particularly the Chopsticks that gets no news but what they gets from me, and we want to know if possible before Saturday. I hope you and your good family are well.

And I remain, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
ENOS DIDDAMS.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. DIDDAMS, *dated Sutton Scotney, Jan.* 21, 1831.

Respecting my letters relating to Hunt and the Corn, there is nothing in them but what is strictly true, and you are welcome to publish them if you think proper. For I think Hunt has used me very ill, for, since he was with me, he has sent me *another Circular* with two of his penny papers enclosed, No. 8 and No. 9, where he has thought proper to publish a part of our conversation, and some of it is *not true* by a great deal. If ever you should see this paper, he reports that I told him my opinion was *that the Corn was too bad* to give to pigs alone without something with it. He was talking about the murrain, and that the Corn would give it to pigs, particularly young ones. *Now what I did say was this*, I had been told the Corn was *too Strong*, to give to young pigs alone. And I thought the best way would be to have it ground and mix it with some pollard, particularly for young pigs, and if you should publish my letters, I wish you to put this mistatement with it, for I do not like his conduct towards me, and I should like for him to know it, and to know that I want no more of his letters, nor any thing to do with him, as he has not confined himself to *truth* respecting me.

Now observe, the words put in *italics* are so put *by me*, in order to point them out to you as worthy of particular notice; and I have left out *two words*, which it was not necessary to insert. But, observe, in the extract from the letter of the 21st January, the danger of even being where THE LIAR is! Mr. DIDDAMS said, that he had been told that the corn

was *too strong*, if given alone, for young pigs: that is, *too rich*, or *too good*; and this fellow *publishes*, that Mr. DIDDAMS said, that it was *too bad* for young pigs! The lie suited him for the moment; it seemed as a momentary gratification to his malignity, and that was enough.

Now, people of Preston, I do not state these things to you for the purpose of preventing you from *sending this fellow to Parliament again*; for that I know *to be impossible*. I lay them before you, in order to show you what a *false* thing it is; what a shameless LIAR it is; how clearly everybody sees this; and with what just scorn your *letter-franker* is treated by those chopsticks of the South, whom some of you consider as *ignorant people*. "The people at Longparish *laughed at him*." Do you not feel a little ashamed at reading these words? They laughed at your *Cock*: those "ignorant" clod-thumpers *laughed* at so barefaced a LIAR; and they wondered, I dare say, what sort of people those must have been who could choose such a fellow *a second time!*

But now let us view him as the traducer of Mr. MITCHELL. For years one of his *charges* against BAINES OF LEEDS was, that he had designated Mr. MITCHELL to have been a government *spy* in the days of Oliver; and now, he himself calls Mr. MITCHELL *a spy*. And when did he *change*? Up to the month of August, 1831, or thereabouts, Mr. Mitchell was, in his letters, his "*dear friend Mitchell*;" he was to him "*as the apple of his eye*;" and always concluded his letters to him with "*may God bless you and your family*." What, then, caused him to see that Mr. Mitchell had been *a spy*? Why, read Mr. Mitchell's history of the *finances*, published in the PRESTON CHRONICLE of the 26th of November last, and then you will know. You will know that Mr. Mitchell became a *spy* precisely at the time *when the subscriptions became exhausted*, and when he would *give* or *lend* no more money out of his own pocket. Mr. Mitchell has not done *his duty*, his bounden duty, either to himself or to the cause of reform. His account of the *expenses of the travelling* of THE LIAR; his account of the *Stamford-street payments*; his account of the *cost of the processions*; his story of the *ten-pound trip to Liverpool*; and, above all, his account of *the subscription to the Catholic charity ball*; all these taken together, and especially when viewed in the same picture with the *asking for bacon* at Mr. DIDDAMS'S, do indeed present us with the "*beau ideal of a sturdy beggar*;" but this is not enough. We want from Mr. Mitchell's pen, not reflections, not censure, not sarcasm; but a dry and plain statement of *sums paid, to whom*, and *for what*, or under *what pretence*. This is what we want: the whole is, in this case, a mere *matter of money*. Put down the "*lodgings*," and in short every disbursement, and to *whom paid*; into *whose hands* paid. This is what is wanted; and it would be more amusing than any farce or novel that ever was published. There was, in consequence of the appeal of the people of Preston, a good sum instantly *raised in the City*, and I had a *sum sent from Lynn*. But when we found *the channel into which it was going*, we held our hands, and I sent my money back to Lynn. We saw *how the money would go*; and we wanted it to *go to the people of Preston*, who, we soon discovered, would never get a farthing of it.

However, to come back to the SPY-LIE. For more than ten years THE LIAR had called this a *false* and *infamous* charge against Mr. Mitchell, and now he makes the charge himself. Mr. Mitchell was put into *jail two years* by the Government, *after the charge was made*. No *new proof* has arisen to support the charge: so that THE LIAR has been calling Mr. Mitchell his "DEAR FRIEND" and "THE APPLE OF HIS EYE," for years, *while he believed him to be a government spy*; or he now, when the subscriptions are exhausted, calls him a spy, and *does not believe him to be one*.

When at Leeds, on the 4th of March last, I put Mr. MANN to the test upon this point. I said to him, "THE LIAR "calls Mitchell a spy; do you believe "that he was one?" Mr. MANN answered, "Well." Oh! no "*well*," said I. Two years ago, when I was here at

Leeds, one of your grounds of reproach against Baines was, that he had *falsely* and *basely* called Mitchell a spy of the Government; and do you now *hesitate* upon the subject? "Well," said he, "ask Mr. Johnstone, of Manchester." "I have asked him," said I; "that "matter was fully discussed when I was "at his house. At the very utmost no- "thing but *indiscretion* was ever brought "home to Mitchell; and after hearing "everything, Mr. Thomas Smith of Li- "verpool was of opinion, that no proof "whatever was ever produced to make "out treachery in Mitchell. But," added I, "the worst of it is, that YOU could "not discover any proof, or presumption, "of this sort, till it was wanted to uphold "the brazen assertions of THE LIAR; "and he could never discover any pre- "sumption of guilt in Mitchell, as long "as *the funds* lasted! However, this "I know, that when I was here last, "YOU called Baines 'a *black-hearted* "*scoundrel*' for having *called Mitchell* "*a spy*; you have been upon the most "intimate terms with Mitchell since that "time; and now, when the Preston funds "fail, you have, all of a sudden, found "out that he was a *spy*; and, what is "very curious, YOU and THE LIAR "make the discovery *just at the same* "*time!*"

With regard to Mr. Smithson the charge is just as groundless and just as malignant. You are aware, that when Lord Morpeth presented the *petition from Leeds* for applying the tithes in Ireland to the relief of the poor, a base LIAR published in the newspapers, that the meeting at which this petition was passed was "got up by one Smithson, a man who had *roasted the Bible.*" Smithson contradicted this by petition to the House; but his petition could not be received. This was clearly an attempt, on the part of this MALIGNANT LIAR, to throw *discredit* on this important petition; and this too in order to favour the notorious Tory, Sadler. When therefore I got to Leeds, I was resolved to get at the bottom and at the motive of this malignant lie. I asked Mr. Mann (the declared enemy of Smithson) *what ground* there was for the story, which seemed to me to have been hatched up for no other purpose than that of injuring a petition which every good man in the country approved of. He did not tell me *what ground*; but said that *he believed the charge to be true.* When I asked Mr. Smithson about it, he treated it as a vile lie, invented for the occasion. But now finding Mann, whom I have long known for a very honest and punctual bookseller, and Smithson, who is a joiner, and also keeps a beer-house, and whom I had not known before, but of whom very worthy men gave a good character; finding these two at daggers drawn, and causing great division amongst the working people, I wished to come at the *bottom* of their quarrel, in order that I might produce reconciliation if possible. I began by asking Mann what deadly offence Smithson had committed *against him*; because I was not to be made to believe that the *Bible-roasting* was his real offence. Mann told me, that Smithson had accused him of having been *accessory to the death of Thistlewood.* Here was something indeed to ground hostility upon. I then saw Smithson, and besought him to retract the charge, which appeared to me to be absurd. Smithson said, that he never made any such charge; but that *seven pounds and some odd shillings* had been collected by some persons (whom he named) to send Mann to London, early in 1820, or late in 1819, to caution Thistlewood *against placing any reliance on support from the country, and to beseech him not to attempt anything desperate or unlawful;* that Mann *took the money* and never returned it; that he *never went near Thistlewood to caution him;* and that, if he had done it, that unfortunate man might have been restrained from making the attempt *that cost him his life.* When I asked Mann for his answer to this, he acknowledged that he *took the money;* that he had *never returned the money;* said that he went to London for the purpose of executing his mission; but that *he was advised not to go near Thistlewood;* and that *he did not go near him.* When I asked him WHO it was that *advised* him thus, he said "*Major Cartwright*

for one." I reminded him, that *I was in London at that time;* that I frequently saw him there and frequently conversed with him; and yet, that he never even mentioned *to me* this mission to Thistlewood, much less did he ask *my advice*, and that if he had I most assuredly should have advised him to execute his mission faithfully.

Now, men of Preston, honest and sincere as I believe you, I pray you to attend to what I am now going to say. MAJOR CARTWRIGHT is *dead*; and dead men are not witnesses. MANN did not ask MY advice in this case; and *I am alive*. What other *live* man's advice he asked I know not; but he named nobody but the *dead* Major. But there was *another man*, with whom he was *almost constantly*, while in London at that time; and that was HUNT. Now MANN did not tell me that this was one of his *advisers* in the case aforesaid; and I do not *know* that he was; but take the following undeniable facts, and then judge for yourselves. 1. That when Mann was in London, at that time, *he was almost constantly with* HUNT. 2. That Thistlewood had called Hunt *a coward* for his conduct at Manchester in the preceding month of August. 3. That, when Thistlewood and his associates were taken in Cato-street, Hunt published in the newspapers, that they meaned to assassinate *him* and *me* as well as the ministers. 4. That I published a paragraph expressing *my disbelief* in this, as far as related to myself. 5. That, while Thistlewood and the others were waiting their trial, Hunt said, that, if nobody else could be found *to hang* Thistlewood, he would do it with his own hands; "aye, and that b—— his *wife* too, for she *hates me* as much as he does."

You will observe, that all these facts can be proved *upon oath;* and you, like just and sensible and humane men, will consider them well; and the good and honest and deceived RADICALS *at Leeds* ought to *consider them well*. They ought to see the true object of MANN'S recent mission to HUNT at Manchester. They ought to see that the *Bible-roasting lie* is the offspring of this old accusation, now revived by the provocation given by MANN, in his attempt to cram the great CORN LIAR and FOOL down the throats of the people of Leeds and SADLER along with him! But now for the proof of this lie.

You will bear in mind, that a petition was agreed upon at Leeds, founded on a motion of Mr. JOSHUA BOWER; that SMITHSON having supported that motion, MANN opposed it, though the very best petition ever presented in our day; that when the petition came before the House, a BASE LIAR published, in his newspaper the next day, that the Leeds *meeting had been got up* by one SMITHSON, who had *roasted the Bible;* thereby saying, in fact, that *those who petitioned against tithes were* INFIDELS. When therefore I got into Yorkshire, and was *met by Mr.* MANN, at Halifax, and afterwards at Dewsbury, I asked him what *foundation* there was for this charge against SMITHSON, which had been attempted to be turned to so mischievous an account. He said, that he believed the charge *to be true;* but he did not mention *any proof* that he had. SMITHSON treated the charge as a base calumny, invented for the purpose of throwing discredit on the meeting and on the petition. Both MANN and SMITHSON sold tickets for the *Lectures*, and I had to see them both frequently. On Friday, the 24th February, my servant, who had been at Mann's shop for something, brought me word, that he had seen an old man there, who had a Bible in a handkerchief, and who said that "*he saw Smithson* "*roast the Bible*, and that he wanted, "the Saturday before, to roast that which "he had in his handkerchief; that, upon "hearing this relation, Mr. Mann CRIED; "that the old man said he would make "*an affidavit of it;* and that MANN "*took him away to make the affidavit.*" Soon after hearing this wonderful story, the old man came to see me, having a large thing, in form of a book, in a handkerchief. My servant I kept in the room all the time he was there. He said nothing about Bible-roasting; but, told me, that he was about *ninety years old*, that he lived *eight miles off*, that his name was WALKER, and that *a kind friend* always gave him a bed when he came to Leeds,

as he was not able to walk back the same day, and that he had come in to hear the Lecture, and to see a man whose writings he had so long admired, and that, as the Lecture was put off till Monday, he had come to see me at the Inn.

The old man had been gone about an hour, perhaps, when SMITHSON came to settle something about the Lecture, and he expressed his sorrow for the postponement, because there was an old friend of his *ninety years of age* who had come in on purpose to hear it, and that *he* (Smithson) *always gave the poor old fellow a bed* when he came to Leeds. I asked him the old man's name; he said it was *Walker!* It would have been to partake in the perfidy, not to tell Smithson what this man had said at MANN'S, and about the *affidavit*. He was horror-stricken; and well he might. In about an hour or so he returned to the Inn in great haste, and begged that my servant might go to his house with him. There this old man, in the presence of my servant, said that the Bible-roasting *took place in* 1795, when Smithson was a child in petticoats, and that, as to the last Saturday's affair, it was a mere joke in derision of the lie in the House of Commons. In short, the old man here negatived all that he had said at MANN'S shop, and that had made Mr. Mann CRY! I told Mr. MANN how false this old Walker was, and besought him to confess his error. He said he had *other witnesses*. But honest men of Leeds, if he have other witnesses, *why* did he not *name* them to me, and why, O why! did he go away with this old Walker to get HIS AFFIDAVIT! And why, O why! was NOT that affidavit made! Why, when the story came before persons not bereft of their senses by feelings of deadly enmity, it was seen that it was false, and that the attempt to uphold it by such means must cover all the parties with everlasting infamy.

Now, good people of Preston and "Radical Union" men of Leeds, it is in the nature of honesty and sincerity *not to be suspicious*; not to be suspicious is to be exposed to deception by cunning knaves and bold impostors. You have been deceived in consequence of your own frankness and sincerity; any errors that you may have committed in consequence of that deception are excusable; but when you are *undeceived*, then to persevere in error is not excusable. I can neither gain by the correction of your errors, nor lose by your perseverance in them. In addressing you upon this occasion, I have no motive other than that of wishing you to act a part tending to the good of the country, and to your own well-being; and in the hope that you will act that part, I remain your obliged and faithful friend, and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO COUNTRY PEOPLE.

LET nobody persuade you to quit England to go to COLONIES. You are sure, either to die speedily or to lead most degraded and miserable lives. If you can get to live under the cheap government of the UNITED STATES, it may be worth the voyage; but if you go to Colonies, misery for life is your lot. However, there is this to be said; that those who go to these Colonies are such stupid and base creatures as not to be fit to be treated in any way other than as cattle. But you, good *bat-men* of Kent and Sussex, stay you at home, and keep the invaders away; or, if you do move, move only to the United States.

WM. COBBETT.

LEEDS POLITICAL UNION.

On the 5th of April a general meeting of the members of this Union was held at the Commercial Buildings, to hear the letters of T. B. Macaulay, John Marshall, jun., and M. T. Sadler, Esqrs., on the vital question of tithes;

Mr. JOSHUA BOWER in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the business, briefly stated the object of the meeting.

Mr. LEES, the secretary, said, that in consequence of the great interest which was attached to the tithe question, he had been instructed by the council of

the Leeds Political Union to address the following letter to each of the three candidates for the representation of the borough of Leeds :—

Council-Room, March 13, 1832.

SIR,—The question of tithes for Ireland is every day increasing its interest in the minds of the thinking part of the community, and, from its importance, claims (after the Reform Bill) the first attention of our legislators, and of those who may be instrumental in raising them to that distinguished honour. With this impression, the Leeds Political Union deem it an indispensable duty they owe to themselves and their posterity, not to support any candidate for the representation of Leeds, who will not most explicitly and frankly avow his sentiments upon this vital subject.

The council have therefore authorised us to submit the enclosed questions to the consideration of each candidate, and to request that you, as one, would favour me with your early opinion, that I may lay the same before the meeting on Tuesday next.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
J. LEES, Secretary.

To Messrs. Macaulay, Sadler, and Marshall.

Do you consider the revenues of the church to be public or private property?

What is your opinion respecting the appropriation of a part of the immense wealth of the church to the necessities of the state?

What is your opinion of the Leeds petition respecting Irish Tithes, and their appropriation to the *poor*, the clergy, and the church equally?

In your opinion, ought the present incumbents to receive the whole or any part of their present income during life?

To this letter the following answers had been received :—

FROM T. B. MACAULAY.

London, March 15, 1832.

SIR,—I highly approve of the resolution which has been formed by the gentlemen in whose name you have written, not to support any candidate who will not explicitly and frankly avow his sentiments upon the question of tithes. On this, and on every subject, my opinions, whether popular or unpopular, shall be openly and fearlessly stated.

I will answer your questions as shortly and clearly as I can.

To the first I say, that in my opinion part of the church revenues is private property, and part public property. An advowson which has come by purchase or by inheritance, into the hands of an individual, seems to me just as much his property as his house. It may be taken from him for public purposes, just as his house might be taken from him in order to make a canal or a rail-road; but, as in the case of his house, so in the case of his advowson, full compensation ought to be given. There are, however, if I am rightly informed, very few advowsons of this kind in Ireland.

The revenues of bishoprics, of deans and chapters, of benefices to which the crown nominates, are, in my opinion, strictly public property, and may, without injustice to any human being, be applied by the legislature to public purposes, as soon as the existing interests expire. Almost all the church property of Ireland is of this latter kind. The revenues of the church of Ireland are, therefore, in my judgment, public property.

To the second question I answer, that a considerable portion of the church property ought, in my opinion, to be applied to public services, due regard being had to existing interests.

To the third question I answer, that in my opinion it is of little consequence to us now what may have been the distribution of the tithes seven hundred years ago. Whatever may have been the original distribution, we know that for some centuries the tithes have not been equally divided between the church, the clergy, and the poor; and that no advowson or presentation has for some centuries been bought or sold, with the understanding that the tithes were to be so divided. The claim, if it ever ex-

isted, has been dormant for many generations. The discussion of it may now amuse antiquarians; but it is, I think, not a subject worthy of the grave consideration of statesmen.

Consider, too, that if the tithes are to be now appropriated to their own original purposes, the clergyman's third will, both in England and Ireland, go to the Catholic priest: for it was for the support of the Catholic religion that tithes were originally instituted in this country. We cannot apply the tithe to its original uses, without establishing the Catholic religion again.

I by no means say that it may not be very proper to apply a large part of the church property of Ireland to the relief of the poor. But if this is done, it ought to be done because it is useful and humane to do it, and not from any regard to a law which, if it ever existed, has been obsolete for many hundreds of years.

The fourth question I am not sure that I quite understand. I do not know what is meant by the abolition of tithes as contra-distinguished from commutation. The mode of collecting the tithe may be changed. The appropriation of the tithe may be changed, but the tithe itself cannot be abolished. That part of the produce which the clergyman receives must always remain. Somebody must have it. If nobody else takes it, the landlord, who clearly has no right to it, will take it. Indeed all the preceding questions imply that the tithe is to remain, though collected and appropriated on new principles. If tithe is abolished, it cannot be appropriated to the necessities of the state, to use the words of the second question; or appropriated to the poor, the clergy, and the church equally, to use the words of the third question.

To the last question I answer that the present incumbents ought, in my opinion, to receive the whole of their revenues during life. If their life interest be not property they have no claim whatever. If it be, as I believe it to be, property in the strictest sense, they have a claim to the whole.

Whatever you may think of these answers, you will, I trust, be of opinion that they are frank and explicit.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
T. B. MACAULAY. (Applause.)

FROM JOHN MARSHALL.

Headingly, Leeds, March 19th, 1832.

SIR,—I will reply as distinctly as I am able to the inquiries made by you on behalf of the Leeds Political Union, as to my opinions on several points regarding the tithes and the revenues of the national church.

I am decidedly of opinion that the greater part of the revenues of the church are public and not private property; that they should be appropriated to the securing a proper and sufficient provision for the support of religion; and that it is only after having attained this object, that they should be applied to such other purposes as are most beneficial to the state.

I agree with the principle on which the Leeds petition is grounded, but I think that the manner in which the Irish tithes ought to be appropriated, requires further consideration. I am of opinion that there should be an entire abolition of tithes in Ireland, by a commutation of them for a fixed amount chargeable on the owners of land.

I think the present incumbents, who do the duties of their office, have an equitable claim to the enjoyment of their incomes for life.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. MARSHALL, jun.

To Mr. J. Lees,
Secretary to the Leeds Political Union.

FROM M. T. SADLER.

London, March 28th, 1832.

SIR,—I received your letter some days ago, which I regret I have not previously answered. I trust, however, that constant and pressing engagements in reference to an important public measure now in progress (the Factories Regulation Bill) will apologise for the delay, as also for the haste in which I

am now obliged to address you on the subject of the Irish tithes, to which your letter refers. I have expressed myself so recently and so much at large, at the public meeting in which yourself, the president, and a large portion of the council and members of the Union to which you belong, were, I believe, present, that I have really nothing further to add, excepting that I am more and more convinced that an adequate provision for the starving poor of Ireland is one of the first duties of the legislature, and ought to be no longer delayed* for any question, however important; an opinion to which I am glad to find myself sanctioned by the press here, and especially by that part of it, with whose views you, probably, most nearly concur. I cherish hope, therefore, that, on a candid and mature consideration of the subject, and seeing how deeply the rights of the deserted and starving poor of Ireland are implicated, and also the interests of the operative classes of England, whose wages are grievously diminished by a multitude of Irish competitors, who are, literally speaking, now starved out of their own country, I shall have your good wishes in favour of the endeavour which I am about to renew for poor-laws in Ireland, as I hope I have also for the success of the attempt in which I am now anxiously engaged, and which has prevented me from replying to your letter in due course.

I remain your faithful servant,

MICHAEL THOMAS SADLER.

To Mr. Joseph Lees, &c. &c.

P.S. With all due respect to yourself, I am obliged to state that I have it not in my power to continue the correspondence on this subject, having more communications from the secretaries of the operative societies of Great Britain, in reference to the important subject which I have undertaken, and engagements upon my hand in reference to it, than I can properly attend to.

* Vide *Globe* newspaper, March 31.—"We should like to see the provision for the poor (of Ireland) first." *Morning Chronicle*, March 22.—"We also should like to see the provision for the poor *first*."

The above letter was addressed to—"Mr. Joseph Lees, Secretary, Leeds and Holbeck Union, Leeds."

Mr. LEES, having read the letters, said, that he considered that of Mr. Sadler, being addressed to him as the Secretary of the Leeds and Hulbeck Union, a direct insult both to himself and to the Union, inasmuch as the body of his letter to Mr. Sadler distinctly stated, that he wrote on behalf of the Leeds Political Union, which must have been before him at the time he answered. He wished to make but one observation upon the purport of Mr. Sadler's answer, and that was, that his apology for not answering sooner was the pressure of business. Now five questions had been proposed to him relative to the tithes—Mr. Marshall had answered the whole in 188 words, whilst Mr. Sadler had made use of 390 words without answering one question.

Mr. T. T. METCALFE, after an able speech in which he spoke in high terms of the splendid talents and excellent principles of Mr. Macaulay, and of the deserved estimation in which Mr. John Marshall was held by his townsmen, concluded hy proposing—

"That the thanks of this meeting are due to T. B. Macaulay and John Marshall, Jun., Esquires, for their frank, prompt, and manly answers to the questions of the Political Council respecting the great subject of Tithes, and that the Secretary of the Union be instructed to communicate the same to each of the parties."

Mr. HEALD, in an eloquent and argumentative speech, seconded the motion, which was put by the chairman, and carried with only one dissentient.

Both the mover and seconder of this resolution spoke of Mr. Macaulay and Mr. John Marshall as most fit and proper persons to represent this borough in Parliament, and were frequently and loudly cheered.

Mr. SMITHSON said that he highly approved of the resolution, but thought that the meeting should not pledge themselves to any particular candidates.

The CHAIRMAN said, he did not wish any pledge to be given, but the letters

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of Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Marshall proved them to be men of talents and men of principle; as to Mr. Sadler offering himself to represent Leeds, when he had endeavoured, by opposing the Reform Bill, to prevent the electors from returning members, it was ridiculous; and he thought even the aristocrats must laugh at the man who could act so inconsistent and dishonourable a part. (Laughter and cheers.)

The meeting showed their opinion of Mr. Sadler's disingenuous and evasive answer, by passing over his *merits* in entire silence. To one of the five questions proposed to Mr. Sadler, his letter is an answer, by reference: but to the other four, none of which were discussed at the Leeds meeting, it is no answer whatever.

Mr. LEES proposed—

"That this meeting view with great satisfaction the donation of ten pounds given to the Leeds Political Union by John Marshall, Esq., as a decided proof of his liberality of both purse and political principle, and also as furnishing the best lesson to the higher orders of society, to assist their poorer neighbours to obtain those liberties, without which the distinction riches confer will soon cease to exist. This meeting, therefore, offer him their sincere acknowledgments, and hope they may long enjoy his friendship and confidence."

Mr. Z. ORRELL seconded the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Grosvenor, of Hunslet, was appointed one of the political council for the middle class, in the room of Mr. Blaxland, who has left Leeds.

The meeting was then adjourned to next Thursday evening, at half-past seven o'clock.

The Chairman having left the chair, it was taken by Mr. Nichols, when, on the motion of Mr. T. T. Metcalfe, seconded by Mr. E. Matterson, the thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Joshua Bower for his able and impartial conduct in the chair, and the meeting separated.

NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

The council of this union met on the 11th April; Mr. OWEN in the chair.

The SECRETARY stated that three pounds were received in support of the lectures, under the superintendence of the council, and a dictionary from Mr. Berthold.

The Rev. Mr. Fox, in preferring his motion, said, that the crisis is coming, or come, towards which institutions of this kind have been looking, and that shall determine whether the right shall be demanded in a more decided manner than usual. What will be necessary to be done, should now require the most intense consideration of the council; and to accomplish which is our determination, by legal, peaceful, but determined action, which may ensure that success sought and required; for a nation to be freed is sufficient that she wills it—and that she wills it not from intemperance, but knowledge. It was for this purpose the council were elected by the union, and he trusted that every member of it will be found at his post, and meet it by some determined measure. He therefore moved "*that should the Reform Bill be rejected, a special meeting of the council should be held on the following evening, to consider what means should be adopted in such an unfortunate exigency.*"

Mr. ROGERS seconded the motion, and vindicated the council from an apparent apathy concerning the fate of reform, as they have depended solely on my Lord Grey, who had pledged himself so strenuously and decidedly—and whose pledges were sincere—that the bill should be carried. They did not, therefore, suggest means to Lord Grey, rather rendering themselves liable to the charge of inaction than of impeding the progress of the bill by idle suggestions. He alluded to the *non-payment of taxes* in case of rejection; for he believed that the opinion was general concerning the mode to be adopted; nay, he considered that the rejection of the Reform Bill should be a warning to *every tradesman to shut up his shop, meet in the squares, and to deliberate; and from*

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deliberation, proceed to action, should that be found necessary.

Mr. CARPENTER submitted to the meeting, whether, even if the bill were not rejected, if the passing the second reading was merely to *smother* or *mutilate* the bill, a meeting should not be similarly called: for the democratic parts of the bill, were it carried, will be annihilated, and its tendency *rendered useless*, under the modifications likely to be made. Many Lords will vote for the second reading of the bill, not to render themselves obnoxious, and yet to render their own party and views victorious by the manner in which they will be able to mangle it in committee.

The motion of Mr. Fox's was unanimously agreed to.

IRISH TITHES.

NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION.

To the honourable House of Commons, the Petition of the Chairman, acting in Behalf and under the Direction of the Council of the Northern Political Union,

Humbly showeth,

That your petitioners hear with regret, that his Majesty's Ministers have proposed to your honourable House to pass a bill to cause the arrears of tithe, which the clergy of the church of Ireland have been unable to collect, to be paid or advanced out of the proceeds of taxes levied upon the people of England.

That your petitioners, were the Irish church even that which it has been described to be, an establishment for the support and propagation of the Protestant religion, as by law established, would consider such a measure as this in the highest degree unjust.

That your petitioners, however, are aware of the real nature of the establishment or institution, styled the Irish Church, and beg to represent the same to your honourable House, in order that your honourable House may at once see the justice of the prayer of this their petition.

That, accordingly, your petitioners beg to state to your honourable House, in the emphatic words of William Cobbett, as used in a petition upon the subject of the Irish church, presented to your honourable House in the year 1829; that there are in Ireland 3403 parishes; that these are moulded into 515 livings; and that, therefore, each parson has, on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that this is not the worst, however, for that many of the livings are united, and that the whole 3403 parishes are divided amongst less than 350 parsons; that of the 3403 parishes there are only 139 that have parsonage houses, so that there is now remaining only one parsonage house to every 24 parishes, and only 465 that have any churches, or 1 church to 7 parishes; and that even in these residences of the incumbent, or even a curate, seldom takes place for any length of time; that the church, as by law established, would seem to be merely the means of making, out of the public resources, provision for certain families and parsons; that of the 4 archbishops and 18 bishops of the Irish church, as by law established, there are, as your petitioners believe, 14 who are by blood or marriage, related to Peers; that a similar principle appears to your humble petitioners to prevail in the filling of the other dignities and livings; and that, therefore, the Irish church, as by law established, really does seem to your humble petitioners to exist for no purpose other than that of furnishing the Government with the means of bestowing money on the aristocracy.

That your petitioners, looking at the state of the revenue, and looking at the general truth of the foregoing statement, entreat your honourable House not to apply any portion of taxes, so much wanted for the service of the country, to the payment of that which your petitioners cannot but consider as a set of unmerited pensions bestowed upon the sons, nephews, cousins, and other relations, of the aristocracy, and, upon the sons, nephews, cousins, and other relations of the favourites, male or female, of the aristocracy.

That your petitioners, therefore, in conclusion, humbly entreat your honourable House not to sanction any bill causing the arrears of the tithes of the Irish church to be paid out of taxes levied upon Englishmen.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

CHARLES ATTWOOD, Chairman.

Eldon Coffee-Rooms, April 3, 1832.

The following petition was presented to the Lords by Lord KING, on 30th of March.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the undersigned individuals, members of council of the Political Union, of the town of Bradford in the county of Wilts,

Humbly showeth,

That your petitioners have viewed with grief, the rejection of the late bill for the amending the representation of England and Wales, by your right honourable House, without going into committee thereon.

That your petitioners confiding in the well-

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known justice, honour, and wisdom, of your right honourable House, feel assured, that if your right honourable House had proceeded with the aforesaid bill in committee of your right honourable House, and had it been proved to the satisfaction of such committee that the majority of the Commons House of Parliament was returned by borough proprietors and close corporations, your petitioners feel confident that your right honourable House would have allowed that those so sent could not be the representatives of the people; but the representatives of such borough proprietors and corporations only.

That your petitioners do not believe that the bill for the amending the representation of England and Wales is free from error; but that in the opinion of your petitioners, had such a representation been in existence forty years ago, it would in some measure have prevented the accumulation of an enormous national debt, the present long list of useless places and unmerited pensions, and would have rendered the present standing army useless and unnecessary.

That your petitioners believe that the long-procrastinated delay of passing the bill for the amending of the representation of England and Wales, has been deeply injurious to trade and commerce, thereby affecting the best interest of the community.

That your petitioners feel assured that your Lordships are aware that according to the constitution, and the ancient law of the land, the House of Commons was designed to represent the opinions of the people; and as that House, by an immense majority of its members, has declared itself to be radically bad, and unable to represent such opinions, they hope that your right honourable House will throw no obstacle in the passing of the aforesaid bill (thereby disappointing the just wishes of millions), but pass the same with as little delay as the forms of your right honourable House will admit.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

COBBETT'S CORN,

RAISED LAST YEAR,

BY RICHARD ILES, FAIRFORD,

GLOUCESTERSHIRE,

ON SALE FOR SEED.

TO THE PUBLIC.

It now being a well-authenticated truth, that the species of Indian Corn, best known by the appellation of "Cobbett's Corn" (it being introduced into this country by Mr. WILLIAM COBBETT, jun.; and the growth of it so seduously, so laudably, and successfully propagated by his father), that this corn will fully ripen in this climate; that it will flourish and become fruitful, under the employment of suitable means of cultivation, on every description of soil excepting that which has a wet bottom; that it is capable of produce prodigiously great, as compared even to the best crops raised in this country of any other description of grain; that a mixture of a suitable quantity of the corn-flour with wheat-flour will make bread that is preferable to that which is made wholly of the latter; that for fatting of pigs it has a preference to barley, quantity for quantity, in a large degree; that the tops of the corn, as also its leaves and its stalks, are a valuable provender for horses, for cattle, and for sheep in winter. That, as from articles in *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* of the 5th, 12th, 19th, and 26th of November last; and from a large mass of information from persons of most credible testimony residing in the east and north, as well as of the west and south of England, not forgetting Scotland; which appeared also in the *Register* of the next ensuing December (some of these persons, all of them growers of the corn, stating their produce to have been 120 bushels, and in some instances 160, of shelled corn to the acre). That as all these facts, and statements of facts, wholly incontrovertible as they are, make out and establish a reputation of promise of great national benefit for this new sort of grain. I have, therefore, only to state that I have the corn to sell for seed, upon a scale of price and quantity hereafter to be specified; first, however, briefly showing the practical ground upon which I offer it to the judgment of the public.

On ¼ of an acre and 9½ poles of ground my produce, as the reader may perceive from the following arrangement of figures, was in the full proportion of 68 bushels of shelled corn to the acre. It is of the finest quality, and in the best state of preservation.

	R.	P.	Ears.	Shelled Corn.
On	0	26½	26 Bushels.	13 Bushels
On	0	5¾	32 Bushels.	16 Bushels.
On	1	17½	46 Bushels.	23 Bushels.
Total	3	9½	104 Bushels.	52 Bushels.

On the 26½ poles planted the third week in May it will be perceived, that there is a produce proportionate to nearly 80 bushels of shelled corn to the acre. Let it, however, be observed, that on this piece of ground there was an omission of the *necessary* interculture by the horse plough,* which materially reduced the crop. On the two other pieces, planted, I believe, in the last week in May and first in June, which produced the finest corn, there was a deficiency of full one half of the plants by the wire worm, rabbits, and birds; so that I do not consider the quantity of 90, or even 100 bushels as an extraordinary quantity for the average of the soils of this country to produce.

* For complete instructions, for propagating, cultivating, harvesting, and preserving the corn, I strongly recommend, as essential, the perusal of Mr. Cobbett's Treatise.

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TABLE OF PRICES,

When planted in Rows of 3 feet apart, and the Plants 8 inches in the Row.

	Rods.	£.	s.	d.
Quantity for planting *nearly*	2 ..	0	0	2
Ditto, in the same proportion, from 1 to	5 ..	0	0	5
Ditto, for planting	10 ..	0	1	0
Ditto, ditto	20 ..	0	2	6
Ditto, ditto	40 ..	0	5	0
Ditto, ditto	80 ..	0	10	0
Ditto, ditto (1 acre)	160 ..	1	0	0

It will be observed, that the prices of this scale for the smaller quantities are in proportion lower than those of the larger quantities. This is intended for the advantage of the labouring man in planting for his first crop.

RICHARD ILES.

Fairford, April 9, 1832.

For instructions to labourers for raising it, *see Two-penny Trash*, No. 10, for the month of April, 1831.

N. B. Money payments will reasonably be expected, especially from strangers; but orders will be instantly attended to, and corn conveyed without delay to any reasonable distance.

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP, No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6*s.* a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14*s.*

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10*d.* a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9*d.* a pound; above 100lbs., 8½*d.* A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6*d.* a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed

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of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, FIRST *as bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; SECOND, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; THIRD, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; FOURTH, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; FIFTH, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE. £.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly TWO RODS	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

CRAFTER, J., Tooley-street, Southwark, victualler.

FORTNUM, C., Nunhead-hill, Peckham rye, Surrey, brick-maker.

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GARDINER, W. H., Nesteufalgate, ironmonger.
HETTON, G., Reading, Berkshire, chinaman.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

WISEMAN, L., Norwich, silkman.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BOUGHTON, T., Liverpool, builder.
MACKAY, J., Broad-street, insurance-broker.

BANKRUPTS.

CARTER, J., Worksop, Notts, corn-factor.
COBLE, J. and G., Kentish-buildings, Southwark, hop-factors.
MARSHALL, W., Holborn-bars, pocket-book-maker.
MAY, W. H., Great George-street, Mansion-house, merchant.
PARKER, S., Argyle-place, Regent-street bronzist and lamp-maker.
TAYLOR, W., Malden, Surrey, gunpowder-manufacturer.
TURNER, P., Norwich, confectioner.

TUESDAY, APRIL 10, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

CROOKS, G., Anglesea-place Lisson-house, baker.
ELLA, J. White-Conduit-terrace, Islington.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

THOMAS, R., late of Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

AKERS, J. S., Birmingham, victualler.
ESAM, E., Thame, Oxfordshire, draper.
GALLIER, J., Park-street, Grosvenor-square, carpenter.
HAYNES, T., Great Yarmouth, cabinet-maker.
HENESEY, R., Drury-lane, timber-merch.
LATHAM, J., late of Llanelly, Carmarthenshire, spirit-merchant.
LEACH, C., New Manor-st., Chelsea, baker.
NEWLAND, N., and Henry White, Portsea, drapers.
NICHOLS, J. and T. Walter, Skinner-street, ironmongers.
ORBELL, J., Great Henny, Essex, miller.
PINKEMAN, J., late of White Lion-st., Pentonville, victualler.
POWER, R. J. W., Havant, Southampton, fellmonger.
SCORAH, W., East Retford, Nottinghamshire, cabinet-maker.
WAYLING, R., jun., late of Ramsey, Essex, butcher.
WILKINSON, R., Copthall-buildings, accountant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

KER, A., Edinburgh, cabinet-maker.
MUCKARSIE, J., Dundee, grocer.
RITCHIE, J., Perth, merchant.
TORRANCE, W., Glasgow, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 9.—Supplies have been, since this day se'nnight, wheat, barley, oats, beans, peas, and seeds, of from all quarters, very limited; of English malt, and English, Irish, and Scotch flour, moderately good.

As this day's market was tolerably well attended both by London and country buyers, and most kind of grain, as above stated, in but limited supply, advanced prices were pretty generally, and somewhat stiffly demanded; but as these were not very willingly submitted to, the trade was, particularly during the two first hours of business, with each kind of corn, as also malt, pulse, seeds, and flour, very dull; with wheat, barley, and oats, at an advance of about 1*s.* per quarter: with peas, beans, malt, seeds, and flour, at last Monday's prices.

Wheat	51s. to 66s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
——— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	35s. to 39s.
——— Boilers	39s. to 44s.
——— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	25s. to 28s.
——— Poland	23s. to 26s.
——— Feed	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 49s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	—s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	82s. to 86s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	80s. to 90s.
——— Cork	86s. to 88s.
——— Limerick	84s. to 88s.
——— Waterford	80s. to 86s.
——— Dublin	74s. to 76s.
Cheese, Cheshire	56s. to 76s.
——— Gloucester, Double	56s. to 64s.
——— Gloucester, Single	48s. to 54s.
——— Edam	48s. to 54s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	56s. to 58s.

SMITHFIELD.—April 9.

This day's supply of beasts was rather limited as to numbers, but as to quality very prime: of small stock, moderately good as to both. The trade was, in the whole, dull: with beef at an advance; veal at a depression of 2*d.* per stone; with mutton, lamb, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,394; sheep and lambs, 18,200; calves, 101; pigs, 160.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 13.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices full as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83⅜	83⅜	83⅝	83½	83½	83¾

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book;

(*Price 2s.*)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3*s.* bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6*s.*

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

4. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5*s.*

5. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Greenhouses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6*s.*

6. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14*s.* bound in boards.

7. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price bound in boards, 5*s.*

8. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* in bds. To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

This day is published, price only One Penny, an Abridgment of COLONEL MACERONE'S

DEFENSIVE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PEOPLE, illustrated with spirited engravings. This little book is intended for general circulation, and the friends of liberty are respectfully solicited to lend their earnest endeavours to carry this intention into effect. "He that hath an ear to hear let him hear."

London: H. Hetherington, 13, Kingsgate-street, Holborn; W. Strange, 21, Paternoster-row; and all Booksellers in town and country.

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS; a New Agricultural and Trading NEWSPAPER, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs and Markets to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; Quantity on hand, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of all men of business throughout the Empire.

N. B. The Keepers of Commercial Inns, and those who have Ordinaries on Market Days, attended by Farmers, Corn-factors, Millers, Yeomen of the County, &c., will find the "Mark-Lane Express" the best and cheapest Monday Paper they can lay upon their tables for the use of their Customers.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers, Newsmen, and Clerks of the Roads, throughout the Empire.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 21ST, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

"In all human probability, then, the whole "of the interest of the debt, and all the sine-"cures and pensions and salaries, and also "the expenses of a thundering standing army, "will continue to be made up, by taxes, by "loans from the Bank, by exchequer bills, by "every species of contrivance, to the latest "possible moment, and until the whole of the "paper system, amidst the war of opinions, "of projects, of interests and of passions, shall "go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks: "And THEN comes the question: CAN "THE BOROUGHMONGERING SYS-"TEM OUTLIVE THIS TREMENDOUS "WRECK? If it can, if the army can still "be kept up, and if the personal safety of all "the people can still, as often as the Govern-"ment pleases, be suspended; if this breach "between the two systems does not LET IN "REFORM, it is hard to say how very low "this country is to be sunk in the scale of "nations."—Mr. COBBETT's *leave-taking address to his countrymen, published in the Register, 28th March*, 1817. *Vol. 32, page* 417.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER,

On the present Prospect with regard to Reform.

Kensington, 17th April, 1832.

Now my friends; now is the pinch! Let me first state the facts of the case. On Saturday morning, the 14th instant, the House of Lords divided on the question for *reading the bill a second time*, which motion was carried by a majority of nine, including proxies on both sides; but only by a majority of *two* of the Lords who were *present*. Now, observe, that several Lords who voted for the second reading, did so expressly with an intention of causing *great alterations of the bill in the committee*; so that it is clear, that, constituted as the House *now is*, it will never pass *this bill*; for, if altered in any material point, it is not *this bill*, but a different bill; and, for the people, what we must suppose, *a worse bill*.

But now, *what* are these alterations to be? Those who opposed the second reading, as well as those who assented to it, in order to *improve* it, were very plain and resolute in their condemnation of the TEN-POUND CLAUSE; and indeed there can be no doubt, that *their* intention is to alter that clause in such a way as to *raise the qualification*, and thereby shut out the *working people altogether from all share in the representation*. That such is their design there can be no doubt: but what will Lord GREY; what will this Minister, a thousand times pledged TO STAND OR FALL WITH THE BILL; what will he do? You will answer, "What do you ask "the question for? Can you think it "possible that he will remain an hour "in office, if the bill be thus cut away "from under him? He *will make peers* "to be sure, and carry the bill at the "third reading; or (the King refusing "to make the peers) he will *resign*, and "*tell us the cause of it.*"

My friends, I wish I could believe either of these: it gives me pain to differ from my disciples; but, if they entertain this belief, I do differ from them; and it is my bounden duty to tell them so; for it would be a grievous thing indeed, that they should, by-and-by, find themselves duped. I do believe, that, as the House now is, there will be a great majority for demolishing the *metropolitan members* and the *ten-pound clause*; I do believe, that Lord Grey will *not make peers to prevent this*; I do believe, that he will *not resign his office*; I do believe, that he will not tell us that the King will not allow him to make the peers; I do believe, *that he will remain in office, and endeavour to carry into execution the Reform Bill, thus mutilated and deprived of all its* "RE-

PICIENCY" *for the good of the people.* What the *people* will do is another thing!

DISCIPLE. But, Cobbett! Cobbett! Do you not suffer your calm judgment to be overcome by your prejudice, in this case? How can you believe, that *any* man; I will not say a *nobleman*, and a man who has been all his life a reformer; I will not say a man of "*high* honour;" but *any* man on earth: anything having two legs and a human tongue in its head: how can you believe, that any lump of flesh and blood and bone, going by the name of man, is capable of acting a part like this?

COBBETT. I *do* believe it, at any rate, as much as I believe that THOMAS GOODMAN, of Battle, was saved, and that HENRY COOK, of Michildever, was *hanged*.

DISCIPLE. Aye, now, there it is! You will never forget that Thomas Goodman and Rush (curate of Crowhurst) and Burrell and Treadcroft and Scawen Blunt and the bloody old *Times!*

COBBETT. Certainly I shall not forget them, nor BROUGHAM and VAUX, nor any of the famous group of the 7th of July, 1831; but I do assure you, that the recollection of that affair has no weight whatever in deciding my opinion now; which opinion is founded on facts which are undeniable, and on reasons which appear to me perfectly conclusive.

DISCIPLE. Pray, then, let us hear what those facts and reasons are.

COBBETT. In the first place, bear in mind, that the most strenuous opposition has been made to the bill on account of the *metropolitan members*, and, still more, on account of the *ten-pound clause*; that is to say, on account of those parts of it, which, if they become law, would give a part of the working people some influence in choosing members of Parliament. First, observe, *that*; and then hear what (according to the report in the *Chronicle*) Lord GREY said, in his *reply*; that is to say, after he had heard all that the opponents of the bill had said against *the ten-pound clause*. The ominous words are these: "The noble and learned Lord said that "Ministers were *pledged to consent to* "*no alterations* in the bill. Now al- "though he (Lord Grey) *thought* fifty- "six boroughs were not too many to "disfranchise and that ten pounds was "not too small a sum to which to ex- "tend the suffrage, *those propositions* "*were* no *part of the principle of the* "*bill*; and both of them *might be al-* "*tered* with *perfect consistency with* "*that principle.* But the noble and "learned Lord said that he (Lord "Grey) would not consent to any altera- "tion in the bill. To that assertion he "would make the same answer that he "made in October—that *it did not de-* "*pend upon him*, for that it depended "upon their lordships. When the bill "went into the committee, he should "certainly feel it is duty to resist any "alterations which he might think in- "consistent with the main object which "the bill proposed to carry into effect. "But, if it could be shown that any in- "justice had inadvertently crept into "any of the schedules—*if it could be* "*shown that any qualification, not so* "*small as ten pounds would be less open* "*to fraud and abuse*—he would *not re-* "*sist the correction of such circum-* "*stances.* It was, at the same time, "perfectly true, that he himself should "*strongly* oppose any diminution of the "number of fifty-six boroughs which it "was proposed to disfranchise, and "any increase of the *ten pounds* which "it was proposed to fix as the minimum "of qualification. But the *decision* on "those points *would depend on the* "*House, and not on him.* His *opinions* "were as he had stated them to be; "but it was in *the power of the House* "to make such alterations as might in "their opinion render the provisions of "the bill more accordant with the prin- "ciples of it."

DISCIPLE. Well, but he says, that he will oppose, and "*strongly* oppose," any increase of the amount of qualification.

COBBETT. Yes, but he no longer says, that he will "*stand or fall with the bill.*" He says, that the enfranchisement of ten-pound householders

"forms no *part of the principle of the bill*;" and that it may be *altered* with *perfect consistency with that principle!*

Disciple. But, he says, that HE will not alter it; that, if it be done, *the House* shall do it, and *not he.*

Cobbett. Oh! aye, aye! to be sure! "*The House*" will do it; but he does not say, that he will resign his place, and *appeal to the people*, if the House do it. On the contrary, he clearly intimates that he will *carry the concern on* with the bill thus "*improved*;" and, further, he, in another part of his speech, gives us to understand, that he will not suffer us to be *unruly*; whether the bill be passed or not, *he would maintain the peace of the country!* Oh! he is a great *captain*; like the fellow in the play, he is constantly telling us that he *wears a sword.* His father was a famous *swordsman*, as the battle of the Cow-pens, in America, has showed all who ever heard of it. But, it was the "*glorious victory*" that he and his every-way worthy partner, Old Jarvis, gained over the Americans at St. Eustatias, in the early part of last war, that *immortalized* the Sire of our standing or falling Prime Minister; it was that achievement, short only of those of Streatfieldsay, which, doubtless, induced the Whigs to make him a baron and an earl; an achievement that has, amongst the bustle of the times, been forgotten; but it is one that ought not to be forgotten, for it was a pretty *dear* one to the people of this country. Yes, he is a great *captain*; full of "*vigour*" as far as relates to all but the enemies of reform. I shall have to write the *history of his administration*; and, when all his deeds of "*vigour*" come to be brought together, they will be a match for any for a similar length of time, even in the annals of *Whig power*; and that is saying a great deal. Oh! he is a great captain! and he will "*keep the peace*, even if the bill be *rejected!*" Oh! 'tis the "greatest captain of the age!" It had better go and pay the interest of its debt, I believe, in full tale and in gold of full weight and fineness; that would be more becoming it, I think, than to be talking everlastingly about its "vigour," such as was displayed in Hampshire and Wiltshire.

Disciple. You are angry, and digressing into quite other matters. He does, indeed, not *say* that he will quit his post and throw himself on the people, if the *metropolitan* members be struck out, and if the 10*l.* qualification be raised; he does not *say* that he will turn with scorn from his office, if to be held on such conditions; but, that he *would do it*, who can doubt?

Cobbett. Why, I tell you, that I doubt it, or rather that I have no doubt at all about the matter; that I believe that he *intends* to do it; that he intends to take the bill as Ryder and Stuart Wortley leave it, or mould it, and to keep his place, and to carry on the concern as long as he can.

Disciple. What! After all his declarations and protestations about the "*efficiency* of the bill?" After all the solemn pledges of all "the Greys and the Broughams and the Lambs and the Russells!"

Cobbett. Yes: I do verily believe, that he will take the bill as the Ryders leave it, and keep his place; and that Hobhouse and Burdett and Lord John and Macaulay; aye, and even our Charley, will say, that the bill is *improved*; that there is "*no principle* given up;" that it has been merely changed *a little in the detail*; and that it gives us a *substantial* reform; that it will give us "*good* Government" (that is, *Whig* Government); and that we have "*no right* to anything more."

Disciple. Now, do you really believe all this?

Cobbett. I do, upon my soul. Look at Hobhouse; in short, look at all of them. Look at their standing army and police; look at the whole of their acts, and at their manifest designs; and, then, differ from me in opinion, if you can. Why, look at the *tithe-campaign* preparing for Ireland; the *tithe-war*, indeed; hear them say by the mouth of Stanley, that, far as the Reform Bill has gone, *even at this hour he would abandon the Reform Bill if he thought*

it would endanger the property of the church of Ireland! And I would abandon it if I thought it would *not put an end to that property altogether*; put a legal end to it, and *abolish the tithes in England*. Hear them talk thus; look at their fears for the church; hear Grey talk about *vindicating* the tithe-law in Ireland: look at and hear all these things, and, then, believe if you can, that those people would *quit their places* rather than see the number of voters in great towns diminished! Rather than see the people possessed of less power than the bill now gives them. Look at all this; look at their pension and sinecure and dead-weight lists, which they keep up to the full; Look at it all, and then ask yourself this question: will *these people quit office* rather *than lessen the chance of Cobbett being in Parliament*?

Disciple. Well; but will they not *be turned out* if the bill be thus chipped away?

Cobbett. I see no reason why they should.

Disciple. No! Why, those who outvote them on the 10*l.* clause, for instance, will vote them out of place, whenever they like.

Cobbett. That is true enough; but they will *not like* to do it.

Disciple. *Not like* to do it! What! will not Strathfieldsay and his party be eager to come in, and rule the roast again?

Cobbett. You forget that there is now no *roast* to rule. It is an Irish-stew that is on the fire; and though there is a good deal of it, and it is as hot as anybody's stew, there is but little flesh in it, and that little is not of the richest kind. In short, the state of the affair is this: the boroughmongering had, when Grey came into office, gone on as long as it could go on, *without a great change of some sort*; by *professions about reform* and *by bills*, Grey has hitherto prevented any general convulsion in England; in the meanwhile, and as softly as possible, he has been augmenting the army, till he has got it to within a mere trifle of the late enormous war-establishment, and he has put swords into the hands of Peel's police; and he is urging the establishment of a similar thing in every considerable town in the kingdom; and as to *special commissions* and their results, who is likely to surpass him in *vigour*? His bills were *absolutely necessary* to keep the people quiet, and they have done it for eighteen months. But the time is come for ceasing to talk about them, and for *doing* something with them. The enemies of reform will now, therefore, render them *inefficient* for the good of the people, by altering the 10*l.* clause, so as to shut out the most numerous class of voters.

Disciple. But if they can do that, they can turn out Grey.

Cobbett. Yes; they *can*, but they *won't*! There is no *roast*, I tell you. There is the *stew*, and the hungry Whigs will stick to that: but there is no roast. And besides, there is some *danger* now. The stew is large, as I said before; there is a good deal of it, and it is and will continue to be, *right hot*: but a meal on it will be somewhat like a meal that rooks take in a pea-field, or that those nasty devils, the rats, take in a barn's-floor. The repast is abundant; but the *gun* in the one case and the *cat* in the other, make it a very perilous affair; not perilous enough to take off, or at all weaken, the appetite of a greedy cormorant of a Whig; but quite enough to make the Tories deliberate long before they resolve to come to the mess. The Whigs will be driven from the mess by no danger: they are wholly careless about consequences, as long as they have the mess to go to; but the Tories are fuller; they are, like pigeons, shy because their crops are full.

Disciple. But, do you not think that they would rejoice to see Grey turned out, in revenge for the mischief he has done them?

Cobbett. He has done them *no mischief*; he was *compelled* to bring in the bills; these bills were the *people's work*, not his; if he could have *given less*, with any chance of success, his partisans say he would have done it; he has, *hitherto*, greatly served the boroughmongers; they *still possess all their former powers*, which they might

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not if he had not brought in his bills. Therefore, they cannot be angry with him for the *past*; they can harbour no revenge against him; and, if he will now endeavour to carry on the reform affair with the suffrage taken from the 10*l.* renters, he will *be the best friend that they ever had.*

Disciple. What! Lord Grey the *friend* of the boroughmongers!

Cobbett. Yes; and their *best* friend, if he remain in office with this part of the bill stripped of its power.

Disciple. Yet I cannot help thinking that they would turn him out, because men are always so fond of power.

Cobbett. Aye; but it is trouble and danger here, and not power. Besides, who is to be *Minister in his place?* Strathfieldsay's Duke? He does not seem to be overloaded with anything but our money; but he has not so little sense as to take the post of Prime Minister again. Who is to take it, then? and that, too, *upon the express ground that Strathfieldsay was driven from it?* Why, nobody. And is it not evident, that the very thing for the Tories to pray for is, that the bill may be made *inefficient*, and that Grey should remain in power, with his thundering standing army, his sword-bearing police, and all his "*vigour?*" *Power* is not now what power *was*. There are no *millions* now to *fling about:* the THING is now got into shoal-water, with here and there a breaker at her service. The boroughmongers now begin to see that it is well if they can retain all but the boroughs. They are afraid of the 10*l.* clause, *lest it should make matters worse.* They would now be happy to escape, leaving *only* the boroughs behind them. And Grey tells them that he will *keep the peace*, whatever may become of the bill! What do they, or can they, want more? Why, only for the "*vigorous*" fellow to pay the debt too, in full tale and in gold of full weight and fineness; only this more, and to cause *the tithes to be yielded.* That's all. And where are they to find a more "*vigorous*" protector? where a Minister more ready to "*vindicate* the law?" When they see what I shall presently have to record of a *tithe-battle* in Ireland, what can they demand more in the way of "*vigour?*"

Disciple. But you forget; you wholly overlook the *House of Commons*, all this while!

Cobbett. Gads so! I beg their honours' pardon, with all my soul; and . . . .

Disciple. Yes; you forget that, if Lord Grey were to break all his pledges, if he were to wish to keep his place though the bill were in fact destroyed, and if the Lords were to permit him to do this, *the Commons would not*, and *could not.*

Cobbett. Why could they not? I do not say that they *could*; but pray tell me *why* they could not.

Disciple. Why, they are, a vast majority of them *pledged to the bill*, to the *whole* bill; and can they ever give their assent to the bill, *when the main part of it is rubbed out?* And if they do not give their assent to the alterations, the Lords must give way, or the bill cannot pass; so that, in either case, Lord Grey cannot keep his place, and endeavour to carry on the affair with a mutilated bill.

Cobbett. Now, in the first place, I do not say that the bill will pass at all; but I say that Grey will *vigorously stick to his place*, and all his set along with him, let happen what may. Next I do say, that if the House of Commons reject the alterations made by the Lords, and if the bill be rejected, the faithful Commons will, as they did last time, vote some *resolution, address*, or some thing expressive of *unabated confidence in the Ministers*, or, in other words, beseeching them, little Hobhouse and all, to *remain in their places* and to SAVE *the country!*

Disciple. Oh God! I cannot think so badly of human nature.

Cobbett. Badly or goodly, human nature or inhuman nature, this is what I think, that, in *this case*, they will do But my opinion is, that the bill, with the *ten-pound clause destroyed in effect*, will be *agreed to by the Commons;* and that . . . . . .

Disciple. Oh, no! What *pledged* as they are! Elected as they were for the

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express purpose of carrying "the *whole* bill!"

COBBETT. I do not care for that. That is my opinion; and further I will bet you what you like that BURDETT is amongst the foremost in applauding and supporting this mode of proceeding; and that his dirty scouts "out of doors" move, in some way or other, an address of thanks to the Ministers, expressing *unbounded confidence in them!* These are my opinions; and of all the men in the kingdom, I shall be the most glad if it should appear that I am wrong in entertaining these opinions. But looking at all the facts; taking a cool survey of all I behold, I come to the above conclusions; and it is my duty to explicitly state them to my readers. Neither of the two factions want to see a reform of the Parliament; they both know that both would lose by it; place and power are not now worth their quarrelling for; they never were so nearly reconciled as they are now; mutual danger makes them forget, or at least care little about, matters of rivalship; the desirable thing to both is, *a ministry that can keep the people quiet without giving them any real reform*; this is what is wanted by both, and both think that GREY and his crew are well calculated for this purpose. And I am quite serious when I say that I expect to see GREY a great favourite with the bitterest of the TORIES. If such should be the upshot, to what *amusing* and *instructive* reflections the forbearance of GREY towards the TORIES will give rise! We shall then see that there was *sense* in keeping and appointing Tory Lords Lieutenants! DOCTOR BLACK will then see explained all that has appeared so *mysterious* to him, and we shall all cease to wonder at the great and constant complaisance of GREY towards STRATHFIELDSAY.

DISCIPLE. What, then, do you think, that GREY has never been sincere from the beginning? If you think so, pray do not say so in print; for, here will be a charge of *inconsistency* surpassing all the other charges of that sort so often made against you.

COBBETT. As to the question, whether *I now* think that he has never been sincere from the first, I think, and, indeed, the nation knows, that he held his power, and, indeed, got it, *on the ground* of his proposing a reform of the Parliament: this was at once the title and the tenure of his power. I believe, however, that *he wished* for a reform; but his declarations of a very recent date proved that he had "*corrected the opinions of his youth*" upon the subject. I believe, therefore, that when he brought in his first bill, he really wished to carry it; but I believe also, that he is now afraid of his own bill; that he thinks it will lead to changes that he never contemplated; and that he would now be exceedingly glad to see the people quiet while he kept his place, though the bill should be, in fact, rendered *wholly inefficient* for good to the people. But as to my *consistency* in this respect, may I not, *when he brought in his first bill*, have believed him to be sincere; and may I not, *now*, believe him to have been insincere *then*? May I not do this without being chargeable with *inconsistency*? At *one time* eleven of the apostles believed JUDAS ISCARIOT to be sincere; they, at a later period, all believed him to have been a traitor in his heart at that very time. But was there any *inconsistency* in their conduct? At the time when Burdett was everlastingly bawling in our ears, that the "*Great* "*families* were the curse of the country; "that the leaves ought to be torn out of "THE ACCURSED RED-BOOK; and that *no* "*good* could come to the country without a *radical reform of the Parliament*;" when he was bawling these things in our ears, I thought him sincere; but when, some years afterwards, I saw him stick his knees in *Canning's* back, while this fellow was declaring that *he would oppose Parliamentary reform to the last hour of his life, in whatever shape or degree it might appear*; when I saw Burdett do this, then I believed that he had *always been a hypocrite:* and this was not being *inconsistent*, but the contrary. So with regard to GREY. I *wish* with all my heart that I may now be in error. I wish that he may *make the peers* (un-

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less he can carry the bill without it); or, that he may *quit his post*, and tell us plainly *that the King refuses his assent to the making of peers*. I *wish* this most anxiously; but I can express nothing more than a wish. I have no *confidence*; I have no *hope*, because hope must have *belief* to rest upon; and I have no belief, not the smallest, that GREY will do either of the two things which I have just mentioned; and, if he do neither of them; if he *continue in his place* with a *rejected* or a *mutilated* bill; or, if he sneak from his place without plainly telling the nation *that he had not the power to make the peers*; if he do either of these, it will be consistency in me to declare him to have been *a hypocrite from the beginning*, and that he has, in fact, never wished the bill to pass; but has been amusing the people with these bills, while, like a true WHIG, he was "preparing *to keep the peace* of the country!" That is to say, to prevent the people from obtaining a reform by force.

DISCIPLE. Well; but what will *the people say*, and what will they *do*? Will the POLITICAL UNIONS be silent? Will *they* after all, ... ?

COBBETT. Why, as to POLITICAL UNIONS, they may *lead the people*, but they themselves may be *led by others*; and those others may be amongst the most efficient tools of the boroughmongers, having *reform* everlastingly on their lips. I have observed, that when *societies*, of whatever sort, consisting of the middle or the working classes, are formed, and become *numerous* and are *likely to have political weight*, the THING'S people instantly *join them*, and soon become the leaders of them. Thus it has been with the "*Literary Fund*," with the "*Printers' Pension Society*," with all the "*benefit clubs*," "*Bible Societies*," "*School Societies*," with the "*Mechanics' Institutes*," in London; and, indeed, with all such affairs. The THING, when first one of these associations appears, *looks hard at it*, surveys it *all round about*, takes the *dimensions of it*, considers well all the consequences of it, possible and probable as well as certain. When the THING finds that it is likely to have political influence, though in the most indirect and distant manner, it at once resolves either to *crush* it, or have it as a *tool*. If the former, it goes to work with those means which are too well known to need a particular description: if the latter, the THING first gets at some of the *leading members* of the association; and, though mere *vulgar bribery* would not, in most cases, succeed, the bribe of *flattery*, of *familiar intercourse*, of the *surname*, of the *cordial shake by the hand*, of the "*my dear sir*," of the *dinner*; this bribe is but too often successful; and indeed it is, nine times out of ten, the bane, the ruin, the total perversion of all such associations, which, when once the THING gets them into its clutches, are the most efficient of its *tools*, and work more zealously than anybody else against popular rights and public good; they become, in fact, so many *branches* of the tree of corruption; and, as is the manner of branches, they soon become more vigorous than the old ones, and are recommended by their *freshness*.

DISCIPLE. What, then! do you think that the political union of *Birmingham*, for instance, will be *silent* now?

COBBETT. I do not think so; but, after beholding the unaccountable apathy of these unions, while they see the TITHE-COERCION BILL for Ireland passing, you will allow me to have my fears. If they can hold their tongues, while a bill is passing to *tax us, in order to pay the amount of tithes due to Irish parsons*, I do not know any thing that will move their tongues. For my own part, my belief, as to what is *intended*, is just as I have stated it to you. What the people *will* do, I know not; but I know well what they ought to do, and what I advise them to do; and that is this, to meet either *immediately*, or the moment they see *any attempt* made in the committee to *mutilate the bill*; and to *petition* against such mutilation, *distinctly declaring their own intentions*, in case of such mutilation. To *raise* the qualification of voters would be to destroy *that efficiency* of the bill which the Minister stands pledged to preserve. Even accord-

ing to the provisions of the bill, the main body of the industrious classes is shut out, and unjustly shut out, from all share in the representation; the bill, as it now stands, greatly diminishes the number of freemen and other working men entitled to vote; and if the qualification, narrowed as it has been in the bill, *be raised*, the working classes will be shut out altogether; they will be placed at the mercy of an upstart aristocracy of money, and will in fact be slaves as complete as the blacks in the colonies, who are *represented by their masters*, who have a direct interest in the passing of laws to keep them in slavery. The reformers who know well that every man who is of sane mind and unstained by indelible crime, has a right to vote, did, for the sake of peace, and in the hope that the *ten-pound suffrage* would bring the voting within *the influence of the working people*, give their assent to this bill; but, if the suffrage be raised, this, the *real efficiency* of the bill, will be destroyed; and the working people will be not only as completely excluded as before, but, while they will have no power themselves, they will behold the power in the hands of that class who will constantly have an interest in oppressing them; and, in the bill thus altered, the reformers will see no hope of any cause of redress of their manifold grievances; but will consider it as a fraudulent scheme for perpetuating the existence of those grievances, and as a breach of pledges repeatedly given them. This is a fair statement of the case. For my own part, if the bill be altered *at all* in the way of *raising the suffrage*, or with regard to the *metropolitan members*, I am just as much its *enemy* as I have been its *friend*. I have always cared much less about the lopping off of rotten boroughs than about the *popular suffrage*. I know well that ten-pound suffrage is far short of the people's *due*; but, for the sake of *peace*, for the sake of harmony, for the sake of preventing a violent convulsion, I gave my assent to the bill, and with a resolution to give it a *fair trial*; and, if it were *found efficient* in the producing of *cheap government*, not to ask for anything more, and *to oppose* every demand for anything more. And thus I most distinctly declared *in all my lectures in the north*, and without calling forth, in any one instance, an expression of disapprobation. But, alter the bill in this *vital* respect; *raise the suffrage*; shut *the working people quite out*; and I not only withdraw my assent; but everything that I can possibly do against this act of injustice shall be done.

DISCIPLE. I hope that, at any rate, we shall see no such thing attempted nor yielded to by Lord GREY, and that you will have to confess your error.

COBBETT. I *wish* I may; but I cannot go beyond *a wish*. What do I hear? I hear MELBOURNE, STANLEY, MACAULAY, all *forward* to notify to us that the reform will not bring us any *relief*; I see a resolution in GREY to *uphold the tithe-system*; I see him augmenting the *standing army*, and hear HOBHOUSE tell HUME that he is prepared for "*fierce contests*" with him on the subject of military expenditure; I see a plan for *an armed police* all over England, like that of Ireland! and I know that it is impossible that these men should not see that the present Reform Bill, if put into force, would blow all their schemes into air; and while I know this, I hear GREY say that the *popular suffrage* makes *no part of the principle of the bill*, that the qualification *may be raised* without *any abandonment of that principle*, and that it is for the Lords to do with that suffrage *what they please!*

DISCIPLE. Yes; but he does not say that *he will agree* to what they may do in this way; and . . . .

COBBETT. No, No, No! He does not *say* this; but neither does he say that he will *make the peers* if this be attempted, or that he will *quit his place* and *tell the country that the King will not let him make the peers*; and therefore, my *belief* is, that if the people do not *remonstrate*, and that *vigorously* too and if they do not show that they are *prepared* for a *legal* assertion of their rights, he will keep his place with mutilated bill, and that he will be supported by the House of Commons.

have viewed the subject in every way that I can view it; I have turned it about on every side; I have earnestly sought after grounds for a different opinion; but, at every trial, reason, plain common sense, has brought me back to this conclusion; and it is, therefore, useless to say anything more about the matter.

LONDON POLITICAL UNION.

Since the above was written, the *Morning Chronicle* has brought me the following report of the proceedings of this body on the 18th instant. The reader will not have got half way through this report, before he will see more than sufficient cause for admiring that *sagacity*, that *fineness of nose*, that made the Duke of Strathfieldsay and the Botley Parson join hand-in-hand in a petition against Political Unions! Here the reader will see that I am not singular in my opinion about Grey's intentions. Here are some of the best informed men; here are some of the *soundest heads*, not only in London, but in the whole kingdom; and not one man of them who can possibly gain by confusion, but must lose by it; and these men all agree with me in opinion as to the *intentions of the Ministers*; and not one man of them have I had any communication with on the subject. But, indeed, having the facts before them, how can men of common sense and of sincerity differ upon the subject?

My readers who recollect how much I was censured, in October last, for *opposing, at the meeting of the county of Surrey, an expression of confidence in the Ministers*, and for doing the same elsewhere, will be pleased with the frankness and manliness of Mr. Churchill, in confessing that he "*too readily*" agreed to such a petition! He will be pleased also with the declaration of Mr. Savage, that he *now* finds that he was *then deceived in Lord* Grey. This was an assemblage of *sincere* and *sensible* men; and I record with pride this account of their proceedings. I have greatly disapproved of the silence of the Political Unions as to the Irish Tithe Bill. This silence has proceeded from the notion, that, by their taking part in defence of the Irish, the Reform Bill *would be endangered*. Never was there a falser notion; never was injustice yet softened by *forbearance*. The Minister capable of proposing that bill, is quite capable of assenting to a mutilation of his own Reform Bill; and the House of Commons, capable of passing the Irish Tithe Bill, is quite capable of supporting that Minister, *if he keep his place with his mutilated bill*, and thereby break all his solemn pledges. In short, it is the unaccountable silence of the Political Unions on this subject of Irish tithes, that has, I verily believe, emboldened Grey to throw off all reserve, and to make the declaration, which has, at last, roused the people.

NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

The weekly meeting of the council of this union was held last night, Cartwright Thomas, Esq. in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were, as usual, read and ratified.

The Secretary gave notice to members to renew their tickets.

REFORM.

Mr. George Rogers felt proud that the bill had advanced in its progress so far as the second reading, but thought its enactment not therefore secured. The position it will occupy in the committee, and the consideration there to be given to it, will be not less interesting to the country, particularly after the admission attributed in the papers to Lord Grey, as having been said by him in the late discussion in the House of Lords, that the bill in committee would be in their Lordships' power and at their disposal. This concession furnished a subject of interesting apprehension to the friends of reform, to whom Lord Grey stands so decidedly pledged that he would not consent to introduce, nor countenance, any measure less efficient, less democratic in its object, or extensive in its results, than that which had been previously rejected unceremoniously by the Lords. Yet, though he had thus pledged himself to a definite disfranchisement, and extension of the number and qualification of electors, he can very coolly say in his place in the House, that though he will not consent to any mutilation or diminution of the bill, their Lordships may act with it as they think proper. Where is, then, the stability of his word, the integrity of his promise, or the proof of that faith reposed in him? Shall he stand quietly by while any encroachment is made in any part—the number of boroughs in any schedule less-

ened — the franchise not extended to some places proposed—or the qualification rate of ten pounds for voters increased to a rate that will nullify its effects, and tantalize the nation? And if this qualification is varied so, the enfranchisement not extended as proposed, or the number of rotten boroughs reduced, will then the provisions of the bill be the same, or will its tendency be equally efficient, democratic, or satisfactory? The parts of the bill may be conceded or negatived, the qualification varied from 10*l.* to suit particular places, and estimated at perhaps 100*l.*; and if so, how will the principles of the bill be recognised? how will the measure be equally efficient and popular? how will his Lordship redeem his pledge to the people? and how will the people be compelled in sad despair, or despite, to treat him on whom they have thus far relied with confidence? Nay, how will the peers, who may be accessary to such a rejection, or, what is tantamount to it, a mutilation, of the bill, dare face that public whom they may have so wantonly insulted a second time? The voice of the people should warn the Government and the legislature of the impending ruin which threatens the country, should their apprehensions be realised in a second rejection. He therefore moved that it be resolved, "That the National Political Union having been established at a period of excitement and diversity of political feelings and opinions, yet steadily gave its support to Lord Grey in all changes, from his pledge that he would be no party to the passing of any measure *less efficient* than that rejected formerly by the Lords, and persuaded the ardent but honest advocates of more extended suffrage to forego any opposition and unite in support of the bill proposed; yet, knowing the difficulty of thus persuading, the Council learn with dread the probability that important provisions of the bill will be *either mutilated or rejected*—to which should he consent, *the bond of agreement between him and his Administration and the people at large will be broken.* That in this exigency, the Council warn his Majesty's Ministers in particular, and the aristocracy in general, that a mutilation will produce consequences fatal as would a rejection; for the storm which has been allayed by the Political Unions will 'rage with violence,' *and prevent the voluntary payment of taxes*, to the dismemberment of society, and the extinction of the privileged orders." To prevent such consequences, it will be necessary that every man should use all the means in his power to promote the passing of the bill in the form in which it has been sent by the Commons to the Lords.

Mr. SMITH seconded the resolution.

H. B. CHURCHILL, Esq., concurred in the resolutions, but not in the confidence expressed of Lord Grey; for he had always expressed his hesitation or doubt, and now the country coincide with him: and he hoped that while the people looked up to these Political Unions, they would do their duty faithfully and fearlessly. "No taxes," he hoped, would be the maxim of the nation, should the bill be rejected. The Duke might vainly depend on the Custom revenues; but even smuggling would become profitable and pleasant. Trifling alterations may produce but petty skirmishes; but a rejection of the bill should be considered a declaration of war, and the people, therefore, should be prepared; and if they find themselves united and strong enough, he hoped they would know what to do—legally, of course. *The harlequinades of Lord Grey*, he hoped, would not be honoured; nor that he would *again be petitioned to retain office, a petition which he was disposed too readily to grant.* But he hoped that an *address concerning non-payment of taxes would be made known to his Majesty* and the Government, and should be followed into action by the people. The people are pleased with the bill, but it is as only the beginning of better things to come after; and as the preface to, or promise of, those better things, that they have been induced so long to give it their countenance, and patiently to watch its progress, which, "like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along."

Mr. SAVAGE referred *to the pledge of Lord Grey given to the delegates*, and thought *then* he would *not pledge his honour uselessly.* But he *now* has *altered his opinion*; though he is willing to hope he has still political integrity sufficient (although he has postponed the bill) not to tamper with his enemies, and try the pulse of the country. Unless a bold and manly stand is made, simple resolutions will be worse than useless—*for idle talk* will supersede *useful action.* He then moved as an amendment, "That a general meeting should be convened, to take into consideration the best means of resisting any attempt to abridge the proposed extension of franchise, by increasing the 10*l.* qualification, or in any way to mutilate the bill." If this qualification is broken, he thought the compact between the people and the Government would be broken, and that all should use (as Lord Chatham says) *the means that God and nature put into their hands* to procure their rights, and secure them unimpaired.

The Rev. Mr Fox coincided in the spirit of the remarks, but not in the form of the resolutions. He thought that one resolution stating the 10*l.* qualification, the metropolitan members, &c. should be considered as principal parts of the bill, and that the Ministers were pledged to those principles—and therefore, should these be infringed on, the pledge of the Ministers was broken, *and with it the confidence of the people.* He thought the whole Cabinet, not solely Lord Grey, was pledged to the provisions of the bill, and that as yet no infraction or non-adherence was evidenced. A bill has been produced, and passed one House; it would therefore be better to place a reliance on the conduct of Ministers, rather

than doubt their integrity—and this would be a spur to them, and would make them prove themselves what they are supposed. Caution of committing themselves should be shown by the Union, and the enfranchisement and disfranchisement we should render as secure as possible. They are little certainly in comparison of what may hereafter be granted; but caution is requisite to obtain even that little. A meeting of the Union, should the bill be considered in danger, would answer all the purposes sought, and would give opportunity to members to make up their minds on the subject.

Mr. Savage thought, as it would be better to prevent than to remedy, a meeting before the bill goes into committee, to prepare a declaration on the subject, might tend to prevent the evil consequences apprehended.

Mr. Fox moved, as an amendment, "that "the committee should prepare certain reso-"lutions for a consideration of a general "meeting, which should be adopted on any "attempt to abridge the franchise, or other-"wise mutilate the bill."

Mr. Miller thought this resolution would be in time, should a disposition be evinced of interfering with the bill. Success has as yet attended the progress of the measure, and there seems no reason for doubting its enactment. Till the doubt proves true, there is no necessity to fear a resolve.

Mr. Radnas thought that sufficient disposition to mutilate the bill by pretended amendments had been shown by those who had merely supported the second reading, for the purpose of partly satisfying the people, and screening themselves from popular odium; but they were determined to secure their own principles in the committee.

Mr. Potter thought that many *even in the Cabinet acted from the same motives, and would join even their adversaries in the most odious acts.* They are like sponges, which may be squeezed at pleasure; but the people must show a bold front, and make a determined stand. Unions now will be derelict of their duty, if they do not take the earliest opportunity of displaying their sentiments, and of reducing their opinions to practice.

Mr. F. Place thought *all discontented with the bill*, though more was proposed that might have been expected from a leaven Ministry of Whig and Tory. Even the Secretary of State voted for a repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, and for the odious Acts of Castlereagh, and has *not since evinced any disposition of ameliorated principles.* And as to principles being in the bill, he saw none whatever—then as to adhering to the principles of the bill, it was ill and absurd. Every part may therefore be abandoned without abandoning principles—but parts cannot be conceded without a concession of the faith pledged. He understood that there was a *rate in contemplation of 25l. for London boroughs*, and decreasing it in other places gradually from 10*l.* to 5*l.* *where influence may be extended*; and this would *make nomination boroughs in many places, nay even in Leeds.* When Lord Grey said he would leave the bill to the Lords, *he certainly abandoned it*—and that in the name of the Cabinet, for none of the Ministers present objected. The protest of the bill shows the temper of the Tories better than any other document. He firmly denied the first part of that protest, saying that the constitution was a monarchy: for in no Act of Parliament is monarchy recognised. So Horne Tooke said kingship we adore, but monarchy we abhor. We have certainly a mixed government, one part to check the other, as is now done. (Laughter.) But there is no part of the history of England that is not aristocratical; and the barons have opposed wherever they could, and often effectually. If then monarchy is not recognised, what are the principles of monarchy, or how can the King guide or govern, as is said in the second resolution? He laughed at its being said that the House of Commons was the best institution of Government in any country—yes, and added he, the best for injustice, oppression, and taxation. He minutely animadverted in a ludicrous manner on the different resolutions, which would seem horrid nonsense from any but peers. Some parts of these resolutions, he said, were false, and others libellous, particularly that on commercial men. Petty-fogging lawyers, mindful of their own interests, may be excluded; but enlightened commercial men will always find their way to the House. As to agricultural interests being neglected, it was absurd to think of it: for the landed interest will always be able to effect its own support. He then read from minutes the relation between the inhabitants of different places and the electors that may be enfranchised, showing that the relation would not be one fifth—thus falsifying another assertion of the protest. He laughed at the corruption of the House of Commons, and its being said that it was a distinction of the constitution for which they should be proud. So too of interfering with the boasted stability or mutual relation of the branches of the legislature, the peers were always ready to take an active part. Soon after the accession of George I. the Lords took away the prerogative to create peers at will, limiting the creation at any time not to exceed a certain number; yet these are the men advocating the stability and purity of the monarchy. Every part of our history shows the power of the sovereign is that of a king, not of a monarch; for he cannot change any law, nor impose any tax, of his own will; no, nor against the will of the people. He proved, from an old document, that the people only had the power to tax themselves, even at an early period. He said Lord Grey went with the bill to the House with a positive uncertainty of carrying the bill. Two members of those present only formed his majority, and the Cabinet stand indebted to the country for the carrying of the bill. He doubts the

courage of Lord Grey; for recklessness is not courage, but madness, when he knows the precarious situation of the country. *The peers must be made, or the bill will be lost*, and the country be doomed to agitation or despair. In conversation with several persons from the country, many had declared their intentions *to let the law take its course with respect to all taxes;* and they were influential with most of the unions, firm in their determinations, and *immediate in their action.* As to an army being kept up in such a case, it is absurd. No army could or would exist, and *a Provisional Government would necessarily be formed. Paper currency would immediately be suppressed*, and all exchange or intercourse of commerce denied. These were his apprehensions, and he was glad they were for a time frustrated; but he was firmly persuaded, that should not a peaceful reform be granted, a sudden and violent one would be effected.

Mr. ROGERS thought no time should be lost in declaring the sentiments of the people, while the challenge of the postponement of the Ministers has called them to it. The resolutions should be made known to the public, and give a tone to their opinions and spirit. It would be a warning to the Peers of the precipice on which they stand, and would be a kind warning, lest a bitter fate should befal them. He certainly relied on Lord Grey still, and on him alone in the cabinet; but he hoped that this determination of the people should not therefore subside.

The resolution of Mr. Fox was almost unanimously carried.

Captain GOWAN gave notice of a motion to petition Parliament in favour of the measure proposed by his Majesty for a new system of education in Ireland.

Messrs. TAYLOR and NORMAN were requested to try whether a more central situation for the meetings of the Union could not be found.

The meeting shortly after adjourned.

STRATHFIELDSAY'S PROTEST.

I TAKE the following from the newspapers, in order to have it upon record. The protest was, it seems, entered on the 14th instant. The Duke petitioned a little while ago against reform *in company with the* BOTLEY PARSON! How curiously the parties *smell one another out!* They feel, somehow or other, that they have both *the same interest.* Very odd! It would be curious to know the precise reasoning of each of them; the precise way in which each goes to arrive at the same conclusion. The Duke has a fine pack at his heels *here.* What a *sweat* the fellows must be in; and well they may! Their heads seem to be turned; for such rubbishy stuff as this, never before was put upon paper. Good bye, Strathfieldsay!

The DUKE of WELLINGTON'S PROTEST.

On Saturday the Duke of Wellington entered this Protest on the Journals of the House of Lords against the second reading of the Reform Bill:

"DISSENTIENT.

"First—Because, in providing for the correction of abuses in the election of members to serve in the Commons' House of Parliament, we are bound above all things to bear in mind that the Government of this country is, what from the earliest period of our history it has ever been, a monarchy; that this monarchy, limited by laws and customs of the realm, and by the necessity imposed on the sovereign of having constant recourse to the advice and aid of Parliament, is the form of Government best adapted to the habits, wants, and wishes of the people; and, consequently, that no changes, however specious, can be worthy of adoption which would either strike at the principles of the monarchy itself, or would leave the Sovereign without the power of performing the high duties required from him, without the free and independent exercise of his lawful prerogatives, in guarding the general interests of the state, in upholding its ancient institutions, and affording due protection of the rights, liberties, property, and lives of all his subjects. We feel it, therefore, to be the duty of Parliament, more especially of this House, to refuse to consign the country to so vast and untried change as is embodied in the present bill; a change of which it has been justly said by one of the most distinguished advocates for the second reading of the bill, that it is in truth, 'a new form of Government,' of which no one has ever pronounced that it would be practicable, and which, if practicable, would be pernicious.

"Secondly—Because, admitting it to be expedient to correct abuses which may have grown up under the present system of parliamentary election, and to extend to large, populous, and wealthy towns the privilege of returning members to Parliament, we are bound to bear in mind that it has been also admitted by the authors of the bill, that, notwithstanding any abuses and any deficiencies, 'the House of Commons, as at present constituted, is, above all other institutions of all other countries in the world, the institution best calculated for the general protection of the subject.'

"Thirdly—Because by this bill that scrupulous regard to the sacredness of chartered rights and vested interests which has always hitherto been deemed part of the essential policy of the British constitution, and a fundamental principle of British justice, is now for the first time utterly abandoned; the most

ancient charters and the most valued interests are treated with reckless indifference, which (whilst it is unnecessary to the attainment of the proposed objects of the bill, the correction of abuses, and the improvement of the existing system) shocks every feeling of justice, and cannot fail to be made a precedent for still more fatal violations of those principles in future.

"Fourthly—Because, in contemplating the violence done by this bill to the great principle of prescription, we cannot disguise from ourselves the dangers which must arise to the most venerable of our institutions, which mainly rest on that principle; above all, to the highest of all—to that one on which all others depend.

"Fifthly—Because, even if the principles of the bill were consistent with the stability of the monarchy and with the safety of our most valued institutions, yet the provisions by which it seeks to carry those principles into effect, are for the most part, unjust in themselves, partial in their operation, and anomalous in their character; ill-adapted to their avowed purpose, and still more to the extensive and complicated interests of this mighty empire.

"A preponderating influence in the election of the House of Commons is conferred upon the lowest class of inhabitants in towns; thus virtually closing the doors of the House of Commons to the vast moneyed and colonial interests, and leaving but few opportunities of admission to the heads of the great commercial body.

"The landed interest, notwithstanding the professed intention of giving to it an increase of representation commensurate with that given to the great towns, is left exposed, even in the elections for counties, to the influence of the trading and manufacturing classes of the very places which are themselves to return members to Parliament; an influence so great as must leave, in many instances, the representation of counties, and divisions of counties, in the power of voters from the towns.

"The populous suburbs of the metropolis, have been subjected to the same innovating spirit which marks the operation of this bill in every other particular. Though it is manifest that this vast district, being connected in interests with the metropolis itself, and being the seat of Government and of Parliament, must command attention whether immediately represented or not, and equally manifest that the only real danger must be lest the influence of the popular voice of the metropolis should be too powerful, yet it has been thought fit to aggravate this danger in an incalculable degree by creating new districts for representation, and virtually consigning the elections to universal suffrage: thus ensuring a perpetual recurrence of popular excitement in a quarter where, above all others, it is most to be deprecated, as injurious to the best interests of the industrious orders of the people, dangerous to the public peace, and hardly compatible with the free and independent exercise of the high functions of Parliament itself.

"Sixthly—Because the exorbitant increase of the democratic element of the British constitution designed by this bill must give additional strength and impetus to a principle which, while duly restrained and tempered by the checks provided in the existing constitution of Parliament, is the source of that genuine spirit of disciplined and enlightened freedom which is the proudest distinction of our national character, but which, without those checks or other equivalent restraints, could not fail to advance with augmented and accelerated force, till all other powers being drawn within its vortex, the Government would become a mere democracy; or if the name and form of a monarchy were preserved, all that could give independence to the sovereign or protection to the subject would be really excluded. "WELLINGTON."

The succeeding Peers have since attached their names to the Protest:—

Ernest (Cumberland)
William Frederick (Gloucester)
Malmesbury
Beverley
Kenyon
Gascoyne (Salisbury)
Oriel
Bayning
Delawarr
Penshurst (Strangford)
Bute
Cowley
Wallace
Newcastle
Maryborough
Delamere
Limerick
Jersey
Dartmouth
Caledon
Colville, of Culross
Cholmondeley
G. Rochester
Lonsdale
Falmouth
Redesdale
Abingdon
Norwich (Duke of Gordon)
Meldrum
Mayo
Rutland
Doncaster
Feversham
Montagu
Winchilsea and Nottingham
De Dunstanville, &c.
Selkirk
Sidmouth
Manners
Brownlow
Howe
Lorton
Wilton

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R. Bristol
H. Exeter
H. Carlisle
Beresford
Ker
Clanwilliam
Saltoun
Guildford
Clanbrassill
Home
Camden
Vane (Londonderry)
Longford
Douglas
Wynford
Forester
Eldon
Sydney
George Kilmore
Bexley
Northumberland
Mansfield
Verulam
Abercorn
Beauchamp
Bathurst
J. H. Gloucester
Combermere
John George Armagh (Archbishop)
Rosslyn

STAND FAST!

WHAT, then, "*wild*" as DOCTOR BLACK thought this phrase of mine, he finds, that I had not only *history* and *reason*, but LAW, for what I said, and, what is more, *English law* too, and, besides, statute law, and, what is curious, law *passed by the Whigs!* That to waste time, DOCTOR BLACK, in his paper of this day (18th April), has the following article, as a preface to a communication FROM IRELAND on the subject.

DOCTOR'S PREFACE.

When we quoted from *Cobbett's Register*, of the 31st of March, an article stating that in the assembly of delegates at Pennsylvania it was proposed that every occupier of land should STAND FAST; and that if he were guilty of no breach of the peace for a year and a day, *the estate that he held should be his own for ever*,—we were *not aware* that in taking this step the Americans were following a precedent set by the mother-country. An Irish correspondent, whose communication we subjoin, has shown that the assembly of Pennsylvania, in this singular measure, closely imitated the Parliament of Great Britain, and that the Tory landlords of America were treated in exactly the same manner as the Jacobite landlords of Scotland. It is curious that this precedent should have attracted notice in Ireland: and we must say that it might not be amiss if those men, who, in the two Houses of Parliament, spoke as if the legislation for Ireland should take no account of the people, but merely consider the interests of their taskmasters, and who speak of enforcing laws without reference to the will of the people who are subject to them, were to reflect on a dangerous precipice on which they are standing. The Tories may carry the practice of insulting the Irish a little too far. Having said this much, we proceed to lay the communication before our readers:—

"*Monastereven, Ireland, April* 14, 1832.

"In Mr. *Cobbett's Register*, of the "31st of March, there is a paragraph "(p. 887) stating, that in the assembly "of delegates of Pensylvania (1775 pro-"bably), it was proposed, that every "occupier of land should 'stand fast,' "and that if he were guilty of no breach "of the peace for a year and a day, &c., "the estate that he held should be his "own for ever.

"This transfer of proprietorship from "the lord to the tenant, is stated to "have been a principle adopted to "strengthen the revolution in America; "the lords of the soil, or owners in fee-"simple, having adhered to the English "Government.

"It may be added, that if it were a "principle *adopted*, it was not a prin-"ciple invented by the Pennsylvanians. "It was a principle adopted by the "Pennsylvanians, and followed from the "statute law of the 'old country.'

"A. D. 1668.—In England the former "and illegitimate government was "turned adrift; and of the free will "and mere motion of some persons "calling themselves a Convention, an-"other, and consequently an illegiti-"mate government, was set up. This

"proceeding ultimately, and in process "of time, gave the throne to the Han- "over family,—until then strangers in "England.

"A. D. 1715.—Certain Scottish lords, "discontented with the revolution "brought about by the convention of "1688, in England, to which these "Scottish lords not did assent, formed "a plot to restore the old and legiti- "mate government.

"Measures were immediately taken "by the then government of England, "claiming title under the revolution of "1688, consequently a revolutionary "government, to counteract the plot of "the Scottish lords.

"Among other measures for that pur- "pose adopted, it was, by the 1st of "Geo. I., chap. 20, enacted that, 'any "'tenant in Scotland, who should con- "'tinue peaceable while his lord took "'arms in favour of the person then "'called the Pretender, should be in- "'vested with the property of the lands "'he before rented.'

"It will at once be perceived how "precisely the Pennsylvanians adhered "to the precedent given to them by the "law of the 'old country.'

"The revolutions in both countries "were made in order to get rid of old "and legitimate and right-divine go- "vernments.

"The revolutionary powers in both "countries, and in the foregoing in- "stances, adopted the same means for "the same ends—to attach the tenantry "of the two countries to the principle of "the several revolutions, and to punish "by forfeiture the superior lords who "should manifest any adherence to the "former legitimate and right-divine go- "vernments.

"In both countries the revolutions "succeeded.

"The success was perhaps greater in "America, as, by their revolution, they "got rid of not only a legitimate and "right-divine government, but also of "a church-and-state government, a "branch of the right-divine of all others "the most blasting to national pros- "perity.

"From the above it will be observed, "that the precedent of an alteration in "the tenure of lands in favour of revo- "lutions is much nearer home, both "in England and Ireland, than was "imagined when Mr. Cobbett travelled "for one to Pennsylvania.

"It may be said with Mr. Cobbett, "'God forbid that our (Irish) Lords "'should *awake some morning and find* "'*their tenants the owners of their farms.*' "But I am old enough to remember the "historic truth of what Mr. Cobbett "has stated, that the bare pronouncing "of the words 'Stand fast' operated "like an electric touch on the state of "Pennsylvania; and that being adopted "by other states, it was this measure "that decided the fate of the English "Government in America.

"So it was the policy of the 1st Geo. "I. cap. 39, that rendered the attempted "counter-revolution of 1715, in Scot- "land, fruitless."

Well, but now what did this act of Parliament itself say? Let us have the very words of it. They are curious, and may amuse the boroughmongers when the time hangs heavy on their hands.

"Be it enacted by the King's most "excellent Majesty, by and with the ad- "vice and consent of the Lords Spiritual "and temporal, and Commons, in this "present Parliament assembled, and by "authority of the same, That, if any of "his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain, "having lands or tenements in Scotland "in property or superiority, have been or "shall be guilty of high treason, by "holding, entertaining, or keeping any "intelligence or correspondence in per- "son or by letters, messages, or other- "wise, with the said Pretender, or with "any person or persons employed by "him, knowing such person to be so em- "ployed, or shall, by bill of exchange "or otherwise, remit or pay any sum "or sums of money for the use or service "of the said Pretender, knowing such "money to be for such use or service, "and that, whether the said be done "within or without this realm, or has "been or shall be adherent to the said "Pretender in this realm, giving him aid "or comfort in this realm, or elsewhere,

" every such offender, who shall be there-
" of duly convicted and attainted, shall
" be liable to the pains, penalties, and
" forfeitures for high treason: *all and*
" *every vassal and vassals in Scotland,*
" *who shall continue peaceable and in du-*
" *tiful allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs*
" *and successors, holding lands or tene-*
" *ments of any such offender, who holds*
" *such lands or tenements immediately of*
" *the crown, shall be vested and seized,*
" *and are hereby enacted and ordained*
" *to hold the said lands or tenements of*
" *his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in*
" *fee and heritage for ever, by such man-*
" *ner of holding as any such offender*
" *held such lands or tenements of the*
" *crown, at the time of the attainder of*
" *such offender*; and where such lands
" or tenements belonging to any such
" peaceable and dutiful subjects to his
" Majesty, his heirs or successors, lie
" within any regality or constabulary
" in Scotland, *the same shall be and they*
" *are hereby dissolved from every such*
" *regality or constabulary for ever*; and
" in like manner all and every tenant
" and tenants in Scotland, who shall
" continue peaceable, and in dutiful al-
" legiance to his Majesty, his heirs and
" successors aforesaid, bruicking and
" occupying any lands, milns, mines,
" woods, fishings, or tenements, as te-
" nant or tenants, taxman or taxmen,
" from and under any such offender,
" shall and they *are hereby ordained to*
" *bruick and occupy all and every such*
" *lands, mines, milns, woods, fishings,*
" *and tenements, for the space of two*
" *years or crops, to be accounted from*
" *and after such attainder, freely, with-*
" *out payment of any rent, duty, or*
" *service, for the said two years or crops*;
" and the Court of Exchequer in Scot-
" land is hereby authorized and required,
" on production of any such attainder,
" to revise, compound, and pass signa-
" tures, and that without paying any
" composition in favours of every such
" vassal or vassals, and his, her, or their
" heir or heirs of the said lands and
" tenements above-mentioned respect-
" ively, to be holden of his Majesty, his
" heirs and successors, in fee and herit-
" age for ever, and by such holdings as
" is above mentioned, with clauses of
" *Nova Damus*, and (where such lands
" or tenements hold Waird or Few
" *cum maritagio*, or with clauses irri-
" tant) with change of holdings from
" Waird to taxed Waird, according to
" the rules now observed in the Court
" of Exchequer in Scotland, dispensing
" with recognition and clauses irritant
" in favours of the Crown in time com-
" ing, in the most ample and best form,
" to the end that chartours and infeft-
" ments may be thereupon duly ex-
" ped."

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

I put the following on record as one amongst the memorable fooleries of this Whig-Ministry. By ——, one would think they are mad! And STURGES BOURNE a commissioner too! and Senior! and Coulson, the *reporther!* Well, well; go thy ways, OLD GREY: when we get rid of thee, we have nothing (in the foolery way) to fear after thee!

The following is a copy of the Treasury Commission for inquiring into the administration of the poor-laws:—

" William IV., by the grace of GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith. To our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor the Right Reverend Father in GOD Charles James Bishop of London; the Right Reverend Father in GOD John Bird Bishop of Chester; our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Sturges Bourne, our trusty and well-beloved Nassau William Senior, Esq., Henry Bishop, Clerk, and Henry Gawler, Walter Coulson, and James Traill, Esqrs., greeting. Whereas we have thought it expedient, for divers good causes and considerations us thereunto moving, that a diligent and full inquiry should be forthwith made into the practical operation of the laws for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, and into the manner in which those laws are administered? Know ye that we, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal and ability, have authorised and appointed, and do by these presents authorise and appoint, you the said Charles James Bishop of London, John Bird Bishop of Chester, William Sturges Bourne, Nassau William Senior, Henry Bishop, Henry Gawler, Walter Coulson, and James Traill, or any two or more of you, to make a diligent and full inquiry into the practical operation of the laws for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, and into the manner in

which those laws are administered; and, for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, we do by these presents give and grant to you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any two or more of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, for the purpose of making the aforesaid inquiry; and we do hereby give and grant unto you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, when the same shall appear to be requisite, to administer an oath or oaths to any person or persons whatsoever to be examined before you, or any two or more of you, touching or concerning the premises. And we do also give and grant to you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority to cause the ministers, churchwardens, overseers of the poor, and other parish officers in the several parishes in England and Wales, to bring and produce upon oath before you, or any two or more of you, all and singular orders, books, papers, or other writings belonging to their respective parishes, relative to the administration of the said laws. And our further will and pleasure is, that you do, within one year after the date of this our commission, or as much sooner as the same can conveniently be done (using all diligence), certify to us under your hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of any two or more of you, your several proceedings in the premises; and that you do at the same time report to us your opinion whether any and what alterations, amendments or improvements, may be beneficially made in the said laws, or in the manner of administering them, and how the same may be best carried into effect. And we further will and command and by these presents ordain, that this our commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you our said commissioners, or any two or more of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment. And we do hereby direct and appoint that you, or any two or more of you, have liberty to certify your several proceedings from time to time to us, as the same shall be respectively completed and perfected; and we hereby command all and singular our justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, officers, ministers, and all other our loving subjects whatsoever, as well within liberties as without, that they be assistant to you and each of you in the execution of these presents; and for your assistance in the due execution of this commission we have made choice of our trusty and well-beloved George Taylor, Esq., to be secretary to this our commission, and to attend you, whose services and assistance we require you to use from time to time, as occasion may require. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 17th day of March, in the second year of our reign.

"By writ of Privy Seal,
"BATHURST."

OF THE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE INCOME OF THE CHURCH OF SPAIN.

(*Continued from No.* 1, *col.* 54, *vol.* 76.)

CHAPTER XI.

Of Anniversaries, or Perpetual Masses.

1. From the first ages of the church, the faithful consecrated not only chattels, but landed property. As the last-mentioned gift could not be brought to the church, they brought the deeds of donation to the priests at the altar; and our history presents many acts of the kind.

2. No one put the condition of saying masses in the deed, even though the property given was considerable, until the custom of giving alms to the priests with the especial condition of saying masses for their benefactors became common. All consecrated freely their gifts to God for their sins, and those of their progenitors, and also for their souls, for the maintenance of the priests, pilgrims, and the poor.

3. From the year 666, it was ordained by the council of Merida, that all rectors should mention the names of the founders and benefactors of their churches on Sundays: with this general announcement all were satisfied. It appears that the first who broke this custom was Don Alfonso II., called the Chaste, who founded a church in Oviedo, with the condition that the priest should for ever celebrate a weekly mass for his soul, as is proved by the inscription copied by Carvallo. The Count of Castille, Fernan Gonzalez, and the Countess Doña Sancha, in the year 919, ordered the monks of Silos to use prayers for their souls, but without prescribing the kind of prayers and sacrifices. In the year 984, the monks of St. Millan requested Don Sancho and Doña Urraca to confirm the privileges and donations made to them by the kings their predecessors; and this confirmation was given with the condition

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of their praying three days annually for their souls and the souls of their predecessors, with masses and vigils. St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluni, in return for benefits conferred on his order by Alfonso VI., appointed an altar in the year 1070, that masses should be said for that prince, and ordained also that after his death the service for the dead, and a mass for his soul, should be performed annually.

4. The desire of being freed from the troubles of canonical penances multiplied the stipends for masses, and filled the churches and monasteries with money for anniversaries. The custom of redeeming with money fasts and other mortifications of penance, had been introduced in the tenth century, with twenty *sueldos*. According to the Abbot Reginon, the rich could redeem seven weeks of fast; with a mass, twelve days of penance; and with ten masses, four months. The application of these alms was left to the will of the penitent, who could employ them for the redemption of captives, for some church or monastery, or among the poor. Getatius II. granted the Archbishop of Saragossa the power of remitting, canonical penance ro any one who would give alms for maintaining his clergy or re-edifying his church, which the Moors had destroyed. The Count Don Pedro and his countess gave the town and monastery of Corispindo to the church of St. James, as an atonement for the sin of wounding Don Alfonso, before the gate of the altar of the apostle. In truth, corporal mortifications are better than alms for cleansing the soul of its infirmities, because, though they are efficacious means of exciting divine mercy, they stand opposed only to covetousness; and it is easier to a rich man to relinquish part of his superfluities, than to abandon his luxuries and criminal pursuits. Therefore, even when those commutations were flourishing most, there were added to alms prayers and abstinence from certain dainties. After the number of these perpetual prayers was increased, the church had not sufficient priests to perform the duties; and besides, many of them, from some defect, had lost much of the property left to the churches for these pious purposes.

5. The church having accepted the property, could not with justice deny the donors the prayers they were entitled to by their gifts; but at the same time there existed no reason why the priests, who were not guilty of the diminution of this property, should perform so heavy a duty without recompense. Things stood thus at the time of the meeting of the council of Trent, at which, as a remedy, it was decreed that the bishops in their synods, and the abbots and generals of the religious orders in their chapters, should act as they thought proper, so that without prejudicing the divine worship or the utility of the church, the will of the donors should be accomplished as far as possible.

6. After mature examination, the only remedy discovered was to reduce the duties prescribed by the donors; and that this regulation should not be prejudicial to them, the number of prayers was reduced to those masses which could be conveniently celebrated, with the obligation of employing them in favour of those who through their donations had established the reduced prayers and anniversaries, besides those which are every day applied for benefactors in general.

7. It seems that in the reduction of masses, some of the bishops did not observe the prudent economy desired by the council, as it is said in the bull of Urban VIII., who, taking away this power, reserved it for the holy see. The bishops of Spain and their courts, notwithstanding this reservation which they considered contrary to the council, have retained this power connected, as they believe, with the economical authority which belongs to them by divine right, for the government of their flocks, or because those abuses were unknown.

8. The multiplicity of anniversaries is not only prejudicial to those who prescribed them, but even to the churches. It frequently happens that there is not a sufficient number of ministers for the performance of the duties, so that the priests, fatigued by singing three or four

masses in one day, are obliged to perform the service without the decorum which belongs to our holy religion. It was therefore prohibited to admit any new duties in churches secular or regular, without the permission of the bishop or general, who does not admit them without inquiring into the possibility of performance.

9. The freedom given by our laws for the establishment of entails, has also been the cause of the many anniversaries founded of late, many were prompted by religion and piety, but others by the desire of giving perpetuity to their property, by putting it under the protection of the church.

10. In the second council of Braga, the bishops were prohibited consecrating any church, built for the sake of any temporary utility. The origin of the anniversaries established through any of the before-mentioned reasons, was not more honest, as their property remained in the hands of the laymen, who are jealous of the churchmen, even for the slender offerings which they are obliged to give them, according to the will of the founders, for the performance of their duties. In order to avoid these disputes, it will be well for the prelates to remember the advice of Dr. Navaretti, in his forty-fifth discourse on the preservation of monarchies, before giving permission to establish anniversaries.

11. This celebrated politician says, that one of the causes why the ecclesiastics are looked to with jealousy by the laymen is, that they are able to receive but not to give or alienate; and because, what with anniversaries and livings, the property of which never returns to the state, the nation is impoverished and reduced to be the mere tenant of churchmen, who not satisfied with tithes and first fruits, grasp large estates, farms, vassals, and other kinds of property. Though this envy is of long standing, it ought to be remembered, that riches are not a blemish to the church, but only their abuse. This was the opinion of John Palmar, in his oration before the council of Basitea, and of John Marianat, according to whom the state suffered very little by the riches of religious communities, if the individual expenses are, as they ought to be, moderate. Thus the laymen are not justified in their complaints, because if the property is not alienated from the church, it is not so with the produce of it, which returns to them by bringing them necessary articles, and by alms which are abundantly given by religious orders. But though this is true, it might be as well that some of the cathedrals and convents, which have plenty of livings and anniversaries, should relinquish some of the property belonging to those gifts.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Alms of the Bull of the Crusade.

1. After the true cross was found by the pious zeal of Constantine, and restored to the Holy Land, the proper place of worship, the Christians began their pilgrimages. Their piety was inflamed to such a degree, that they were not afraid of undertaking so immense a journey that they might be enabled to worship God in the land where our redemption was accomplished.

2. In the seventh century, although the Arabs began to occupy the empire of the East, these holy pilgrimages ceased not: for though this abominable sect differs so much from the Catholic, yet their false prophet regarded with respect the Christian precepts. In the treaties of peace which he made with the eastern Catholics, he granted them his protection, the free exercise of their religion in his empire, and the power of continuing their pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

3. The pilgrims of the West, on their return from Palestine, exaggerated the sufferings of the eastern Christians under the Mahomedan dominion. Their zeal for the freedom of the Holy Land caused them to paint, in the strongest colours, the unhappy condition to which they were reduced. Those complaints excited their fellow-citizens; and the invasions made by the Saracens in the beginning of the eighth century towards

Europe, roused all the princes of that part of the world.

4. In the eleventh century, Gregory VII., moved by the lamentations of the eastern Christians, planned an expedition against the infidels of Asia, which he intended to command in person; but the disturbances of his pontificate did not allow it to be put in execution until the time of Urban II. This pope, excited by the horrible picture of the sufferings of the Christians in Palestine, made by Peter the Hermit, promoted in the council of Clermont the idea of his predecessor. This council, in order to incite the Christians to take arms, granted to all those who would take the cross for engaging in the expedition against the Mahomedans, a plenary indulgence, as a recompense for the troubles of the journey.

5. The peregrinations to Jerusalem in those times were replete with dangers on account of cruelties and robberies committed by the Arabs on the pilgrims, who, for greater safety, met in large bodies. In 1064, 7000 Germans undertook this pilgrimage, with the insignia of the cross, formed a small army, and most gallantly fought against the Arabs. From this example, all who wished to follow the expedition took the emblem of the cross; hence arose the name of Crusade.

6. In this epoch the canonical penances had lost none of their rigour, and for every sin a number of years of penance was imposed, according to the degree of enormity. The indulgence granted to crusaders freed them from many days of fasting and mortification; this, added to the hope of martyrdom, so inflamed the Christians, that in a very short time armies were formed capable of any enterprize, if they had directors.

7. In the first expeditions, each engaged at his own expense, or that of the noble who conducted him; but the necessity was soon discovered of raising a fund to maintain them. With this pious motive, the tenth, called *Salactina*, was imposed upon the ecclesiastical revenues, and the same repeated frequently. At that time the only indulgences granted were to those who took up arms to follow the expedition; but the necessity of money for maintaining the troops, and there being numbers who found it impossible for them to join it, induced the popes to extend the indulgences of the crusade to all those who would contribute to so desirable a purpose.

8. Almost all Spain was now groaning under the oppression of the Saracens, and the popes were anxious to expel them from Europe. Gregory VII., in 1073, granted Count Roccio all that he could wrest from the Saracens in the Peninsula, as an apostolic fief, perhaps with the sole idea of liberating it from the Saracenic yoke. For the same reason, Urban II. prohibited Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, from becoming one of the crusaders for Palestine, telling him that it would be better for him to employ his means for restoring his country, than in the conquest of Syria; and Pasqual II. prohibited the Spanish soldiers from taking the cross for the holy war.

9. To promote the expedition, our kings asked the popes to grant the indulgences of the crusade to all engaged in the wars against the Moors, which was conceded by Calinto II. Gregory IX. granted again the same thing in 1236, extending the apostolic indulgence to all those who sent soldiers at their own expense against the Moors, or who gave any assistance for the conquest of this monarchy.

10. From the expulsion of the Saracens the kings of Spain have continued waging war against the enemies of Christ. For the support of these almost continual wars, nearly all the popes, from Julius II. to the present, granted the Spanish monarchy the indulgences of the crusade for all who should contribute with alms to that end. Clement VII. fixed the price of one *peso* of gold, in America; and in 1537 Paul III. assigned one single *peso* for this pious tax, the produce of which he charged Charles V. with collecting, as for the purpose of erecting St. Peter's Church; but in the year 1543 the loan was reduced to a florin in the kingdom of Arragon, and to two reals in that of

Castille; yet nothing was altered with respect to America.

11. Pius IV. would not grant this favour to Philip II., notwithstanding that he particularly wanted the money for the crusade, to extinguish the rebellion of the Moors of Grenada. After this repulse, Cardinal Espinosa and some other bishops of Spain assembled, and formed a bull, called *Charter of the brotherhood of our holy catholic faith*, by which they granted to all who took it, and gave two reals for the war against the Moors, the privilege of being absolved from all the sins reserved for their jurisdiction, and besides as many indulgences as it was in their power to give. This bull, though so inferior as regards privileges to the bull of the crusade, produced as much money.

12. Charles V. had already made use of the same contrivance for obtaining money for the wars against the infidels of Africa and Germany. Don Ferdinand de Mendoza, commissary-general of the crusade, published in 1535 *a bull of the scapulary of the Holy Trinity*, a privilege already granted by various popes to the religious orders of the Trinity in favour of those who contributed the sum appointed by the provincial for the purpose of its institution; the sum was two reals of silver.

13. Adrian VI. and Clement VII. granted to the convent of St. Dominic of Vittoria the bull of Candlemas, through its indulgences to increase the worship of the Virgin of the Rosary. This and another given by different popes to promote the devotion towards the Virgin of Pains in Majorca, were published by Cardinal Logasa, commissary-general of the crusade, by which different privileges were granted for two reals of silver, for the above-mentioned war. In 1547, Don Juan Suarez Carvajal published two bulls, one for the living, another for the dead, granted to the Hospital of the Conception and the College of Children of Salamanca, by various popes, and intended by Paul III. to be obtained with the same money.

14. In the time of Pius V. the bull of the crusade was again granted to these kingdoms excluding only the ecclesiastics. The plenary indulgences granted to crusaders were absolute dispensation of the penances prescribed by canonical rules against public sinners. Clergymen were not subject to public penance, but were deposed by the bishops and lockedup for ever in a monastery.

To preserve in some measure the remains of this discipline, it appeared just not to extend the privileges of the crusade to those who were not admitted to public penance. Notwithstanding, Urban VIII., 1627, extended with reason the same privileges to ecclesiastics, granting to all the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, who would give the prescribed sum for the war against the Infidels and the building the church of Letran, the privilege of using milk pottage even in Lent.

15. The same pope, for the sake of giving more publicity to these privileges, allowed the printing of the bull, to the same end. Gregory XIII. ordered it to be published every two years, and Innocent X., 1644, annually. For this purpose some mendicant friars were appointed, who went to parish churches to explain the contents, in which commission they committed many excesses, by not only obliging people to pay the price of the bull, but to attend their sermons to the prejudice of agriculture and domestic concerns. These abuses are remedied by some good laws; as no one is now obliged to buy the bull or to hear the sermons of its publication. But that the faithful should not be ignorant of the many privileges of the bull, it is published in a holy day, which answers the desired effect.

16. Clement XI., 1718, suspended again the bull of crusade under the pretext that its products were not expended for the objects for which it had been granted; but after being better informed, his holiness removed the suspension, 1720, and knowing the rectitude with which the money was distributed, exempted the kingdom from the pension which it paid to the apostolic chamber every six years, when the prorogation was granted at Rome.

It is doubtful whether the alms of the bull should be numbered among the ec-

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clesiastical revenues of Spain; but there is no doubt that considering the end, they form a considerable portion of the patrimony of the church. Besides, it is clearly inferred from a bull of Urban VIII., by which he declared void the sale of the attorneyships of the crusade made by the commissary-general, because he says that they are ecclesiastical offices.

Our monarchs recognise the same, and they spend the produce of the bull in the pious objects of their institution. It is administered so scrupulously, that notwithstanding their power to employ those alms to any pious purpose, they apply them only against infidels; and to free themselves from any remorse of conscience, they have given the management to the commissary-general of the crusade and two comptrollers.

19. The authority of the commissary over the funds of the bulls is almost absolute, so much so that sometimes he would not allow their produce to be applied to the necessities of the state. Perhaps he did not think it was a work of piety to free the subjects of a weight which must necessarily fall upon their weak shoulders if this succour was denied by him. Lastly, that this fund of the crusade might not be diminished, the commissary has power to suspend, and effectually does suspend in Spain, to all those who do not take the bull, all the indulgences granted to the faithful, excepting the jubilee granted to the apostolical church of St. James and those granted by the bishops to their flocks.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Tithes.

1. There is not a nation which can subsist without religion, and there is not a religion which can be preserved without ministers: therefore all nations in all ages have thought that the maintenance of the priests was one of the principal duties of the state. To satisfy this sacred debt, princes adopted different means according to the character of their subjects.

2. Moses, animated and inspired by God, intimated to the Jews the duty of paying tithes to maintain the ministers of the sanctuary; and after this example the custom was introduced among Christians. The precepts of ancient law ceased with the death of Christ; and therefore that of paying the tithes of their fruits did not pass to the faithful; but not for this reason were they free from maintaining the churchmen, as from the beginning of the church we find them supported at the expense of the Christians.

3. In the first five ages, the church had no other income than that proceeding from landed property and offerings. It is true, that some made offerings to God of the tenth of the produce of their lands, but this act was entirely voluntary. The bishops of that time repeatedly demanded of the faithful to offer their tenths to God, but without issuing any precepts to oblige them,—satisfied with persuading them to offer this freely, and whatever they chose besides, for the priests, worship, and the poor. They were exhorted to pay tithes after the manner of the Jews; but at the same time it was intimated, that being sons of Christ, they were more highly favoured than the Jews, and should therefore exceed them in liberality. Until the sixth century the fathers issued no precepts for paying tithes. At that epoch the charity of the Christians was so cool, that they did not offer even necessaries for supporting the priests. The zeal of the bishops could not allow them to behold with indifference the decline of worship, nor the poor neglected. To remedy the evil it was requisite to change the old discipline of the church on that point, and to adopt ecclesiastical punishments to compel Christians to pay tithes.

4. The first council that adopted this plan was that of Macon in France, 585; whose fathers gave, as a reason, that the offering of tithes was the custom in former times, although it had latterly been abolished. Almost at the same period the same means were put in practice by the oriental bishops for the establishment of this tax in their dioceses; but being disapproved by the emperors, was relinquished till the cru-

sades, when it was endeavoured to be introduced in some places.

5. This old custom of the faithful in the first ages was the cause of the Greek and Latin bishops, after the sixth century, inflicting penalties on those who did not pay tithes. In consequence of the reluctance of the Christians in making offerings for the above-mentioned pious purposes, the bishops made use of the arms of the church to compel them to pay, under the circumstances, so just a debt. On custom, too, other councils, celebrated in the following ages, founded fair reasons for commanding the payment of tithes: to it, also, is attributed its origin by our laws, and by many ancient and modern doctors; and lastly, we find that, for want of custom, such a tax is not paid in different Catholic provinces of Germany, Italy, and France.

6. In the church of Spain the paying of tithes was not known as early as in the other western nations. This tax was either unknown before the eighth century, or it was only paid at their own pleasure, so that it did not constitute any distinct species of oblation. We know that the first council that decreed its payment in the west was that of Macon, and therefore the tithes could not have been recognised in Spain as a legitimate debt befor the sixth century.

7. The holy fathers of previous ages would not that the faithful should give anything to the church, if not freely; and they only hinted that as the ministers had not the means of subsistence, they must be provided for. There was sufficient for the ministers of our church and the poor with the abundance of offerings made by our forefathers during the times of the kings before Richard (Recaredo), because the fervour of the faithful increases with tribulations. In the year 589 this Catholic prince and all the nation abjured the Arian tenets, and since then the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain have increased very much, with considerable donations of serfs and lands; and it is not probable that the bishops, who in more unfortunate times were horrified at the idea of compelling the people to make offerings, should impose upon them the duty of paying tithes, much less when even the princes were careful to enrich the patrimony of the church.

8. We find that, in the first eight centuries, tithes were not reckoned among the revenues of the church, her patrimony consisting of undetermined offerings in landed property and in serfs. Of each of these kinds of incomes we find a variety of information, not only in the particular records of the Spanish councils, but in the old collections of our canons and laws, but not any of tithes.

9. It is well known that Burchard Normaciensis and St. Ivon Carnotensis attribute to our councils two canons in which it is supposed that in Spain the payment of tithes was introduced, but both are considered apocryphal by the learned. The authority of the two collectors is not so great as to cause us to receive as legitimate the two above-mentioned canons. Neither of them can be found in any of the precious collections and conciliary records which were found latterly in the archives of our churches, nor in any of the valuable monuments of antiquities which were buried in them.

10. Cardinal Aquirre has published an index of the old collection of canons by which the Spanish church was governed from the beginning of the sixth to the end of the eighth centuries. The subjects of oblations of landed property, the defrauders of it, and serfs, are there discussed at large; but nothing is said of tithes, although the patrimony of the church could be injured in them as well as in other kinds of revenues; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that they were either unknown or did not form a distinct species among the other offerings freely consecrated to God by the faithful.

11. Bourchard and St. Ivon flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, at which period no one hesitated to admit as authentic the false decretals of Isidore the Mercator, each made use of them in the formation of their collections, and therefore they abound in apocryphal authorities, which makes us

suspect that the above-mentioned canons are false; but if we consider that the discipline which they supposed flourished in our church never was observed in Spain, the suspicion is converted into real evidence.

12. During the captivity of Spain, the Murraratic Christians adhered to the same customs and discipline as before. At that time the martyr of Cordona St. Eulogius flourished, who visited most of the captive churches, and through his writings communicated to his fellow-citizens various information concerning their rules and discipline; but neither he nor his friends and contemporaries, Count Alvaro, the abbot Sampson, and the presbyter Leovigild, mention the subject of tithes, although they speak of offerings and other property which the church then possessed. From this it appears that, until the expulsion of the Saracens, when Spain began to recover her ancient liberty, this tax was unknown in the kingdom. Perhaps there were those who consecrated to God the tenth of their fruits, but if such was the fact, they constituted so small a number that they neither deserve mention nor were sufficient to introduce the custom.

13. After the invasion of Spain by the Moors, the ecclesiastical limits of the provinces were as much confounded as the political, so that at the beginning of the ninth century we find that the suffragans of Tarragona recognised as their metropolitan the archbishop of Narbon, and for their princes the king's of France. In that nation the custom of paying tithes was introduced in the sixth century, and in the eighth Carlo Magno confirmed the decree of the council of Macon, ordaining that all his subjects should pay them. Since then, the churches comprehended in the Spanish Marches received tithes, as is written in the charter granted to the monastery of St. Maria of Alaon, in the year 832, and in the royal ordinance given in favour of the Bishop of Urgél, by Lonis the Pious, in 836.

14. The chief part of the lands belonging now to the crowns of Navarre and Arragon recognised the dominion of France; because though they were governed by different princes under different names, all were dependent, at the commencement of our restoration, on the kings of France, as is confessed by the best historians of those provinces. The communication with the French, introduced into Arragon many of the political laws of France, and with them some belonging to the church. One of them was, perhaps, of the tithes, as the first information we have of them is to be seen in the old records of Catalonia, Arragon, and Navarre, whence the custom passed to the other provinces of Spain. Therefore, among the many grants made by Don Alfonso the emperor to the churches of his dominions, those of tithes were only for the churches of Arragon and Navarre.

15. The kings of Leon and Castille were governed by ecclesiastical and civil laws of the Goths, until the time of Alfonso the Wise; and as in the council of Braga it had been ordained that no church should be consecrated without being competently provided for the ministers and worship, our church was not in want of tithes. If in the first ages of the restoration of this monarchy, payment of this tax had been known, the council of Oviedo would not have assigned portions of land in Asturias to the bishops of Spain, as it would have been easier to grant them in tithes sufficient for their maintenance, than to make them expend in the administration of those lands, the time they so much wanted to watch over and comfort their flocks, against the frequent assaults of the infidels. Nor would it have been requisite for Alfonso V., following the spirit of the old canons, to endow the churches of the kingdom of Leon with lands to enable them to maintain their ministers.

16. The vicinity and frequent communications of the Castillians and Arragonians, caused the same customs to be observed in each church, and therefore the information concerning tithes is of earlier date in Castille than in Leon. While the churches of this kingdom preserved the property they had received from Alfonso V., tithes were not introduced; but they did not enjoy it.

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long, for in such turbulent times nothing was permanent. The rich attended only to the keeping up their power in order to seize upon each other's estates, and sometimes even the Spaniards destroyed the church property more than the Moors, so much so that the offerings of the faithful were taken with the ornaments and sacred vases, and divided among them. This abuse was so great in the eleventh century, that the prebendaries of St. James's church were very meanly dressed, and their livings would not maintain them six months at the beginning of the twelfth century.

17. In the year 1031 the use of offerings was almost abolished with us, as the council of Compostella was obliged to ordain that the prebendaries should make offerings in the three great festivities of Christmas, Easter, and Whit-Sunday. The usurpation of the powerful, and want of charity in the Christians, reduced the churches to the greatest distress, and were the principal causes of the introduction of tithes. Without them divine worship could not have been performed nor the poor succoured; and our bishops, full of the zeal which inflamed the fathers of the fifth century, promoted the payment in Spain, and exhorted the faithful to that effect. The persuasions of Don James Gelmirez, excited Count Petriccio, 1113, to offer the tithes of his estates to the church of St. James.

18. Although in the twelfth century the payment of tithes became common in Leon and Castille, they were in most of the churches paid voluntarily; as the bishops of those kingdoms prohibited receiving from the hands of the excommunicated this or any other kind of offering. Though tithes were introduced into the Spanish March from the ninth century, their payment was still voluntary in some of the churches in the bishopric of Urgel, 1099; and therefore it is not strange that the debt of tithes should be a necessary one in Leon and Castille. About the year 1040, the inhabitants of Salamanca and its neighbourhood made some sallies against the Moors; and after having been routed three times in the last, which was near Badajos, they determined to make some acceptable offering to God, to appease the justice of his anger; thus they offered tithes.

19. It appears that, at that period, the Spaniards were persuaded that God did strike them with the rod of justice, on account of the impiety with which they denied the churches the necessary maintenance of their ministers. Most of them wanted means to satisfy the expenses of worship, and to remedy the distress of the poor; therefore it is probable that in such circumstances the prelates and pastors exhorted the faithful to pay tithes, which had now become a debt of justice. Thus we find, that in the year 1142, the inhabitants of Avila, Segovia, and Toledo, being exposed to the fury of the kings of Cordova and Seville, implored the mercy of the Almighty, offering him the tenth of the booty they should obtain from the Moors in this excursion; which vow they performed, after gaining the famous battle of Montello.

20. In 1198 Innocent III. ascended St. Peter's chair, and, according to the contents of the letter he wrote to the Archbishop Santiago, and the other prelates of the kingdom of Leon, the general duty of paying tithes was not introduced into that kingdom, nor that of Castille. The Spanish bishops had complained to that pope, that the faithful did give them tithes, offerings, or first-fruits, under the pretext that the sacraments were not administered to them, by reason of the interdict to which the kingdom of Leon was subject. If the payment of tithes had not been voluntary at that period, the churches would have enforced it, because the interdict did not extinguish the right of prosecuting, nor the duty of paying, although it might interrupt the ecclesiastical offices. Besides, the tithes are not paid precisely for the administering the sacraments, but as a sacred charge of the state for the maintenance of religion. Had it not been for that purpose, they would not have been exacted from the Moors and Jews. It is not feasible, that the Spanish prelates should stand in need

of the assistance of the king in recovering them; for all, excepting that of Oviedo, enjoyed the favour of Don Alfonso; and for adhering to his cause they suffered the indignation of Innocent III.

21. From the eleventh century the general opinion was that the payment of tithes was a divine right: as it was introduced into the Partidas and the laws of the Fuero Real, by Don Alfonso the Wise. In 1302 it was also adopted by the council of Peñafiel, and it therefore declared that all were under the obligation of paying them. Notwithstanding these ecclesiastical and regal decrees, the tithes of all kinds of fruits were not paid in this kingdom; for it is well known that since their introduction the church received them by custom, which varied in different provinces, or by virtue of royal charters, or donations of individuals.

22. The laws of the Fuero Real were not generally recognised, because the towns were governed by their own statutes or municipal charters, which they had received from their lords, and as the Fuero had been given only to the towns pertaining to the crown, the law for paying tithes was not general. The Partidas were not published until the 2d of May, 1339, in the reign of Alfonso XI., and they have received only a subsidiary authority; thus, custom was the only rule for tithing.

23. The council of Peñafiel could not have introduced their general use, because it was not national, and in it was only present the bishops of Cuença, Siguenza, Osma, Segovia, and Patencia, with the archbishop of Toledo, who congregated together to form a compact for defending ecclesiastical immunity against any who should attempt to usurp church property, or to exact from its vassals more than the accustomed taxes, according to records in the archives of the cathedral of Segovia, copied by Colmenaris. It cannot be believed that prelates so zealous in defending the vassals of the church from paying more than the customary pensions, would overcharge the subjects of the kings and those of the other lords, with the tax of tithes heavier than they were accustomed to. Therefore it appears, that notwithstanding the apparent universality of the before-mentioned canon, the fathers of Peñafiel would not extend their precept to places where tithing was not customary; for they knew that the church ought not to impose taxes upon the faithful, although it may possess the power of compelling them to pay tithes when established by custom.

24. The principal cause of tithes not having been introduced into the provinces of Spain, which had not recognised French dominion, and even in some of their bishoprics, was in the liberality of our kings and the other lords, as will be proved by the following facts:—In the year 1015, Don Sancho the Great granted to the monastery of Leyre the privilege of receiving the tithes from various towns which he had wrested from the Moors. In 1070, Don Sancho II. gave the Monks of Oña, the power of erecting churches in any of his estates, and authority to receive tithes from their new parishioners. When Don Ramiro of Arragon, transferred the church of Huesca to Saca, in 1060, he granted with her the tenth of the gold, silver, wheat, wine, and any other productions of different towns named by him. In 1099 the Ginsonense church in the bishopric of Urgel was consecrated, and most of her parishioners offered to pay the tenth of their fruits. In 1113, Count Petriccio made an equal donation to the apostolic church of St. James; and Don Alfonso I. of Arragon and Navarre, and VII. of Castille, granted to the holy church of Saragossa, in 1133, the right of receiving the tenth of all the mills and baths of that city and its environs. When Don Sancho Ramirez founded Lizarra (now Estella), he gave to the monks of St. John de la Peña, the tithes of all parishes founded, or that should be founded, in the new town; and Don Alfonso the VIII. made an obligation of paying to the church of Burgos, and to Marino, her bishop, the tenth of the agricultural produce of the Botica Real, of Burgos, Ovierna, and

other places. Lastly, in the thirteenth century the king, St. Ferdinand, endowed the metropolitan church of Seville with the tithes of its dioceses, excepting those of Figueral and Aljaraffe.

(To be continued.)

TITHE WAR.

The campaign has opened in Ireland, as the reader will see, from the following account. The *killed* and *wounded* seem to be pretty numerous.

TITHE AFFRAY—ATTACK ON THE MILITARY.

(From the Limerick Chronicle.)

At four o'clock yesterday morning, two pieces of artillery, sixty of the 12th Lancers, with Captain Vandaleur, and five companies of the 92d Highlanders, with Major Rose, proceeded from this garrison towards Bilpoa, and under command of Colonel Wemyss, to attend a sale by distress for tithes due by the parish priest of Doone to the rector, the Rev. Mr. Coote. It having been previously well known that the peasantry resolved to assemble in vast numbers for the purpose of intimidating any person from purchasing at this sale, Major Miller, chief magistrate of police, communicated with the military authorities in this garrison, and it was determined accordingly to draw a strong division of troops to the scene of action. Upwards of 6000 people were in the village of Bilboa, when the priest's cow was brought out for sale, and the surrounding hills were covered by at least 10,000 more. However, the imposing military and police force that drew up in the vicinity prevented any opposition from the crowds present, and the cow was knocked down for 12*l.* to the priest's brother, who paid the money, and refused to take the overplus, after discharging all expenses. The troops withdrew from the scene soon after without interruption, while the peasantry watched their movements with great anxiety. They had not proceeded above half a mile on their return, when an express overtook the commanding officer, announcing that a tremendous and combined attack was making on the police in the village. Col. Wemyss and the Lancers wheeled round, and rode to Bilboa in a rapid trot, when they saw the country people flinging stones and missiles of every description at Chief Constable Brady and his police party, one of whom was knocked off his horse, and the whole village exhibited one scene of indescribable terror and confusion. By the prompt exertion of Colonel Wemyss and the Lancers, who galloped through the assailants, and the timely influence of a Roman Catholic clergyman, something like tranquillity was restored, but it was of momentary duration, for when the Lancers drew up with the intention of leaving the village and resuming their route, the country fellows again pressed forward and pelted the soldiers with stones. Several of the Lancers were struck and severely hurt, and one of their officers having lost his cap by the blow of a stone, they charged their assailants with the sabre, and fired in defence of their lives, wounding some of the most daring of their opponents, while many of the fellows received slight sabre cuts. The forbearance of the military was admirable, and the rioters would have suffered in life and limb, but for the frequent, earnest, and humane exhortation of the commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Wemyss, who took the greatest pains to suppress the tumult without bloodshed, and to disperse the people.

The crowds had now fled the village and retreated to the surrounding hills, from whom Colonel Wemyss and the Lancers heard several shots fired on their departure to join the Artillery and Highlanders. Everything was quiet at Bilboa when they left, and six policemen are now stationed in the Rev. Mr. Coote's house for his protection. The troops did not return to this garrison until half-past nine o'clock last night, after a harassing excursion of 30 miles.

We have this morning ascertained the casualties that occurred yesterday—One man, Real, of Cappamore, has a sabre wound in the head; Darby Connell, of Castleguard, a shot in the groin; Fitzgerald, of Cappamore, a shot in the

thigh; Fogarty, of Reisk, a shot in the elbow. The wounds of Connel and Fitzgerald are dangerous. Darby Connell died on Wednesday.

ENGLISH TITHE-FIGHT.

TITHES IN DURHAM.—On the 6th instant, Mr. J. Bell, the tithe-lessee for the parish of Hexham, having procured a warrant, sent some persons duly accredited to seize upon the goods and chattels of Mr. John Ridley, who had refused to pay tithes. The seizure being made, a person was left in Mr. R.'s house to watch his furniture, &c., on which Mr. Ridley sent the bellman round the town, stating that he wanted a person of known integrity to watch a suspicious character who infested his house. One was soon found, and there they actually staid from Friday the 6th until Wednesday the 11th instant, one watching Mr. R.'s goods, the other watching the *watcher*. On Tuesday the 10th. Mr. Ridley sent the bellman to invite the public to come to his sale on Wednesday, to witness the proceedings of "*tithe-mongers and their tools*," when he meant to state his reasons for refusing to pay tithes. On Wednesday a large concourse of people, estimated at from 600 to 1,000 persons, assembled in the street, near Mr. R.'s house. The sale commenced, and furniture to the amount of the tithe and costs having *been purchased*, Mr. R. came out upon his own pent-house, and, in a long address, which was well received, gave his reasons for his conduct, and the assembly, after giving Mr. R. three cheers, quietly dispersed.

This is the way that the tithe-war *began* in Ireland. When will this Government be wise?

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP, No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at *6s.* a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14*s.*

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10*d.* a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9*d.* a pound; above 100lbs., 8½*d.* A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6*d.* a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all

ere so good and true. I got my seed rom Mr. Pym, of Reigate, who raised from plants proceeding from seed that had given him, which seed I had raised t Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way hrough, the greatest care had been aken to raise seed from no plant of a obious character.—This seed, therefore, *warrant* as the very best of the kind.— score or two of persons, who sowed this seed last year, have given me an ccount of the large crops they have ad from it, and have all borne testimony o its being the truest seed they ever aw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the ame *sorts*, can be got at any other lace; but I have a *right* to do this, nd I choose to exercise my right. My eds are kept with great care in a roper place; and I not only warrant he *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, FIRST *as bread*, two-thirds wheaten and ne-third corn-flour; SECOND, in *batter uddings baked*, a pound of flour, a art of water, two eggs, though these st are not necessary; THIRD, in *plum-uddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of ater, half a pound of suet, the plums, nd no eggs; FOURTH, in *plain suet-uddings*, and the same way, omitting e plums; FIFTH, in *little round umplings*, with suet or without, and ough they are apt to break, they are ry good in this way; in broth, to icken it, for which use it is beyond all easure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following e the instructions which I have re-ived from Mr. Sapsford, baker, No. , the corner of Queen Anne-street, impole-street, Marybone. As I have equently observed, the corn-flour is t so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, the wheat and rye flour are. It is, erefore, necessary; or, at least, it is st to use it, one-third corn-flour and o-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye d the corn do not make bread so ght as the wheat and the corn, nor ite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE. £.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly TWO RODS	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS.....	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

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From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

JAMESON, J., Muscovy-court, Trinity-sq., wine and spirit-merchant.
SHERLEY, F., Hayes, brewer and coal-dealer.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

DE METZ, A. L., Walter's-buildings, Holloway, hill and exchange-broker.
THOMAS, T., Southampton-row, Bloomsbury, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BICKNELL, J. H., Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, corn-dealer.
BLACKNELL, W., Bourne-end, Northchurch, Herts, retailer of beer.
DRAKE, F. H. N., Coyton, Devon, tile-dealer.
DUNMAN, G., Bow-lane, iron & tin-pl. agent.
FARNEAUX, J., Princes-street, Red Lion-square, cabinet-maker.
HEWETT, R., Upper Thames-street, merchant and commission-agent.
HOWARD, H., London-wall, looking-glass-manufacturer.
RYDER, T., Mount-row, Lambeth, hat-manuf.

TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

BLAKEY, J., Habergham Eaves and Burnley, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
BROADBENT, J., Huddersfield, shopkeeper.
BROCKBANK, T., Carlisle, and E. Brockbank, George-st., near Carlisle, timber-merchants.
GARDINER, W. H., Nortonfalgate, ironmonger.
HAWORTH, J., Burnley, Lancashire, ironmonger.
HAYWOOD, W., Birmingham, bookbinder.
HOGG, J. J., Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, hatter.
HURRILL, T. J., York-st., Portman-square, surgeon.
JUBY, J., Norwich, money-scrivener.
MACE, E. sen., Osnaburgh-street, Regent's-park, coach-wheelwright
M'CORMICK, J. and A., Leeds, drapers.
RACHAEL, P., Hosier-lane, glass-dealer.
ROBINSON, W. L., Henbury, Gloucestershire, innholder.
SHERLEY, F., Hayes, Middlesex, brewer.
SMITH, T., Bristol, currier.
TURNER, S., Ball's-pond, Islington, builder.
VINCENT, R., Bristol, tailor.
VINSON, R. H., and W. Shoults, Maze, Southwark, and Tower-street, carpenters.
WARD, W. J., Bermondsey-street, Southwark, wine-merchant.
WILLIAMS, W. H., Newport, Monmouthshire, corn-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ALLAN, J. and Son, Glasgow, merchants.
M'CRUMMEN, D., Leith, merchant.
SMITH, D., Aberdeen, hat-manufacturer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 16.—Supplies have been, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, barley, oats, beans, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, but limited; of English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign flour, Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat and oats, and foreign barley, collectively, moderately good.

Owing to this day's market being well attended by buyers, and the above-stated supplies for the most part limited, as well as there being no business to be transacted here on Friday, advanced prices were pretty generally and stiffly demanded; but as they were, in scarcely any instance, very willingly submitted to, the trade was, throughout, dull; with wheat and oats at an advance of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter; with barley, beans, peas, malt, flour, and seeds, at last Monday's prices.

Wheat	53s. to 67s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
—— fine	36s. to 42s.
Peas, White	35s. to 39s.
—— Boilers	38s. to 44s.
—— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
—— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 29s.
—— Poland	24s. to 27s.
—— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
—— Sides, new	48s. to 49s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	—s. 0d. to —s. per barl
Butter, Belfast	82s. to 86s. per cwt.
—— Carlow	80s. to 90s.
—— Cork	86s. to 88s.
—— Limerick	84s. to 88s.
—— Waterford	80s. to 86s.
—— Dublin	74s. to 76s.
Cheese, Cheshire	56s. to 76s.
—— Gloucester, Double	56s. to 64s.
—— Gloucester, Single	48s. to 54s.
—— Edam	48s. to 54s.
—— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	56s. to 58s.

SMITHFIELD.—April 16.

This day's supply of beasts and porks was rather limited; of sheep, lambs, and calves, moderately good. With prime lamb and veal, the trade, as is usual on the Monday before Easter, was brisk, at an advance of full 2d. per stone; but with beef, mutton, the inferior kinds of lamb and veal, as also pork very dull, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,560; sheep and lambs, 20,580; calves, 111; pigs, 120.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Th
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83¾	84¾	84¾	84¾	84⅝	85

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14*th April*, 1832.

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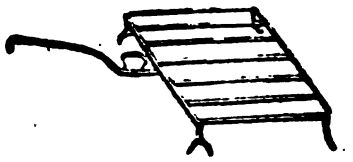

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER,

On the present Prospect with regard to Reform.

Kensington, 25th April, 1832.

My Friends,

That which I am now about to address to you, naturally connects itself with my remarks and opinions on the same subject in the *last Register*. A week has now passed since that *Register* was written; I have, during this week, very carefully attended to the contents of the London papers, and especially of those papers which are looked upon as being decidedly in the interest of the Ministers; I have heard that which is *talked* by the friends and hangers-on of the Ministry; in short, I have had as good an opportunity as most men of learning what is our present prospect with regard to reform; and I now explicitly say, that I see no reason whatever for changing the opinions on this subject; which opinions I fully and frankly expressed in the last *Register*; which opinions amounted in substance to this; namely, that Grey *would not make the peers*; that he would *not quit his place*, and tell the nation that the King would not let him make the peers; that he would *take the bill with the* 10*l. clause altered*; that the *House of Commons would agree to that*; that they *would beg Grey to keep his place*; and that *he would keep it*.

Now, I have seen nothing to induce me to change this opinion; but on the contrary, a great deal to fix it more firmly in my mind. And, first, I have very narrowly watched to see whether any of the ministerial papers *took up the subject* and *gave a contradiction to my suspicions*, which suspicions are acknowledged to be very generally entertained, and which have been *promulgated* by the "National Political Union," and, indeed, *had been* promulgated by them before my *Register* appeared. If Lord Grey had *not uttered* the words ascribed to him, the report would have been contradicted instantly; and, if his intentions had not been such as I ascribed to him, how eager would his papers have been to call me slanderer! In the case of *Irish coercion*, Althorp hastened to eat up the words of Grey! No such haste *now*; and all the slaves of the press, so busy and so noisy upon other occasions, when the Ministers are to be defended, are now silent in sign of conscious guilt; except, indeed, the base and prostituted *Courier*; and that tells us, that it was "*always aware that some changes in the bill would be necessary.*"

Then, the *political gossip!* This is one way in which the THING works. It has always, upon occasions like this, a parcel of *talkers* and *pulse-feelers* at work. They go about, and are at once, *preachers* and *spies*. Their business is to prepare people's minds for what the THING has it in contemplation to do; and to collect information to communicate to the THING relative to the views and intentions of the people. They are furnished to a certain extent with a knowledge of the THING's views and designs; they are enabled and authorised to say what has been told them by my Lord Humbug; and what the "noble lord" said at *breakfast* or *dinner* the other day, or in a letter dated from Humbug Hall. By these means, they get to pass for *persons of weight*; and they frequently obtain thus an influence over men ten thousand times their superiors in knowledge and talent; and they not very unfrequently actually set such

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men in motion, and obtain in this way a popular cry in favour of what ought to receive popular execration. These tools of the THING are intimate with all the newspaper *editors*, *reporthers*, and *pamphlet-mongers* and publishers; and thus, these are set in motion: the country newspapers look to those of this corrupt and infamous source as to a guide; and it has not only frequently, but *generally* happened, that the whole kingdom has by these low and villanous means, been deluded and betrayed; and to this very cause we have to ascribe no small part of the Debt and of the ruin and misery of the people.

Nothing is a stronger proof in corroboration of my suspicions than the conduct of the *Morning Chronicle*, the editor of which (Dr. Black) is upon terms of great personal intimacy with some of the Ministers; and especially with VAUX and ALTHORP. Now, this I know, as well as I know that the Cabinet Council meets at Whitehall. Look at the *Chronicle*, then, ever since *the speech* of LORD GREY was made. It has offered *no explanation* of it: it has not hinted at a denial of the correctness of the reports: it has crammed its columns with *lucubrations* about all sorts of things, except the thing now at issue: this day (Wednesday), for instance, it has two whole columns from the DOCTOR'S pen, being a *review* of a *review* of PARSON NARES'S stupid and lying book about the PROTESTANT REFORMATION; and, not a single word *about the intentions of the Ministers as to the Reform Bill.* When my *last Register* came out, the Doctor extracted a passage from it, putting before the extract the following *preface*:

"In the following passage there is "much ingenuity; but the person who "will be most surprised at discovering "what a Machiavelian Earl Grey is, "will be his Lordship himself. Mr. "Cobbett assumes, we think, a great "deal too readily that the Tories are in- "different to the pickings which corrup- "tion has left to us, and *charity to the* "*Ministers requires us to believe that* "*their arming the police and increasing* "*the army had better motives than are* "*assigned to them.* The Reform Bill re- "quired agitation; but agitation may "lead to disturbances; and it behoves "those who are responsible for the Go- "vernment of the country to see *that* "*the cause of Reform is not injured* by "the alarm caused by disturbances. *A* "*popular administration* can *venture on* "*bolder measures than one which is dis-* "*trusted*; and *hence* Ministers have "been enabled *to make preparations* "for the *preservation of the peace* of the "country, which will be adequate to the "object, and thereby *deprive the anti-* "*reformers of a means of wounding the* "*the good cause.* If *we thought* Minis- "ters acted on the plan attributed to "them in the following extract, WE "SHOULD BELIEVE THEM TO "BE MONSTERS."

Now, Doctor, I wish that that *charity* which led you to believe that the Ministers had "*better motives* in arming the police and increasing the army," had carried you a little further, and induced you to *name* those "*better motives.*" I have been able to discover *no other* motives than those assigned by me. Numerous persons (millions) are of my opinion, and it would therefore have been "*charity*" *to us* to have put us at our ease on this account. Your defence of these measures is of the real Whig STAMP. The army may be *augmented in time of peace*; the police may be armed *with swords*; because the "administration *is popular!*" This is the *old Whig impudence.* It was despotism in the *Stuarts* to have a standing army in time of peace; but *no despotism in the Whigs*, who soon had a far greater, which has never ceased since, and which *they* have always augmented when they had the power. Upon the *same principle* it was quite laudable IN THEM to pass the *Riot Act*, the audacious *Septennial Bill*, and to *establish the infernal excise*, which, when they were last in power, they attempted to carry into *private houses!* They are "*popular*," they are "*liberal*," and therefore "they may venture on *bolder measures* than an administration that is *distrusted*!" To what a point must a man have duped himself before he could have talked thus! [Was there ever a crew so com-

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pletely distrusted as this? Was there ever one of whom the mass of the people had so bad an opinion! Dr. Black really seems to deem the Whigs as exempted from all political pledges and ties, as Ralpho deemed the "*Saints*" from all moral obligations. Put Whigs for "*Saints*," and Tories for "*the wicked*," and we have Ralpho and Doctor Black uttering the same sentiments.

The Whigs may do the *same things* by
Right, and *in sincerity*,
Which the Tories are tempted to,
And at *the devil's* instance do;
And yet the *actions* be *contrary*,
Just as Whigs and Tories vary.
For, as on land there is no beast
But in some fish at sea's exprest;
So in the Tories there's no vice
Of which the Whigs have not a spice;
And yet that thing that is *good* in
The one, in th'other is a *sin*.

Doctor Black does not perceive, that the day of this *impudent humbug* is gone, never to return; that the nation has now the sense to know, that both factions are the same *as towards it*; and that they have, in fact, always been the same, and that they have now, as far as this goes, one and the same feeling. A pretty story indeed, that Grey has *augmented the army*, and *put swords into the hands of his police*, to "deprive the *anti-reformers* of the means of *wounding the good cause!*" What fools; what asses; what beasts, this man must think the people of England! But, Doctor, if you should think the Ministers "*monsters*" if you thought my suspicions *just*, why did you not try your hand, in order to show them to be unjust? This is what their *friend* ought to have done; and *not the smallest attempt have you made to do it*; and this, indeed, this silence of yours, is one of the strongest presumptive proofs of the correctness of my opinions. Besides, what have you now (Wednesday morning) before you? The proceedings of the meeting at Leeds, of that at Glasgow, of that at Newcastle, of that at Dudley; of the London Political Union: you have before you all these, every meeting *expressing the same suspicions*; and yet you utter not a word in defence of your "*popular Ministry*."

But, let me now come to another matter, which, in my opinion, confirms my suspicions completely, as to the main point, at least. This main point was, the intention, which I thought the Ministers had, *to give up the ten-pound clause*. And, here, before I go any further, I will insert an article (enclosing a letter) which I wrote last Saturday (21st of April,) after my *Register* had gone to press.

To the People of Birmingham, and to the Reformers in all the great towns.

Bolt-court, Fleet-street, Saturday, 21st April, 1832.

My Friends,—Be on the alert! Look out sharply; or you will, I am convinced, see all the apprehensions expressed in my *Register* of this day verified to the fullest extent. The following letter has been sent to me, in consequence of the writer having read, in my *Register* of this day, that I *could not help having my fears* that some at least of *the Political Unions* would not, upon this occasion, act as they ought to do. First read the letter, and then hear, if you please, a word or two from me.

"*London, 21st April*, 1832.

"Sir,—I quite agree with you in "opinion respecting the Ministers and "the Reform Bill; that *they* intend to "exclude the working people there can "be very little doubt; but you seem to "think that the 'Unions' may take part "with the Ministers; this would be "very base indeed, yet I am fearful that "your opinion is but too well founded; "for on Wednesday afternoon, while I "was in a bookseller's shop, a gentleman "came in and said to the bookseller, "'Well, what think you now? you see "'the second reading is carried;' to "which the bookseller replied 'that he "'had been so busy that he had not "'thought about it, but should be glad "'when the bill was carried through;' "I joined in and said, that I was sorry "to see the remarks of Lord Grey re-"specting *the 10l. suffrage*, and that I "would rather the bill should be lost, "than that the qualification should be

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" raised; on which the gentleman said, " ' *Why, I do not know:* we ought *to* " ' *take as much as we can get*, for it is " ' *impossible to get the whole;* and you " ' have no idea how difficult it is to " ' keep the people together.' I said " that I did not think so; to which he " replied that ' *he knew how difficult it* " ' *was*; *for that he had a great deal to* " ' *do with them:*' and then he said that " he came from Birmingham. Now, " if one who has so much to do with " the working people can submit to the " alteration in the ten-pound qualifica- " tion, I fear your suspicions are but " too well founded, as I said before; yet " I hope that your remarks in this day's " *Register* will rouse the people, and " defeat all those who would cheat them.

" I am, Sir,

" Your most obedient Servant,

" ——— ——— "

After the Birmingham gentleman had gone out, the bookseller told my correspondent, that the *name* of that gentleman was JOSEPH PARKES. Now, if Mr. PARKES *do not deny the truth* of the statement in this letter, or *do not deny that he was the man;* then, here ends my duty with regard to the matter; for, it being notorious that Mr. PARKES has *constant intercourse with several of the Ministers*, the *conclusion* to be drawn from his observations is too evident to need pointing out; and if Mr. PARKES do deny as aforesaid, then I am ready to give him *the name of the author*, who is a gentleman on whose veracity I most firmly rely, and who will, if called on, certainly repeat his statement to Mr. PARKES's face.

WM. COBBETT.

This whole article, just as it stands here, I had printed last Saturday; I had it put on a sheet of letter-paper, and sent off by the post of that night several copies of it, especially to BIRMINGHAM. Not knowing where Mr. PARKES lived in London, I sent a copy to Mr. PLACE and to Lord HOLLAND, both of whom, as I was told, he frequently visited. On Monday I sent off some more of the copies; and on Saturday I sent one to Dr. BLACK. So that all was *above-board*. I did every thing that I could do, to make the thing reach the eye of Mr. PARKES as soon as possible. Dr. BLACK published the article; but though he must have had it on *Sunday*, at the latest, he did not publish it till *yesterday* (Tuesday); but he then accompanied it with the following remarks:—" Mr. COBBETT has " transmitted to us an address to the " people of Birmingham (which will " appear in his next *Register*). In that " address *he assumes* (from some al- " leged conversation of Mr. JOSEPH " PARKES, of that town, in a book- " seller's shop here) that Ministers are " prepared to *raise the* 10*l. qualification*, " and to *abandon the metropolitan bo-* " *roughs*. We are *quite sure that* Mr. " PARKES's *meaning has been miscon-* " *ceived*; and from what *we know* " *of that gentleman*, we are equally cer- " tain, that the moment this meets his " eye, he *will explain in a satisfactory* " *manner* the allusions to the *Birming-* " *ham people* attributed to him. Mr. " PARKES never could mean that the " people of Birmingham, of all places, " *would be indifferent*, either to the " raising the qualification, or the aban- " donment of the metropolitan bo- " roughs. But we shall allow him and " the *Birmingham people* to *vindicate* " *themselves* in their own way."

Now in this article I *assume* nothing specific: I leave my readers to draw their own conclusions from the facts that I have stated, and from those stated by my correspondent. As to " *vindi-* *cating the people* of Birmingham; " *against* Mr. PARKES, the Doctor must mean; for they have no *indifference* imputed to them, either by *me* or by *my correspondent*. On the contrary, my correspondent *repelled* what he deemed such imputation against them; and spoke of the *baseness of those political unions* who should neglect their duty upon this occasion. As to Mr. PARKES *himself*, he may perhaps think, as the Doctor seems to think, that *some vindi-* *cation is necessary*; and, from the above *assurance* given by the Doctor, I did, indeed, expect to see *something from him* in the *Chronicle* of *this morning*

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(Wednesday); but nothing from him do I see; and yet, whether he were in London or at Birmingham, he *must have seen* the article which I had written respecting him. The reader will at once perceive the cause of his not answering it directly; and if he should not answer *at all*, every one will be satisfied, that I *was right in my suspicions*.

But, there is a fact connected with this conversation with Mr. PARKES, of the greatest importance, namely, that the *Political Union of Birmingham has* (as far as we yet hear) *not moved upon this occasion*; not stirred *pen* or *tongue*! What! that COUNCIL, which, *par excellence*, was called "the COUNCIL," silent *now!* Silent at this juncture! Calm, still as death, or, at best, *slow as a mail*. What! this *corps d'élite* silent and still, when *every one else* is in alarm and on the alert! Flat, torpid, as the *bridge*-jobbers and "*improvement*"-jobbers, in the City! Torpid as CHARLEY'S Corporation with CHARLEY'S Lord Mayor at the head of it! Every one who knows CHARLEY'S City, knows very well, that those who fatten on the roast there, *hate reform* as much as the boroughmongers do, and as much as Burdett and Hobhouse do. These have all one common feeling, and one common interest: the City-THING is just like the other, only *smaller*: it has its DEBT, its PENSION and SINECURE list, its RETIRED ALLOWANCE list: it has its TAX-GATHERERS: it has its LOANS; and, in short, it is another THING, only less in size; but, in proportion to its size, it has as much to lose by Parliamentary Reform as the GREAT THING has; and it always consults and co-operates with the GREAT THING. But, even this THING, a THING to the bottom of its very soul, is *beginning to move now!* From MORPETH to CHICHESTER the reformers are moving; but, *not a word do we hear from those of Birmingham*; not a word does that famous "council" put forth; that famous *leader* of the nation; that famous "*light in the wilderness*;" that famous body, who tendered King William *four hundred thousand men in arms* to aid him in carrying the Reform Bill! Ah! it had an Envoy *auprès de la* CHOSE; it had an *Envoy to the* THING. It would be curious to get at *protocols* of Mr. PARKES! We may guess at them, however; we see the *effect* of them; and here is a full confirmation of *all my suspicions!* What, GLASGOW, MORPETH, NEWCASTLE, LEEDS, MANCHESTER (where they are just going to hold a *public meeting*), and DUDLEY, all sending up remonstrances on the subject of the *ten-pound clause*, and *Birmingham silent!* One would think that the shouts of indignation *from Dudley* would break the slumbers of the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL. Ah! I am right; and so will say the whole nation.

But, Doctor BLACK, it is now THURSDAY; and on TUESDAY you said, "We "are QUITE SURE that Mr. PARKES'S "meaning has been *misconceived*; and "from what WE KNOW of that gen- "tleman, we are EQUALLY CER- "TAIN that, the moment this meets "his eye, he will explain, in a satis- "factory manner, the allusions to the "Birmingham people attributed to "him." I can have no doubt that Mr. PARKES saw my *circular last Sunday*. It was, on Sunday, in the hands of Mr. PLACE, Lord HOLLAND, and in your hands, Doctor. On the same day it was in the hands of Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, Mr. CHARLES JONES, and Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, of and at Birmingham. Mr. PARKES was on that day either at Birmingham or in this infernal and all-corrupting and blasting WEN; or, at any rate, he was within twenty-four hours' post-shot of one or the other: yet he has *not explained!* Doctor, do not be *quite so sure* another time, in a case like this; nor, indeed, in any case wherein you *differ from me*. Experience ought to have taught you more caution in this case. I do not, to be sure, *talk* with Ministers, as you do; they do not *tell me* anything; but I do not want any of their tellings: I do not want to hear their lies; and as to the *truth*, I can discover that quite soon enough without their tellings. Better

never see any of them again, Doctor, if you have a mind to be right.

" . . . . What! See Sir ROBERT! Hum;
" And *never laugh* for all my life to come!"

What the WHIGS were in POPE's day they now are: they have still their "Sir ROBERT," or two or three of them; and, whatever Mr. PARKES may do, you will *never laugh* any more, Doctor, unless you instantly cease to "*see Sir Robert.*" You are now, at this moment, *muzzled*; actually muzzled, as completely as any mastiff ever was. The great towns keep pouring in upon you their expressions of alarm, and you are unmoved. You *garble the reports* of the proceedings in the great towns, and you give *no opinion of your own* upon the great matter on which millions are so much alarmed. And why do you not? Not because you are a political rogue, for you are not that: not because you do not see that my suspicions were just: not because you approve of the design so clearly indicated in the speech of Lord GREY: but because you have *tacitly*, at least, *committed yourself in conversation* with some of the Ministers, or with some of their underlings. This is the true cause of your very equivocal conduct. You might still say that *my suspicions* were groundless; but you cannot say that *now*, unless you be prepared to assert that the whole nation is mad with suspicion. Take the following, which was adopted at NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE before—four days before—my *Register* appeared even in London Look at it, Doctor; and then reproach me again for my suspicions.

"At a meeting of the Council of the "Nothern Political Union, and their "associates, held in the Music Hall, "April 18th, 1832,

"CHARLES ATTWOOD, Esq., in the Chair,
"It was resolved,

"1st. On the motion of Mr. T. Double-"day, seconded by Mr. W. A. Mitchell, "That, with feelings relieved in part "from painful apprehensions for the "tranquillity, safety, and settled order "of the country, this meeting has learn-"ed the result of the second reading of "the Reform Bill in the House of Lords, "and that, though carried by only a "small majority, it has not at any rate "been flung back in the teeth of the "people and their representatives, by a "haughty, scornful, and positive rejec-"tion.

"2nd. On the motion of Mr. John "Fife, seconded by Mr. George Abbatt, "That, though unable to understand "how, upon any principles of justice or "of policy, their lordships *could* have "decided otherwise, and though the ex-"pression of any extraordinary warmth "of gratitude might, therefore, be un-"suitable in such a case, yet, consider-"ing the momentous perils which their "decision may have averted, or, at least "suspended, we deem it our duty to "offer our acknowledgments and con-"gratulations to the majority of their "Lordships' House for the adoption of "this course, in preference to another, "which might have proved in its effects "most fatal.

"3rd. On the motion of Mr. Charles "Larkin, seconded by Mr. Walsh,— "That this meeting deems it, however, "to be much more indispensably its "duty to lose no time in presenting a "petition to the House of Lords, be-"seeching and cautioning their Lord-"ships against the adoption of any "alterations in the bill, in the nature of "mutilations, or calculated to impair "its efficacy; particularly as respects "the schedules of disfranchisement and "enfranchisement, and *most especially* "*as respects the ten-pound franchise*; "alterations which they have been *most* "*painfully led to apprehend*, from "certain expressions *publicly ascribed* "*to Earl Grey*, and which, if effected, "would render the bill at once *unpopu-*"*lar and useless*—destroy all confidence "in promises and pledges—and inflame "still further that angry and dangerous "alienation of feeling between the dif-"ferent classes of society, which most "unfortunately now exists, and which "must be speedily put an end to if "society be expected to remain at "peace.

"4th. On the motion of Mr. J. Wat-"son, seconded by Mr. R. Turnbull,— "That the petition be signed by the

"Chairman on behalf of this meeting; "and that Lord Durham be requested "to present it to the House of Lords.

"5th. On the motion of Mr. Laing, "seconded by Mr. Dodds,—That the "following be the petition adopted by "this meeting:—

"To the Right Honourable the Lords "Spiritual and Temporal in Parlia- "ment assembled.

"The Petition of the Council, Asso- "ciates and Friends of the Northern "Political Union, in public meeting "assembled,

"Showeth,

"That your petitioners have learned, "with feelings af satisfaction, that the "Reform Bill has passed through its "second reading in your Lordships' "House.

"That deriving from this circum- "stance an auspicious hope, that "through the adoption of a course of "effectual, though late concession, the "wounds of society may at length be "closed and healed, your petitioners "hasten to solicit your Lordships for "the realization of that hope, by pas- "sing the Reform Bill as speedily as "possible, without any alteration cal- "culated to impair its efficacy, by pass- "ing it unmutilated as respects the "schedules of disfranchisement and en- "franchisement, and most especially as "respects the ten-pound franchise.

"That in their acceptance of this "measure in its present form, the great "body of the people, considering them- "selves *to have made a large and gene- "rous sacrifice of their feelings* and opi- "nions to considerations of peace and "unity, *that they would never agree to "any further curtailment of the extent of "this reform*, but regarding the *whole "bill as in that case nothing better than "a mockery*, they would consider your "Lordships' House as interdicting them "from the attainment of that which they "consider to be unquestionably their "right, the right of consenting to the "laws that rule them, by means of a "pure and honest, instead of a depen- "dent, corrupt, and *fraudulent repre- "sentation of themselves in Parliament.*

"That your petitioners, therefore, ear- "nestly implore your Lordships to con- "sent to no such alterations as above- "described, and especially no means *to "raise one tittle the amount of the qua- "lification proposed for the elective "franchise.*

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

Now, Doctor, you give an *abridged* account of the *proceedings* of this meeting, but you take good care to suppress these excellent documents because they *hit the bird in the eye*; because they show that my suspicions were reasonable; because, in short, they show that the intentions of the Ministers are clearly seen, at *Newcastle* as well as at *Bolt-court*. Take the following, coming still *farther north*:—

"MORPETH, 23 *April*, 1832.— "REFORM.—FROM THE SPEECH "OF LORD GREY, ON THE THIR- "TEENTH INSTANT, in the HOUSE "OF LORDS, it would appear that the "TEN-POUND SUFFRAGE did not, "in his Lordship's opinion, *form any "part of the PRINCIPLE OF THE "BILL OF REFORM; and that "there seems to be a disposition amongst "the Ministers to alter the bill in this "respect.*—As this is a most important "consideration, the people of Morpeth "will, it is hoped, see the anticipated "change in its proper light.—If the "right of voting for members of Parlia- "ment be fixed at a larger sum than "ten pounds, a great number of the "inhabitants of this town and neigh- "bourhood, will be totally excluded "from the exercise of the elective "franchise; the number of votes "throughout the whole country will be "greatly diminished; the right of "voting will be *generally placed in the "hands of large merchants, traders, and "manufacturers, who will have a direct "interest in keeping the working classes "in their employment, from having a "share in the representation of the king- "dom*; public opinion and [illegible] will "never be able to exert themselves for "the removal of those great national "grievances which the people of this "country wish to be rid of; and in one "word, the real and substantial benefit

" which the Reform Bill, IF PASSED " AS IT NOW STANDS, would con- " fer upon all classes of the nation, " *will be completely neutralized, if the* " *rate of qualification for voting be* " *altered.*—It is in accordance with " those views, that the undermentioned " petition has been thought necessary; " and it is hoped that the inhabitants of " this town, who are friends to the Min- " isterial REFORM BILL, will see it " their imperative duty to remonstrate " against any change which would have " the result of totally destroying the " EFFICIENCY of this salutary mea- " sure.—The undermentioned petition " is now lying at the shop of Mr. " HINDHAUGH for signatures, and will " remain there till *Monday, the 30th of* " *April.*"

" To the Right Honourable the Lords " Temporal and Spiritual in Parlia- " ment assembled.

" The Petition of the Inhabitants of " Morpeth, in the County of Nor- " thumberland,

" Humbly showeth,

" That your humble petitioners have, " in common with the great mass of the " people of Great Britain, felt a lively " interest in the great measure of Par- " liamentary Reform, which has for " some months received such ample " discussion, and which has recently been " brought into your honourable House, " and there passed the second reading; " that your humble petitioners relied " with implicit confidence on the often- " repeated and unqualified declarations " of the promoters and conductors of " this salutary measure, that they would " not depart from the principle which " was embodied in this Bill of Reform " at its first introduction; that your " humble petitioners conceived that the " total *disfranchisement of notoriously* " *corrupt boroughs*, the partial *disfran-* " *chisement of others less corrupt*, the " *enfranchisement of large and import-* " *ant towns* which now send no mem- " bers to Parliament, *together with the* " 10*l.* *qualification for votes*, were the " *four principal elements which consti-* " *tuted* what was meant by the *princi-* " *ple of the bill*; and in consequence of " this impression, your humble peti- " tioners have *with astonishment and* " *regret, heard it declared in your ho-* " *nourable House*, that *the* 10*l.* *clause* " *formed no part of the principle of* " *that bill of reform*, and that the pro- " moters of it intend to exercise no " parental regard over this important " clause, but *to throw it open to public* " *discussion*, and *allow it to be disposed* " *of as the general feeling of your ho-* " *nourable House might dictate.*

" Your humble petitioners, therefore, " *conceiving the* 10*l.* *qualification to be* " *one of the most essential parts of the bill*, " do most earnestly pray your honourable " House, *not by any means to raise the* " *amount of this qualification to vote*; " for by so doing your honourable House " would narrow the parliamentary suf- " frage all over the country, in a very " material degree, and thereby *impair* " *the efficiency of the bill*, by cutting " off from all share of civil liberty, the " whole of the *active*, *industrious*, and " *intelligent part of the community*; " who would, if the suffrage remained " at the amount of 10*l.*, have some " share in sending members to Parlia- " ment: and of such *vital importance* " do your humble petitioners *conceive* " *this* 10*l.* *qualification* to be, both to- " wards preserving the peace, and pro- " moting the permanent interests of the " nation, that your humble petitioners " would *rather see your honourable* " *House throw out the Reform Bill al-* " *together*, and *trust to the general ope-* " *ration of events* for giving the people " of this country *a more extended mea-* " *sure of reform than is even now pro-* " *posed*, than to have the qualification " *raised in the slightest degree above* " 10*l.* And your petitioners will ever " pray."

In SCOTLAND, precisely the same language is held: all have been alarmed by the speech of GREY: all have had their suspicions, their anger, their *in-* *dignation*, roused by that speech; by the brazen assertion that *the* 10*l.* *clause* formed *no part of the principle of the bill*, and that *the qualification might be raised without trenching on that princi-* *ple.* At DUDLEY there has been a great

meeting, the particulars of which I have not yet received, but the bills announcing which were in the following words :— "A Public Meeting of the Reformers of "DUDLEY and its vicinity will be held "at Cate's-hill, near Cawney-hill, on "Monday next, April 23d, 1832, to "address the House of Lords on the "Reform Bill, PARTICULARLY "THE TEN-POUND CLAUSE. A "Grand Procession of the Dudley Poli- "tical Union will take place at One "o'clock, from their Union Room, "Stafford-street, to Great Bridge, to "meet the following Gentlemen, with "other Patriotic Friends, from Birming- "ham, &c. &c. &c.—Messrs. D. B. "ATTWOOD, O'BRIEN, G. EDMONDS, "SALT, HAYNES, and PEARCE, and re- "turn from thence through High-street "and King-street to the Hustings. The "Chair to be taken at Three o'clock. "All well-wishers to the Cause of "Liberty, and the LABOURING "CLASSES, are urgently requested to "attend."

What, then, are we all a set of, a nation of, *suspicious fools!* The curious thing here is, that some of the *Birmingham Political Union Council* were to be present at this meeting! What! and *do nothing at Birmingham itself!* This is a strange affair. The Grand *Mother Council* obliged to *beat out* to find "people to *keep together*," as Mr. PARKES has it! Doctor Black told us, about twelve days ago, that the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL had "de- clared its SITTINGS PERMANENT." I did not like this at the time: it was not sitting, but *hatching*, that the *people* stood in need of. I am afraid that Mr. PARKES, their ambassador in the WEN, has sent them down, a sitting, or as the French call it *couvée*, of addled, or rotten eggs. If so, their sittings will be *per- manent* enough, and, it may be well (if the hatching do not take place in a rea- sonable time) if these rotten commodi- ties be not, in the end, applied to the *tops* of the "Council," seeing that they are not to be softened by their other extremities.

Far be it from me to impute dishonest intentions, or even lukewarmness, to any of the members of this "Coun- cil," but they are all to blame for suffering themselves to be *kept silent* at this time. See what difficulties men get into by communicating with the THING! The devil has not half the *cunning* that this THING has, in all matters relating to its *own in- terests*. But the THING misses its mark this time: it thought, that the Birming- ham Union would *lead all the nation*; that we should all look to it *as a guide*; the THING, therefore, thought that it would have only to *secure that*. The devil has deceived the THING for once; and, now, the council of the Birming- ham Union will be looked upon as the Thing's *ally*; and it will have no more influence with the people at large, than will the *Westminster Rump*. Indeed it will be deemed *a Rump Council*; and though this will not be just, with re- gard to the greater part of the members of it, the fault will not be with *the peo- ple*, but with the council itself, who ought to have taken care not to be made a tool in the hands of the THING. If this council *now* move, it will have *no credit* for anything that it may do: its movement will be ascribed to a motive far from patriotic; and unless the mem- bers, under their own names, tell the nation *the manner in which they have been imposed upon*, and NAME ALL THE DECEIVING PARTIES, the nation will never again have the smallest confi- dence in them. Let us have *the letters of the ambassador!* There can be no *diplomatic secrets*; or at least I hope so. Come, come! Let us have the "*pro- tocols*." What! This cannot be a "*Ca- binet*," to be sure: it can have no *secrets to be kept from the people*: it was not founded on any such principle. In short, if *the cause* of this inaction in the coun- cil be not fully stated by it, it must be regarded as a tool in the hands of the THING.

Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY has pub- lished the following:

"*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*

"SIR,—Through your columns I beg "a communication to Mr. Cobbett, in "order to gain time, and that what I

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" say may get to the public eye as soon
" as possible; and am your obedient
" servant, C. WOLSELEY.
" *Wolseley, April 22.*

" 'To WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.

" 'DEAR SIR,—Upon a *former occa-*
" '*sion*, when you thought '*the bill*'
" 'was in jeopardy, did I not *prove* to
" 'you that you were under an errone-
" 'ous impression? and were not you
" '*satisfied* with the *proof* I gave? and
" 'do not the clauses of the *present bill*
" 'bear out the fact that '*the grand*
" ''*principles of the last bill would not*
" ''*be frittered away?*' Now, my
" 'dear Sir, with that proof fresh in
" 'your recollection, *why doubt now?*
" 'I am sure there is as little occasion
" 'for it *now* as *then*; and am yours
" 'sincerely, C. WOLSELEY.
" '*Wolseley, April 22.*'"

Sir CHARLES does not seem to perceive that *he produces no proof now*. It is very true, that, after I had, in October and early in November last, been loudly expressing my opinion *that* GREY *did not intend to preserve the* 10*l. clause in his next bill*; it is very true, it is very true, that Sir CHARLES did do that which gave me reason to hope *that the* 10*l. clause would be preserved*. It was preserved; but let Sir CHARLES bear in mind that it was *late in November* that he did what he calls *prove* this to me; and this by no means *proves* that *I was in error* when I said, *in October*, that I thought it was the intention of the Ministers to give up the 10*l.* clause. Sir CHARLES has forgotten the old story of the Scotchman, who, having got over a gate and being pushing on towards a tree hung with apples, and being hailed by the owner with "*Where are you going?*" answered "*Only back again, mon.*" I am sure that Sir CHARLES has, thousands of times, seen a flock of rooks *about to settle* on a pea-field, and seen them stoop for the purpose, but see them fly off into the air again upon *perceiving the gun*. They do not get the peas to be sure, but he will hardly say that the farmer was *in error as to their intention*; and upon reflection he will hardly say that *I was in error when I shouted my gun in October last*. However, my being in error is a matter of little importance. I wish I may be in error now, and if Sir CHARLES will *only* produce me just such proof as that which he produced in November last, *I shall begin to hope again*—and the sooner he does this the better, for I can assure him that I am in anything but a *hoping* mood now, except as to *the resolution of the people*; but on that I have the firmest reliance.

I should have a great deal to say upon many points connected with this great subject, but the *facts* are now so pressing, in number as well as importance, that they demand all my space. Besides, the time for *argument* is passed. We have all *made up our minds* to prefer no bill at all, to a bill *with the ten-pound clause altered so as to raise the qualification*. The proceedings at GLASGOW, at NEWCASTLE, at LEEDS, and in LONDON, I insert the account of below. These proceedings clearly show, that *any rise in the qualification* will be of a most destructive tendency; that it will be the source of fresh and more vigorous agitation than ever; that the "*reformed Parliament*" will be smothered with petitions for "*Parliamentary Reform*;" that, in short, all will be discontent and confusion. This is the true state of the case, and I do beseech the Lords to consider well the probable consequences. As to Lord GREY, if he wish to carry the bill as it is, I am lending him, and all these meetings are lending him, *the most efficient aid*; and if he do not wish to carry the bill as it is, how can we do him more harm than he deserves to have done to him? As towards him the effect of our exertions depends wholly on himself; we are laying the foundation of a monument, either to his everlasting fame, or to his everlesting disgrace: if he carry the bill as it is, whether by making peers or without it; or, if he quit his place, explicitly telling us that he is not allowed by the King to make the peers, the former will be his rich reward; but failing in these, the latter will be his well-merited punishment.

WM. COBBETT.

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P. S. Just as this was going to press, I received an account from DUDLEY, stating, that though the day of meeting was one of incessant rain, some thousands of persons attended it, and stood out the whole of the time. We shall, I suppose, have all the particulars in print in the next *Midland Representative*; but it appears, that the great anxiety of the meeting was *about the 10l. clause*. The speakers all dwelt on the *ominous expressions* in the speech of Lord GREY; and no small degree of *indignation* was expressed at the thought *of raising the qualification*. The people of DUDLEY, with intelligent and zealous men at their head, have showed an excellent spirit, and as much sense as spirit. One of the speakers said, that *if the 10l. clause were altered*, the people ought *to demand more*, at once; and never cease their efforts till they got it. Where *all* behave so well, it is wrong to give a preference; but bare justice to the people of DUDLEY demands that I give them particular praise.

N.B. *Mr. Parkes's letter next week.* See it in the *Morning Chronicle*.

GLASGOW REFORM MEETING,

Held on the 18th of April, 1832.

I BESEECH my readers to go through this article with great attention, and to mark particularly the closing part of Sir D. K. SANDFORD's speech. The conduct of the Scotch has been admirable all through; and their *promptitude* above all praise. They instantly saw the thing in its true light; they saw that *action* went beyond *mere talk*, and they *acted*.

On Wednesday night a meeting of the Reform Association was held in the lower room of the Trades' Hall, Glassford-street, for the purpose of addressing the King, and petitioning the House of Lords to preserve the integrity of the Reform Bill in its fullest extent. William Sterling, Esq. was called to the chair. The room, long before the hour of meeting (eight o'clock), was crowded to suffocation, and hundreds had to go away who could not gain admittance—although the meeting was called as one of the association only. The windows were thrown open, and a large crowd, though it rained all the time, collected on the outside, were thus enabled to hear the proceedings.

Sir DANIEL SANDFORD suggested that, in consequence of the crowded state of the room, and from respect to the many who had to go away without being accommodated, an adjournment should take place till some other evening, when a larger place might be provided, and the meeting made a public one.

This proposal, however, was negatived, and the business proceeded.

Sir D. K. SANDFORD then rose to propose an address to the King. As one of those who had urged the present meeting, he should have felt gratified if it had assembled in a more public manner, and on an ampler stage than now, to discuss the highly important subject before them; but, as it was, he was glad that so many had come forward to give evidence of their unabated attachment to the cause which had once more brought them together. The present was one of the most important crises that had yet occurred in the history of this great measure, which for eighteen months had fixed the undivided attention of all classes in the country; and never before was the people so loudly and imperiously called on to assemble and to act with vigour in its favour. Some there were, however, who had expressed a reluctance to meet on the present occasion; and he was not surprised at the repugnance which many felt for such public exhibitions—the repugnance was not unaccountable which many felt, in these unquiet times, to the glare and bustle of popular assemblies. All who consulted their own ease and comfort—who dreaded the serpent tooth of calumny—and the fierce enmity of party on the one hand—and on the other the treacherous defection, or the cold support of seeming friends, must feel reluctant to come forward and join in the struggle, when they will inevitably be exposed to both the one and the other; but he who was determined not to shrink from his duty—who was resolved sternly to act for the public weal—who, having once put his hand to the plough, would not look back—such a man would disregard his natural repugnance to publicity, and would meet with his fellow-citizens time after time, till they had achieved the victory, and won the prize for which they had so nobly and manfully fought. However reluctant, therefore, he really felt to come before the public—and notwithstanding the many misconstructions of his former language and conduct, he had thought it right that they should meet now, were it only to congratulate themselves on the progress which the cause of reform had made—were it only to thank the King and his Ministry for their unflinching adherence to the cause, and to thank the Peers, who, even at this late period—at the eleventh hour—had, however tardily, come forward, and showed a willingness to concede some little indulgence to the wishes of the people. (Cheers.) And he heartily wished that this were all. But though the bill on which they had set their hearts had attained a stage which it had never reached before, he

could not help putting the question—was it out of danger? He wished from his very heart that the contest were over; but though none could be more willing than he was to hope for the fulfilment of the sanguine anticipations of some, who in the height of their rejoicing conceived the victory already won—he must express his own forebodings—he must state his belief that, at no period in the history of this vital measure—elated as he was at its present advancement—did there mingle with his joyful feelings so many misgivings—so much alarm—lest these hopes should, after all, be disappointed. No man ever more wished his anticipations to prove true, than he longed for his to prove false and groundless. No predictor of the millenium could hail the slightest glimpse of coming glories with more fond credulity—no Prince Hohenlohe could wait with more devoted anxiety of mind for the completion of his miraculous edicts—no votary of the unknown tongues could look with greater enthusiasm, or pant with greater earnestness, for the effusion of the spirit, than did he for the full and entire confutation of his fears by the final triumph of this bill. (Cheering.) But, alas! he had many fears. Not even when the bill was first promulgated, and when the country paused for a moment to collect its voice, and to raise it with a burst of approbation; not even when it was thrown out of the Commons by a majority of eight, on the side-wind motion of the member for Liverpool; not even when spurned by the peers; not at any of these times did he experience more fearful forebodings as to the fate of this bill than now filled his mind. He had no suspicion of the integrity of the author of this measure. He had the most deep-rooted confidence in the fidelity of Earl Grey; he felt certain that no treachery was meditated by him towards the country. All that he deemed necessary for the safety of the bill, he would do; and he was cheered by the bold and manly manner in which some of his Noble colleagues had pledged themselves to the most important part of the bill. But he could not but remember that human judgments were fallible, that different opinions were held upon the principle of this bill, and he dreaded the danger that might arise to its entireness and unity. He had never raised the cry of the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill; the term was one he had never used on any public occasion. Not that he was not for the whole bill; but he had an aversion to cant phrases, and did not wish to be the hundredth re-echoer of a cuckoo-cry. But what he had never called for before he would call for now; and he would say that he demanded that bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, in its essence and in its spirit (cheering). He would have nothing but the life and essence of that bill (cheers). There was one great condition in the bill which could not be compromised—that part of it which extended the elective franchise to those who had hitherto been shut out from it—and on this the principle of the measure rested. Was there anything in the history of this bill, so far as it had gone, which could lead to the conclusion that it was not the bill which was first promulgated? He would laugh at those who would say that it differed from the fine first introduced. The microscopic eye of a lawyer might detect discrepancies, but these were of no moment; a Wetherell or a Sugden in the House of Commons, and a Lyndhurst or a Wynford in the House of Lords, might discover what they called a want of identity in this measure with the last; but it was not from them he would take his opinion as to identity. He should like to hear these reasoners give their opinion as to the identity of a man, because he had pared off the excrescence of his nails, or shorn himself of the flowing honours of his head, or lost by exudation some portion of his personal redundances? Why, in every seven years, according to the theory of some philosophers, the whole system of the body changes, and becomes renovated, while the man is not the less the same in essence and spirit; he is the same man, for good and for evil, and should he have infringed upon the laws, he would find the fangs of law prepared to fasten, without scruple, on his personal identity (cheers, and a laugh). The vital essence of the bill was the opening up to the community the power of managing their own affairs, the extension of the elective franchise, and the disfranchisement of nomination burghs, aptly denominated rotten. What was it to him the shifting of a borough from one Schedule to another, or leaving out altogether some which had been there before—or what was it to him if some alterations were made in the representation for a few English counties? these were not the principles of the bill—they were no features of the bantling which the country had loved and dandled so much before (Cheers). But the bill, though it had not yet lost its sameness, might lose it soon. Did they believe that those noble lords who had consented reluctantly to the second reading of the bill would not concentrate all the energies of their opposition on the most essential condition of the whole? Sir Daniel then adverted to the opposition which would, without a doubt, be mustered by the Duke of Wellington, who, it seemed to him, like the Indian who believed the qualities of his fallen enemy to be transferred to himself, had imbibed the anti-British spirit of the conqueror whom he had overthrown in the field. Would not the Lords of the right reverend bench too, of whom he would speak tenderly, but of whom he must say that, though tremblingly alive to the danger, they seemed fatally blind to the best method of escaping it. He would ask that meeting what would they do without the 10*l.* franchise? Would they have it? No. He for one would fling it in the face of any Minister who would offer it without the grand principle of a 10*l.* franchise (cheers). Many a taunt had been thrown out against

this part of the bill. Why have 10*l.*, it was asked? The question might as well be put—why have 15*l.*, or 20*l.*, or 30*l.*?—and put with equal sense. It was said that this qualification would open a wide field for bribery and corruption. That he stoutly denied; and the instances of popular elections already existing in the country could be pointed out as the best answer to the allegation; and the fact demonstrated, that it was from these places the most able and honest members were returned (cheers). It was said, "raise the qualification to 15*l.*"—that was a very small addition, and would make very little difference. He would not enter into any discussion about the relative proportion of small sums to greater—or the evil that such small sums might effect when taken in certain views; threepence was counted a small sum; but the imposition of threepence on the pound of tea lost to this country the empire of America (cheers). *Cut off the 10l. voters in this very place, and you lose more than one-third of those who would otherwise get the franchise.* If you make it 15*l.* the franchise will *be lost to 2,500 men.* If you raise it to 20*l.*, your voters will lose *two-thirds of their number.* He was certain he would be borne out by every landlord in saying, that the 10*l.* householders were a class every way as respectable, intelligent, and independent, as the householders of 15*l.* But after all, the best argument in favour of the 10*l.* franchise is, *that it has been promised to the country.* Lord J. Russell, on the first introduction of this great measure, promised that the electoral qualification should be extended to that class of his Majesty's subjects; and it would not do now to say, *that the King thought they should have it*—that the *Ministers thought they should have it*—and that the Commons *admitted they should have it*, but *that as, the Lords would not allow them to have it, therefore they should be shut out from the exercise of the privilege.* If they, in the blindness of their minds, should shut the door against that respectable class of the community, he hoped that such a storm would be raised on the outside as would shake the edifice till the portals opened and admitted them to their rightful privilege. He hoped they would agitate—he for one would not cease to agitate—till this essential part of the bill was gained. One mode, and that the most constitutional, was to go to the foot of the throne, to thank his Majesty for his patriotism in firmly adhering to the cause of his people—and humbly to implore him to use his prerogative in getting this measure passed unmutilated and undefaced. As to the means of passing this measure, however, he was averse to making large additions to the peerage; he would still much rather have the Bill carried into law by conversions than by creations; an exercise of prerogative that ought never to be exercised except on the most rare emergencies. He had sympathised deeply with Earl Grey all along in his backwardness to resort to this great constitutional prerogative of the Crown. Instead of blaming him, he sympathised in the moderation and dignified calmness evinced by this wise and prudent statesman. The balance of the constitution was above all things to be equally maintained. That balance now suffered by the Lords possessing too much of the influence of the State, and encroaching on the people; but it might be deranged by the people stepping beyond their limits, and unwarrantably encroaching on the Lords. He claimed for the peers a great and holy function in the state, and he cared not by what name they might be called—by what comparison they might be figured forth—call them a drag-chain if they would; but even a drag-chain was useful, and might prevent the vehicle from overturning in its impetuosity. He would resist anything that could by possibility weaken the efficiency and influence of the peerage. Another reason why he was averse to a creation of peers was, that it would increase their number. If they made a peer, they made an honourable family; and when they made an honourable family, they made persons who might eventually have to be supported by the purse of the state. The lords were too powerful already; he did not mean to say that the order was in the constitution too powerful; but in the framework of society their influence was too great. He was afraid that this influence on the state of society was fast reducing our country into the two great distinctions, known in certain ancient communities by the names of patrician and plebian. Society seemed fast diving into these two classes, and the most bitter opposition was beginning to manifest itself betwixt them. If, then, they were to raise men from the rank of the Commons, they ran the hazard of converting them into illiberal patricians. Yet let them call upon the King and his Ministers to use every means, consistent with the safety of the state, to ensure the passing of this bill into a law, and implore them, *that whatever they do, they do it quickly.* Time was now of the utmost importance in the consideration of this measure. All the interests of the country were suffering, and trembling on the brink of ruin during this delay. Those great interests which connected us with every country on the face of the globe were all in danger; he need but name the pregnant words—corn, currency, church, East Indies, West Indies, and, like the hand-writing that appeared on the wall of the eastern monarch's palace, they called on them to rise and take measures for their protection and prosperity, or our fortunes and national distinction were gone for ever. On looking back upon the proceedings of the present and last session of Parliament, it was found that all the attention of the Legislature had been bestowed upon this one topic, Reform—a great and important question, it was true, and deserving of the most serious consideration of that august assembly, but all other legislative measures were necessarily excluded. Let us implore them, then, to lose no time in dismissing finally this measure—to lose no

time in erecting a clear stage on which they might enact great deeds for the welfare of the country. *The House of Commons now could perform no other legislative functions in its present state; it had pronounced its own dismissal, and had signed its own death warrant.* It dared scarcely take up any great question, as it knew the country would *never be satisfied with the decision of a self-condemned and virtually extinguished body.* The learned knight concluded his speech with again calling on the meeting to implore the Legislature to cast an eye on the suffering people—suffering in their persons and purses, and without delay to pass the Reform Bill into a law. Armed with such appeals, their petitions must be triumphant. He read the Address to the King.

Mr. Joseph Miller seconded the Address, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. THOMAS DAVIDSON proposed a series of resolutions, adverting to each as he proceeded. *He insisted upon the 10l. franchise being retained.* Householding was the acknowledged constitutional franchise, and *10l. was only received as a compromise by the people.* He differed from Sir Daniel Sandford, and thought that a creation of Peers was the only way of passing the Bill.

The Resolutions were seconded by Mr. M'Aulay without any remarks, in consequence of the crowded state of the room, and the uncomfortable situation of those placed in the open air.

Mr. THOMAS MUIR read a Petition to the Lords, which was seconded by Mr JOHN TAIT, who remarked that he differed from Sir Daniel in the reverence he felt for the Peerage. Those who, like him (Mr. T.), were placed at the base of the social system, did not much revere the Corinthian capital; though Sir Daniel Sandford, who was half way up, might look upon it with great veneration. He hoped that the time would come when hereditary lords would not be counted part of the constitution of the country. He did not object to titles for life, when they were given as an honour for service done to the country. The bill was received as a compromise by the working classes, though it would exclude almost the whole of them from the franchise, and, though they looked upon those below 10*l.* as respectable, and, comparatively speaking, as intelligent as those above it.

Mr. THOMAS ATKINSON, in proposing that the Address and Petition be entrusted to Earl Grey, delivered an animated address, laudatory of the character and attainments of his Lordship. As to Mr. Tait's creed, that the House of Peers ought to form no part of the British Constitution, of course he need not say that it was no part of the creed of this Association, though, to the expression of that gentleman's individual opinion on the subject, they could have no objection.

The Meeting then separated, after giving cheers for the King, the Ministry, and the Bill.

NEWCASTLE MEETING.

MEETING OF THE NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION.

On Wednesday evening last (18th April) a meeting of the council and association of the Northern Political Union, and other friends of reform, was held in the Music Hall, Blackett-street, to take into consideration the propriety of sending a petition to the House of Lords, praying that their lordships would pass the Reform Bill without impairing or mutilating it, *and more especially as it regarded the clause of the 10l. franchise.* The meeting was very numerously attended; a large body arrived from the south side of the Tyne, preceded by two banners and a band of music. About half-past seven, the council took their seats in the gallery, and shortly afterwards C. Attwood, Esq. was voted to the chair.

Mr. ATTWOOD said the object of the meeting was to propose a series of resolutions on which to ground a petition to the House of Peers praying that the bill might not be mutilated in any of its essential points. After expressing his satisfaction at the ardour evinced by the society in thus coming forward on so short a notice as the council had been compelled to give them, he stated that he saw, in the conduct of the Ministers, something calculated to alarm him with regard to the sufficiency of their firmness, and especially with regard to the 10*l.* clause—a clause for the success of which he was remarkably anxious, because if that clause suffered any mutilation, the people would be farther removed from any control in the representation than if the bill had never passed at all. The people of England had made enough sacrifice, and must not now have the rate of franchise raised one iota higher. If the bill should be mutilated, whatever other events might arise, the bird of peace would be seen no more in this country. Mr. A. then remarked on some observations which had fallen from some of the opposition peers. It was reported to have been said by one nobleman (the Duke of Buckingham), that the ministers were controlled by political unions, who were fighting their battles under the flag of Attwood. (Cheers and laughter.) He (the chairman) was not the object of the noble duke's sneer; he was only a relative of that individual, but still he was proud of the name of a family whose exertions struck terror into the hearts of their country's enemies. If the flag of Buckingham and the flag of Attwood should come into collision, he believed the peer would be first to strike his flag (cheers), but he trusted that no war but that of words would be attendant on this mighty measure.

T. DOUBLEDAY, Esq., rose:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, in moving the resolution entrusted to me, I shall have to draw heavily upon your indulgence. I am unused to address the public, and am surrounded by friends who are accustomed to invest the valuable matter they lay before you with many of the

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graces of oratory, and to fortify it by means of the arts of rhetoric. If, therefore, what I have to say shall seem homely in the comparison, I hope your kindness will make every allowance. Nay, I trust that some of you may go a step—and by taking bluntness as an evidence of sincerity, allow me to derive a little credit even out of my own defects. Mr. D. then proceeded to say, that the Reform Bill had passed the second reading in the lords, was a subject for exultation but not for over security—it ought to act as an excitement and not to lull as a soporific—the reformers were bound to use every effort to get the bill, in all its integrity, through the committee. This was not said in derogation of Earl Grey —he had confidence in Earl Grey: because Earl Grey had, up to this hour, been a consistent, straightforward politician. He begged the meeting, and the worthy chairman especially, to remember that when, in 1819, the whigs, as Indians worship the devil through fear, prostrated themselves at Alnwick, before the Duke of Northumberland, from dread of the radicals, Lord Grey and Mr. Lambton were the honourable exceptions in this crew of recreants. Lord Grey's upright conduct, too, broke the hollow heart of the flashy sophist, Canning. He must repeat, that no stone should be left unturned to secure the bill. Did they not know that many even of those who voted for it, tried, at the same moment, to destroy its credit in the eyes of the people. Lord Wharncliffe said it would do them no good! Wellington out-heroded him, and said it would do us even pecuniary harm—that after we got it, we should be so unruly that we should have to pay a thundering army to keep ourselves in order, and have ourselves to pay taxes! Such bad boys should we be, that our pocket money would all go in buying birch rods for our own backs.—(Laughter.) This stuff would hardly do, even from the prince of Waterloo. No, no! gentlemen; no, no! Let us get our reformed parliament, our "house of delegates," ("he thanked the Duke for teaching him that word,") and we shall soon manage our "*delegates*" so as to do good to ourselves. At another time he would say more upon this important topic. What were, now, the great evils of the country?—1st. The sinecure places and pensions; 2nd. The overgrown church and its tithes, and 3rd. The astounding debt—three Medusas heads, full of snakes! He would begin with the sinecures—they came out of the pockets of the people; would they do so under a parliament "*delegated*" by the people? Not they—no more of clerks of green wax and pells and tallies devouring thousands of pounds for nothing! Would this be no good—*to us?* Let us stick to the *delegate system*, and we shall prosper.—(Cheers.) He next came to the church—what was it? A *sect* calling itself "national," but not cared for by one man in ten. Its modest parsons took eight millions a year, (he said this by guess, for they would *give no account of what they got*,) whilst other sects had to pay their ministers out of their own pockets, and *did do so*, and *well* too. This was England; but what was it in Ireland? Dr. Johnson called somebody a "satisfactory coxcomb"—the Irish church had not the merit of being a satisfactory humbug; it was a set of pensions under the impudent pretence of religion, where there plainly was none. Some divines divided religion in two parts, the visible and invisible church.—There was neither in Ireland: the churches had all tumbled down, and the congregations turned Roman Catholics! (Loud laughing and cheers). He next came to that pretty affair, the 800 millions of debt! Upon that head he would speak with sincerity and brave obloquy, which he knew he should get in some quarters. He begged them, if they disapproved of his arguments to put him down, for in this question there was no medium, and they must either be *very* right or egregiously wrong. Who borrowed this money? (A voice, "I got none of it.") He dared say his friend told the truth, for the *English boroughmongers borrowed it!*—(Loud laughing) —and for what? To *put down reform* at home and *freedom* abroad, to *perpetuate* their own *profitable abuses*. Had they any right to saddle us and our children with this debt? He denied it flatly and in toto. He abjured the whole loan system—a nation had de facto only a life interest in the soil and property, they could not alienate nor will it away! They could not sell the country in the lump and spend the money. Now a man with a *life interest* only *cannot mortgage nor burthen the heir*;—this is the law of nature and civilization also. But if this was as he said, could they mortgage the blood and bones, the minds and bodies of their descendants? Monstrous idea; and yet this has been attempted by them, for before a shilling of profit or maintenance could be obtained by farmer, merchant, or manufacturer, he must first work out his share of the taxes to pay the interest of the "debt," as it is called: this could not continue. He was for no unmerciful dispensation to the fundholders; they were innocent, and ought to be paid as far as all disposable public property could pay them: for the rest some sort of compromise must be made, —and by a reformed parliament, in time, it would be made;—the thing was inevitable, and time would prove it so. He thought he had now convinced them they would get some good out of a reformed parliament (Vehement cheering)—it was a plain conclusion, then, do all you can for "the bill." Mr. D. then moved the first resolution, which was carried unanimously, with cheering and clapping of hands.

Mr. WILLIAM ANDREW MITCHELL followed, and said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—In seconding the motion of Mr. Doubleday, I shall only trouble you with a very few desultory remarks. Gentlemen, I am glad to see you so numerously assembled here this even-

ing, not because I have any fear that the bill will not be passed, not because I am under the slightest apprehension that the corrupt portion of the British aristocracy will again attempt to raise their heads, but because I think it necessary, and I am sure you will agree with me, that the people of England should make another strong and vigorous demonstration of their energy and their firmness, that they may thereby convince his Majesty and the House of Peers that they are as anxious as ever, that they are as sincere in their desire as ever, for this great measure of reform. (Great applause.) Gentlemen, as to the boroughmongers, I look upon them as already dead, and it only remains with you to give them a decent interment (applause and laughter); and then in the name of every thing base, corrupt, and abominable, let them be speedily and properly forgotten. To use a vulgar simile, the nail has been already driven to the head, it is only necessary with you to clinch it, and the business is complete. (Applause.) It would be idle in me to occupy your attention at any length with observations on the absurdities and imbecilities of the anti-reform peers; but there are a few points which strike me at this moment, a remark or two on which, if they do not edify, will certainly amuse. (Applause.) The Earl of Eldon made use of an argument, about which he quibbled and quirked so long that one would almost imagine there was some sense in it (loud laughter); but which, when its real meaning was discovered, came to nothing more nor less than this, that all former motions on reform—that all former reform bills which had ever been introduced into the House of Lords or House of Commons, had been thrown out, and that, therefore, the present bill ought to be thrown out also. (Laughter.) How the antiquated lawyer's fondness for precedent beguiled him into an absurdity which would draw him to the conclusion that there ought to be no improvement in any part of the globe to the present hour. The same argument would show, that the Court of Chancery ought to have been now what it was in its first imperfect rudiments—the same argument would show that the Houses of Lords and Commons should be as they were at the beginning—the same argument would show that we ought never to have passed the heptarchy, if, indeed, it allowed us the heptarchy at all, and that we never ought to have been under one sole and united monarchy,—the same argument would prove that we ourselves ought to have been at this moment naked savages, painted blue, and living in mud huts by the sea shore. (Applause and laughter.) Lord Lyndhurst says if their Lordships pass the bill—if they give the people a full and perfect representation, they will abolish the other branches of the legislature. This is a very fine compliment to the people of England, to say that as soon as they shall have acquired their renovated constitution—as soon as their constitution shall have cast off the injuries and the corruption which time had thrown over it, they are, as it were, to cut their own throats, to destroy the very edifice which they had immortalized themselves in endeavouring to restore. (Loud applause.) But, gentlemen, history gives us instances of sound representation without any such effects. The Swedes have their Storthings, in which they are fairly represented; there are no rotten boroughs amongst them (laughter), and yet we never heard of their attempting to abolish the King of their constitution. Then, again if we look at the United States, the people in that country have their House of Representatives, which is equivalent to our House of Commons, and the Americans have no rotten boroughs amongst them. They have also their Senate, their upper house, which is their House of Lords, and they have their President who is, in truth, nothing but a cheap King who reigns four years at a time; and yet who ever heard of any attempt of the House of Representatives to abolish their King or their House of Peers? The Duke of Wellington! gentlemen; his arguments that the property of the country did not support the Reform Bill, have been well answered as you will have seen, already, by Lord Brougham, especially as relates to the pecuniary wealth and the landed property of the country; but there is another property which also warmly supports the bill—the property of the human hands (loud applause), that property without which all other property is as nothing. Without that property, what would be the value of all your hoarded ingots and accumulated acres? That is the property which produces and tends so largely to accumulate capital; the property of labour, I do not mean that of the poor alone, for the poor, the middle classes, and the rich, are all in some respects labourers. We are all more or less labourers, and labour must and will be represented by the bill. (Loud applause.) If then the landed property, the pecuniary wealth, and the property of labour support the bill, what body of men do not give it their support, by what portion of the people is it not almost unanimously supported? (Applause.) Some hints have been given of an address respecting the creation of peers. Now I hold with my friend Mr. Doubleday, that we must strain every nerve, that we must leave no stone unturned, that we must use every legal means in our power to convince his Majesty and the House of Peers that we are resolved to have the bill in all its integrity, uninjured and unimpaired. (Applause.) I have never doubted the passing of the bill, and there is one happy result which I anticipate from that event. I may be indulging in a golden dream, but we shall see, such is my feeling and such is my hope, a greater assimilation between the government and the people. The government and the people will no longer be opponents but friends—no longer enemies but allies. Future reforms will be gradual and safe, instead of tardy and dangerous; and we shall approach more and

more to the happy time which is foretold by Holy Writ, when "the spear shall be turned into the pruning hook and the sword into the ploughshare, neither shall there be war any more; when every man shall sit under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, none rising up to make him afraid." (Great Applause.)

Mr. JOHN FIFE then rose.—Mr. Chairman, Friends and Fellow-countrymen—I did not expect to have again taken any part in the proceedings of a meeting for the purpose of petitioning the Lords after the contumelious manner in which they treated the desires, the petitions, and the rights of the people, and it would even now be more congenial to my feelings, were we to address the throne and entreat our constitutional King so to exercise his prerogative as to secure to his people the full benefit of the Reform Bill; but I do think that we owe something to the last majority of their Lordships' house for the second reading, as they have voted an advantage to the people against a direct interest of their order, in the conservation of abuses, by which a few of them absorb more of the public money than the amount of the whole rent-roll of the whole of their estates. (Cheers.) It is agreed by writers on the constitution, that to create peers for the purpose of passing any measure is to establish a dangerous precedent; but I do say that if the people are deprived of a tittle of any one of the democratic provisions of the bill by Lord Grey's conscientious scruples on this point, they have a right to conclude that their boasted constitution is a greater obstacle to the beneficence of a good minister, than it is a check on the profligacy of a bad one. Where was the constitution under the administration of Pitt or of Castlereagh? Where was the constitution when Muir and Palmer were banished and destroyed for the crime of being reformers? Where was the constitution when we could not obtain investigation of the atrocious transactions at Manchester! Where is the constitution when peers and their tools dare to set up claims adverse to the right of free election? (Cheers.) We know well that the decision of the House of Lords has delayed, if not altogether averted, calamities which it is painful to contemplate, and under this impression I propose this second resolution.—(Mr. F. then read the resolution.) As to the grounds upon which their Lordships could have done otherwise, it is declared by Blackstone to be "a high misdemeanour and breach of privilege for any peer of the realm to interfere in the elections of the Commons;" and I think that we committed a fundamental error in ever acknowledging their right to direct us in the manner of such elections. The resolution mentions gratitude, but it may be well not to inquire too curiously into motives; perhaps they remembered that about two hundred years ago the Commons declared the Upper House to be a nuisance. (Laughter.) some might have wished for some dreaded general insurrection, and others with more reason may have feared a peaceable but resolute evasion of the payment of taxes. (Cheers.) We have, I believe, a friend in the Cabinet, who will never compromise one iota of our rights; in his youth he was borne forward on the shoulders of the people triumphantly to assert the independence of the county of Durham. (Cheers.) in the very teeth of the most powerful union of priests and Tories that ever conspired to thrust a pensioner into Parliament. The wounds he has received from ecclesiastical calumny, like the scars of the veteran, find honour in the eyes of the people, and the standard of his reputation, which he advances so boldly in their cause, remains invincible though rent, and draws more affection from their hearts than the most unspotted lawn that ever clothed the arms of an hypocritical prelate. (Cheers.) If the prayers of millions may avail to restore the health and prolong the life of such an advocate of liberty, we shall yet see him foremost in the ranks of our champions. If I desired to raise the value of the Reform Bill in your estimation, I should merely point out the aversion in which it is held by the corrupt portion of the aristocracy: these clauses which make it valuable to you, render it hateful to them; whatever it takes from them, it gives to you. I know not whether to occupy your time in remarking on the conduct and pretences of its opponents. (Cries of "Go on, go on!")—Then first let me congratulate the anti-reforming Bishops on having such a colleague as the Duke of Cumberland (laughter.); a leader whom you would have elected for them had you been asked to appoint. Perhaps those pious prelates think that under an amiable prince the rights of the people would be safe enough without any Parliament. But can they look into futurity? Can they assure us that we shall always have so good a King as William the IVth? Will they say what might be the condition of the people unprotected by a free Parliament, if after a lapse of ages the throne should be occupied by one very different? Certain Lords have good reason to complain of the press, for the reporters have made Lord Elleuborough seem ridiculous; I could not conceive where they got such stuff until my friend Mr. Doubleday pointed out some of it in Blackwood's Magazine; it admires the present House of Commons for containing so many sons of peers, proving it, according to the sarcasm of Bentham, almost as good as a second House of Lords; it delights in the number of military officers in that House, making it equal to a court martial, but it omits all mention of the original intention of the House of Commons, viz. to act as a protection to the people. (Laughter.) It laments that the bill gives no elective franchise to the labouring classes, and then asserts as its greatest evil, that it must soon lead to universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot. (Cheers.) The reporters ascribe most offensive language to the Mar-

quis of Buckingham, for which the ten-pound householders may requite them—his objection to the bill, that the House of Commons may become vulgar; but let him be consoled with the assurance that if the least educated people instead of their representatives were there, no speech would ever be heard within the walls of the House, below the level of his own. (Laughter.) If seven cities of ancient Greece contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer, I think that seven Newcastle men out of eight would struggle hard to disclaim, on the part of their town, the honour of having produced a certain learned lord: he eulogises things as they are, and mentions the blessings we have; and if he judges the situation of others by his own, he certainly has substantial reasons. (Laughter.) He cites the great writers who admire the constitution with all its abuses, but he omits to quote the most eloquent of those, Mr. Burke, who says, "There is a time when the hoary head of inveterate abuse shall no longer draw reverence, nor even obtain protection."—(Cheers.) There never was in this world a position at once more ludicrous and degrading than that which is now the plan of the Tory faction; having plunged this country into unjust wars, and brought it to the verge of national bankruptcy, they declared that nothing could be better, and that no reform should be granted! Hurled from power, disowned by the more virtuous part of the aristocracy, ejected from Parliament by the middle orders, derided and scorned by the labouring classes of the people, they began to stammer out that a little bit of a reform might do. (Laughter.) Thus "meanly shuffling to sneak out of the scrape they had so pompously shuffled into." Their day is past, but if, as a last effort, they spoil the bill, let us reject it with disdain. (Cheers.) No longer will I pay taxes in money. (Cheers.) Let them confiscate my land. (Cheers.) Let them seize my goods. (Cheers.) I am prepared to endure the last extremity—(cheers) — eternal banishment — (cheers)—death itself—(cheers)—rather than be the willing slave of a tyrannical, unprincipled, Tory administration. (Long-continued cheering.) Mr. F. concluded by moving the second resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Abbatt, and carried unanimously.

Mr. LARKIN then rose and said:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—When, on the rejection of the reform bill by the House of Lords in October last, I had the honour of addressing an assemblage of one hundred thousand of my fellow-countrymen on the Town Moor, I gave vent to those feelings which the conduct of that House was naturally calculated to excite in the bosom of a man who loves his country and hates oppression, in the language of indignation and of scornful reproach. I have now a more pleasing task to perform, to address in a tone of joyful expectation and in the language of congratulation and triumph. The House of Lords had passed the second reading of the Reform Bill by a majority of nine, which they last year rejected by a majority of forty-one. One hundred and eighty-four peers have recorded their votes in favour of this great measure of popular liberty; one hundred and seventy-five have recorded their votes against it. The majority is small; still, small as it is, I hail it as an instance of the resistless force of public opinion. (Cheers.) Oh, Sir, it is difficult to resist the resolved unanimity of a nation. (Cheers.) The people have urged their demands firmly but respectfully; in a tone and with a look that could not be mistaken, and would not be resisted. (Cheers.) The thunder of the public voice has long been heard rolling in the political firmament, whose aspect has been black and louring. I am glad that that voice has been attended to. I am glad that the House of Lords have not been rash and daring enough to rouse the slumbering passions of a mighty people, for if they had been mad enough not to heed the thunder of the people's voice, assuredly they would have perished in the lightning of the people's rage. (Loud cheering.) The hour, then, of our triumph approaches; of the triumph of wisdom over folly, of reason over obstinacy and error, of justice over injustice, of humanity over oppression, of freedom over tyranny, of the people over a boroughmongering oligarchy. (Cheers.) I rejoice at the prospect which England now has of being rescued from the thraldom of the basest domination to which proud men have ever submitted; the domination of Jews, and jobbers, and moneylenders. I rejoice at the prospect which England has now of being delivered from the tyranny of an oligarchy the most insolent which the world ever beheld, and from the pressure of an oppresion the most huge under which a nation ever groaned. I rejoice at the prospect which England now has of emerging from wretchedness to happiness, from impending turbulence, insurrection and civil war, to tranquillity, contentment and peace. (Cheers.) Yes, Sir; at length, after a long and dreary night of expectation, the day-star of the British constitution is beginning to beam from on high, the waves are subsiding, the winds are hushed, and the clouds are vanishing fast. Already the purple streak of dawn is apparent in the brightening east, and ere long, I trust, the full and perfect orb of glorious liberty will rise resplendent on our eager and desiring eyes, and diffuse universal light, harmony, and joy. (Loud cheering.) This majority on the second reading of the Reform Bill I regard as a splendid victory; a victory not of war, but of peace; not of arms, but of eloquence; not of brute force, but of moral energy. When last we approached the House of Lords, we were rudely pushed from the doors, our demands rejected, our petitions spurned. We resented that rejection, we were indignant at that denial; and the Lords were taught the lesson, that the demands and petitions of the people of England could not be rejected with impunity. Did the people retire from the

House of Lords with dejected hearts and fallen countenances? No; the universal population of these realms sprung from their knees upon their feet, abandoned the posture of supplication, and assumed that of haughty determination and firm resolve. (Cheers.) And what has been the consequence? The Lords, the proud peers of England, have quailed in the presence of a resolved and united people: even Wellington has been constrained to the admission that some reform is necessary, and the Duke of Buckingham, God save the mark! (laughter)—is ready prepared with a plan of reform. The bishops, too, have begun to feel something of that wholesome fear which is the beginning of wisdom, and to tremble for their mitres. Such, Sir, is the mighty force and resistless energy of public opinion. Concession has succeeded to rude insult, respect and deference to scorn and repulsion. (Cheers.) To me the opposition which has been made to the Reform Bill in the House of Lords seems to be most unprincipled—most audacious. Secure in their hereditary privileges, possessing a negative on the voice of the people, forming a distinct order in the state, endowed with ample possessions, and adorned with titles and distinctions, it does seem to me audacious that such men should not only avow their wish, but maintain their constitutional right to keep the House of Commons in subserviency to the aristocracy. Neither the law, nor the constitution recognises any such right (cheers); and the assertion of it evinces so utter a contempt for law, and so total a disregard of the principles of that constitution which they affect so much to admire, as to amaze me by its audacity. It is a great concession to hereditary privilege, to a body of men who seem to regard their interests as quite distinct from those of the people, that the power of the House of Lords should be co-ordinate with the power of the House of Commons; but that the House of Commons should be subordinate to the House of Lords, is a degradation to which, I trust, the people of this country have too much spirit ever again to submit, nor will they ever be content till the House of Commons becomes in very truth and deed the mirror of public sentiment, and its members the representatives of the people of England, and not the nominees and delegates of the aristocracy. (Cheers.) I have now, sir, to beg your indulgence and that of this auditory while I make a few comments on the speeches of the Bishop of Exeter and the Duke of Wellington. And first let me pay my respects to that ———— in law, the notorious Philpotts. In the debate he followed the Bishop of London, who has recommended himself to the esteem of the people by his solemn and emphatic declaration that reform is necessary for the peace and safety of the country.—The Bishop of Exeter commenced his harangue by sarcastically complimenting the Bishop of London on the disinterestedness of the vote he was about to give. Certainly, sir, it is very edifying to hear the mutual criminations and recriminations of these right reverend prelates. As to me, who am well known to possess the most profound respect and reverence for the bench of Bishops (loud laughter), and who in my simplicity had always thought that the snow-like purity and whiteness of their sleeves was but a feeble emblem of the still greater purity of their character. (Laughter.) I was astonished at hearing it insinuated that any portion of that sacred bench could be influenced by motives and passions so base, so sordid, so grovelling and earthly, as those of avarice and ambition. (Loud laughter.) Yet Dr. Philpotts says so, and he is an honourable man. (Great laughter and cheering.) They know one another's characters better than I do; and the Bishop of Exeter can portray with a much more correct and faithful pencil than I possess, the character of a spiritual peer. (Laughter.) But, sir, permit me to ask, if the character of those prelates who voted in favour of the Reform Bill be, in the estimation of Dr. Philpotts, venal and corrupt, in what estimation does he think the people hold the character of those prelates who are the opponents of the bill, the advocates of injustice, the vindicators of the shameful parts of the constitution, and the bold and frontless apologists of drunkenness, gluttony, bribery, corruption, and perjury? (Loud cheers.) Oh, sir, no doubt the man who charges the Bishop of London with the crimes of avarice and ambition, is himself completely purified from the dross of all earthly and selfish feeling—a sublimated essence of sanctity (laughter),—a very pattern of episcopal purity and Christian meekness! (Great laughter.) Who, I ask, is this man that spurns gold as dross?—whose character is the very reverse of that of Mammon, whose looks and thoughts the poet describes

> "As always downwards bent, admiring more
> The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
> Than aught divine or holy else to be enjoyed
> In vision beatific?"

—Whose looks commerce only with the skies? Who, from the elevated region of sanctity in which he dwells, looks down with an eye of superiority and contempt on the spires of Winchester cathedral, or the lofty towers of Durham abbey? Who, I ask, is the man that reads lectures on avarice, and homilies on ambition to the Bishop of London? Why, sir, it is the disaffected, the defeated, the discomfited Rector of Stanhope. (Loud cheering.) Now, Sir, I would like to know if this pure, meek, and disinterested character had no vengeful recollection of the persons who wrested Stanhope from his grasp? Does he not recollect that it was Earl Grey and the present Ministry, who, in obedience to the public voice loudly and indignantly expressed, would not suffer him to hold that rich rectory in conjunction with the see of Exeter? I should like to know whether in revenge for that act of justice he would not like to trip up the heels of the Ministry that defrauded his

keen appetite of its eager expectations? Aye, sir, I fear if my Lord of London has ambitious expectations, his Lordship of Exeter has vengeful recollections. (Loud cheers.) I pass over his defence of rotten boroughs; I pass over the obscenity of his allusions to the shameful but necessary parts of the constitution, merely remarking that these shameful parts are of a most inordinate and disproportionate magnitude, and make the constitution a sort of political monster, whose glory is in its shame; and I proceed to his representation of reform as dangerous to the existence of the establishment. This is a strange admission from a churchman—that the security of the church depends on the venality and corruption of the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) If this representation be true, then do I say that a church whose existence is incompatible with the freedom of the people and the independence of the Commons' House of Parliament, is a public and national evil, and should be abolished. (Loud cheers.) He asserts that this granting of reform would be an infraction of the coronation oath, inasmuch as reform would weaken and ultimately destroy that establishment which the King had sworn to maintain. If so, then by a public, formal act, of the legislature, the King should be absolved from the observance of an oath which prevents him from doing justice to his subjects. (Cheers) If that establishment be, as the Bishop of Exeter declares that it is, odious and oppressive to the people, wherefore in the name of justice should it be mentioned? If that establishment be a public benefit, it can be in no danger from reform. If it be a public evil, it is the height of oppression to maintain it. (Loud cheers.) The maintenance of any establishment, whether civil, religious, or military, in opposition to the wishes and the interests of the people, is tyranny, as they are tyrants of the most odious description who, in defiance of public opinion, support them—they are slaves who submit to them. (Loud cheers.) The public happiness, the public good, should be the great object of all legislation, of all laws, of all constitutions, of all establishments; perish every law, perish every constitution, perish every establishment that is inconsistent with the happiness, with the freedom of the people. (Vehement cheering.) Dr. Philpotts concluded his address with a solemn warning to the House to do its duty, to despise consequences, and trust to God. He invoked the God of justice to give permanency to injustice. He invoked the God of Freedom to make tyranny eternal and slavery immortal. Blasphemy and hypocrisy were mingled in that peroration in which the champion of oppression makes a solemn, deliberate appeal to Heaven, as if God were the patron of the oppressor, and not the avenger of the oppressed. (Great cheering.) The man who uttered that blasphemous peroration conceals under the robes of a bishop the heart of —— —— ——. (Cheers.) Mr. Larkin then proceeded to comment on the Duke of Wellington's speech, but our want of space compels us to abbreviate his remarks. After contrasting his present admission of the necessity of some reform, with his former declaration that the system of government in this country was so perfect that neither the wit of man nor the intelligence of angels could improve it, and ridiculing his late discovery of some abuses in a system the most perfect that imagination could conceive; he then noticed the objections of his grace. The duke objects that the bill is subversive of the present system of representation. His grace is neither a witty nor a humorous man, though this must be intended as an humble attempt at humour. Present system of representation! Why our support of the bill is founded on this circumstance, that on the ruin and destruction of a non-representative system it erects a system of popular representation. It transfers the elective franchise from decayed and deserted boroughs to crowded and populous places, from Gatton and Old Sarum to Manchester and Birmingham. He represents the bill as a bill of disfranchisement. Certainly it disfranchises the corrupt and rotten borough, but it enfranchises the large town: it is therefore much more truly a bill of enfranchisement than one of the opposite character. But what right has the disfranchiser of the forty-shilling freeholder of Ireland to object that it is a bill of disfranchisement? (Cheers.)—He talks of innovation. What right has the great innovator, the Duke of Wellington, the man who exalted the Catholics from political degradation to civil equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects, to hold this language? He refers to Charles, to royal grants, and to prescriptions, as if they were the most sacred things in all the world. But I tell this admirer of musty parchments and hoary-headed prescriptions, that there are rights which are anterior to all charters, and can plead a higher antiquity than the most ancient prescription, which no charter, no prescription can impair or destroy, which have within them a principle of perpetual reviviscency, and will ultimately triumph over all attempts to crush and destroy them, and these rights this bill which abolishes obsolete charters, and destroys prescriptive abuses, to a great extent recognises. One of these rights is, the right of every people to govern themselves. (Loud cheers.) This is a right founded on no royal grant, but had existence before kings were—this is a right founded on no charters, but had its foundation in the nature of man before written documents had existence. From charters and prescriptions then, we appeal to the rights of man. (Cheering.) But it appears that it is not the lust of dominion, it is not the ambitious views of his grace that prompt his opposition to the bill of reform, but actually his love of the people and his admiration of cheap government! (Laughter.) Mr. Larkin here read a passage illustrative of his grace's views. Previous to commenting on

this passage, I ask why did not the duke illustrate his views by a reference to the much more splendid example of a cheap government which the United States present to the world than to the unsettled government of France, torn as it is by injustice, faction, and discord, and with the evil of a disputed succession impending over it. I deny that the government of France is, as his grace asserts, a popular government. I deny it is based on the sovereignty of the people. It is because the government of France is not popular; it is because it is not based on the sovereignty of the people that the insurrectionary spirit, that the spirit of insubordination prevails. Louis-Philippe was seated on the throne of France by a faction of moneyed men, who were more interested in the stability of the funds than in the principles of free government, and not by the voice and acclamation of the French people. He governs in accordance with the views of that moneyed interest, and not according to the views and interest of the nation. Would Poland, I ask, be at this moment enslaved, if Louis-Philippe were really King of the French? —Would that gallant people be at the mercy of a despot, within the hug of the great Russian bear, if the sympathies of the French monarch were in accordance with those of his people?—Poland, the land of the brave and the free, has been degraded, and France has been a silent, inactive spectator of that degradation, into a Russian province. Her heroes, whose blood has not flowed on the scaffold or been spilt in the field, have been exiled into Siberia; and Poland is annexed for ever—hear this absolute decree—for ever annexed to the Russian empire. The haughty despot of the north, whose tenure of life is so uncertain, that it may be terminated by the bowstring within a month, has put forth a decree, arrogating the prerogative of Omnipotence, limited not to days, to weeks, to months, to years, but extended to all eternity. He decrees an eternity of bondage to the Poles. Poland, then, has perished, because France is not free; and her government is not cheap, because Louis-Philippe reigns, as all despots reign, by force, and not by free election. The people are compelled to submit, and are plundered to furnish the means of their oppression and his domination. The duke calculated on insurrection as being a probable consequence of the rejection of the Reform Bill, and endeavoured to re-animate the faltering courage of the peers, to screw their courage up to the rejecting point, by observing that there could be no violence where there was an efficient government. Ninety men, he observed, were sufficient to put a stop to the disasters that occurred at Bristol, as soon as an officer was found to do his duty. Aye, sir, the sabre, the bayonet, the cannon, are this man's recipe for government. He knows nothing of the moral strength and force which justice and beneficence place in the hands of rulers. But is it so easy to quell an insurgent people as his military dukeship supposes? Was the insurgent populace of Paris so easily quelled? (Cheers.) Were the revolting citizens of Brussels so easily quelled? (Cheers.) Besides, are armies always faithful? Will officers always do their duty against their country? (Cheers.) But I will no longer pursue this course of reflection. Easy as his grace supposes it to be to crush an insurgent people—easy as he supposes it to be to dragoon and bayonet them into submission, still for the sake of the people, for the sake of their lordships, for the sake of tranquillity, for the sake of the great cause of liberty itself, which has often been lost amidst the tumult and carnage, the ferocious passions and unlicensed frenzy of civil war, I rejoice that their lordships have not goaded the people into violent courses, nor exasperated the resentment of the populace into fury and desperation, by a second rejection of the Reform Bill. In the meantime, it behoves the people to be vigilant, and to guard from impairment and mutilation this great charter of their liberties. (Loud cheers.) Mr. L. concluded by moving the third resolution, which was seconded by Mr. WALSH.

Mr. J. WATSON moved that a petition, founded on the resolutions, be signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and transmitted to Lord Durham for presentation.

The petition was then read by the chairman, and its adoption moved by Mr. LAING and seconded by Mr. DODD.

Previous to putting the resolutions and petition, the Chairman inquired if there were any other resolutions, when a person in the crowd proposed two, which he afterwards withdrew, and the original resolutions and petition were adopted.

Mr. DOUBLEDAY said, he ought to feel both shame and contrition for trespassing again, at so late an hour, upon their patience. (Cries of No, no, go on, go on.) He felt it, however, a matter of duty, and duty was imperative. They had done well to pass the petition of to-night, but he meant to move an address to Lord Grey urging him to create peers and *secure the integrity* of the bill. (Vehement applause.) He was glad they coincided with him in opinion. Rumours and whispers were abroad that Lord Grey was disinclined to do this: if it were so, he wondered *why*, for how could 30 or 40 more peers injure the "order." —What idea were they taught to have of a peer? Why, that he was descended from a line of great and noble persons, and had the reputation of his house to support—he was called on to be brave in soul, generous in disposition, patriotic in intention, to lead the people against foreign foes, to stand between them and domestic oppression;—now if 40 men with such qualifications were added, where was the injury? It was adding ornament *to* ornament, honour *to* honour, nobility *to* nobility. Was he to be told that an *overissue* would *depreciate* the lordly currency—that they were *only valuable when rare*; the libel was not his, but this was putting them on the shelf with other rare specimens of natural his-

tory, with ouran-outangs, and kangaroo rats. Mr. D. then moved the address, which was seconded by Mr. WEATHERSON, and adopted.

The thanks of the meeting were given to the Chairman; the band played "Rule, Britannia," and "God save the King," and after some cheering the meeting dispersed.

LEEDS MEETING.

CREATION OF PEERS.—MEETING OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

The second reading of the Reform Bill, carried as it was by a majority of nine in the House of Lords, has produced great joy in this and the other towns of Yorkshire. But the reformers cannot be insensible to the danger which awaits this measure in its details, though its principle has now been admitted by all the three branches of the legislature,—King, Lords, and Commons. The people of Leeds, with that devotion to the cause of reform, and that anxiety for the great object of their solicitude, which have characterized their proceedings in every stage of the Reform Bill, determined to hold a meeting without delay for the purpose of addressing the King, praying his Majesty, by the exercise of his royal prerogative, to consummate this great renovation of the institution of Parliament. Accordingly, on Monday morning a requisition to the mayor was drawn up requesting his worship to call a meeting, expressed in the following terms:—

"*To the Worshipful the Mayor of Leeds.*

"We, the undersigned, respectfully request your worship to call a public meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds, on Thursday next, the 19th instant, to consider the propriety of presenting an address to his Majesty, earnestly entreating him to exercise his constitutional prerogative in a creation of peers, which shall prevent a collision betwixt the two Houses of Parliament, and ensure the passing of the Reform Bill in all its efficiency."

In the course of a few hours about 120 names of respectable inhabitants were affixed to this document, and a deputation, consisting of George Wailes, Esq., John Clapham, Esq., and Edward Baines, Esq., was appointed to wait upon his worship with the requisition that evening at six o'clock. Unfortunately, the mayor's professional engagements at a distance prevented him from receiving the application till Wednesday morning, when he requested some hours to consider the matter before he returned an answer. At one o'clock the answer arrived, and communicated a refusal to call the meeting, on the ground that, according to his worship's view, the measure contemplated would be destructive of the independence of Parliament, and subversive of the undoubted right of each branch of the legislature to deal with every question according to its own judgment, free from control by either or both of the other branches of

Notwithstanding this refusal, the requisitio persevered in their intention to hold the mee ing on Thursday, and at 12 o'clock on th day, though the notices were not issued t near the evening of Wednesday, the meeti assembled in the Court-house, when Jo MARSHALL, jun., Esq., was, by a unanimo vote, called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN opened the meeting reading the requisition and the mayo answer. The letter was as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—I regret that the avow object of your proposed meeting is such as preclude me from complying with the requi tion you have done me the honour to prese

"Claiming for myself the same freedom judgment as I most willingly accord to othe I cannot consent to use the authority of m office for the furtherance of a proceeding d structive, as it appears to me, of the indepen ence of Parliament, and subversive of the u doubted right of each branch of the legislatu to deal with every question according to i own judgment, free from control by both either of the other branches of it.

"I have the less hesitation in withholdi my official sanction on this occasion, from feeling that the want of it will be no impe ment to your proceeding in such a way as y may think right.

"I am, gentlemen,
Your obedient, humble servant,
"Leeds, April 18. WM. HEY, Mayor
"To Messrs. Wailes, Clapham, and Baines.

As soon as these documents were read, loud cry was raised of "Adjourn, adjourn the people cannot get in." The weather wa at this time very unseasonable for an out-do meeting, and a kind of close packing, whic admitted a number of those who had bee excluded, restored some degree of tranquillit

The CHAIRMAN then said—"We are once mo met together to render whatever assistance more may be in our power to give in furtheran of the great measure of reform. I hope it ma be the last time, and that on the next occasio we may have to celebrate its success. (A plause.) It may appear to require some e planation why we are again so hasti called together, after the bill has just passed second reading in the House of Lords. But think it must be evident to all, that thou many peers have voted for the second readin it is with the intention of making importa alterations in its provisions in committee, such alterations, it is to be feared, as will le to a collision between the two Houses of Pa liament. (Hear, hear.) If such alteratio were made, the consequences would be mo injurious to the country, in either case, wh ther the Commons accepted or rejected t altered bill. If it were accepted by the Com mons, we should not arrive at a satisfact- settlement of the question, and we should ha a continual excitement and agitation of it. the Commons should refuse the bill so altere

as I have supposed, we should have a still greater degree of excitement, accompanied with so much public anxiety as would be most injurious when added to that we have already suffered from: we should have an intense animosity against the House of Peers, and an alienation of that respect and regard which ought to attach to that branch of the legislature. (Hear, hear.) Even if this course were taken, it would soon become more than ever manifest that the bill, in all its efficiency, must again be offered to Parliament, and must eventually be passed by the Peers. But it would come with a worse grace, and with a greater loss of respect and influence by that body. It remains with the Crown to prevent both the House of Peers and the country from being placed in such a dangerous position, by a creation of new peers. We must all fear that creation of peers; for the purpose of carrying a particular measure, is an exercise of the royal prerogative that should not be rashly used. It requires peculiar circumstances to warrant it, which should be clearly and distinctly made out. (Hear, hear.) I do maintain that those circumstances are, in the present instance, fully made out to the satisfaction of the most doubting. (Applause.) The measure in question has been three times before the House of Commons; the two last times before a House called expressly after an appeal to the people for their opinion on it. The measure has been long before the public, and still the same general and favourable opinion is entertained of it. It is a measure of the most vital importance to the nation, and has received the most careful consideration and examination. Its mutilation by the Peers, so as to cause its rejection by the Commons, would produce a state of things extremely dangerous to the country. The Crown acquiesces in the propriety of the measure. Any material alteration of the bill in the House of Peers would, in my opinion, after all these circumstances not only warrant, but would loudly and most forcibly call upon the Crown to exercise that prerogative with which it has so wisely been invested. (Applause.) There are some, however, and among the rest our worthy Mayor, who entertain different opinions; and it is therefore the more necessary that the question should be discussed now, when the emergency, if not actually arrived, is so near at hand. (Hear, hear.) It should not be forgotten either, that one alteration which is most certain to be proposed in the committee of the Peers, *is that of raising the 10l. franchise still higher in such large towns as this.* One of the most determined opponents of the bill stated in the House of Lords, his opinion that the 10*l.* franchise would, in the large towns, approach very nearly to universal suffrage. Now we know very well how far this is from being the case, and we know how ungracious and even how dangerous it would be to take a higher standard in such towns as these. *If such alterations as these are carried in the committee,* I cannot but entertain the opinion that all the circumstances will be made out and completed that are required to authorise the Crown to make an addition to the peerage. The question ought and must be speedily settled. It is in these large manufacturing towns that we feel more than in other parts of the country the bad effects of the public anxiety on this great measure, by the loss or diminution of our usual trade. It is the more necessary for us to urge that all those constitutional steps should be taken by the King and by his administration which are necessary to bring this measure to a speedy and satisfactory termination. (Applause.)

GEORGE WAILES, Esq., said, before he made any observations to the meeting, he would read the resolution which he was about to submit to the consideration of the meeting, and which was expressed in the following terms: —

"Resolved—1. That though this meeting views with satisfaction the recognition by the House of Lords of the great principles on which the bill of reform is grounded, it cannot avoid feeling the deepest anxiety at the small majority by which it has passed the second reading, combined with the declared intention of attempting most important alterations in its provisions. That it is therefore expedient to present an address to the King, praying his Majesty, by the constitutional exercise of the royal prerogative in the creation of peers, to secure the passing of *the Reform Bill in all its efficiency*, and thereby to prevent a collision between the two houses of Parliament."

The learned gentleman then proceeded to comment at considerable length on the argumentative refusal of the mayor to call the meeting, and to show that the reasons he had assigned why the King should not create additional peers were futile and inconclusive; and he endeavoured to show, from the premises admitted by the mayor, that it would be an exercise of the royal prerogative, not only highly expedient but absolutely necessary, to preserve the real independence of Parliament, and to give to each branch of the legislature a right to deal with every question according to its own judgment.

[The learned gentleman was here interrupted by loud and repeated cries of "Adjourn; there are great numbers of persons who cannot get in."] After some delay the meeting adjourned into the spacious area of the cloth-hall. When the bustle produced by this movement had subsided,

Mr. WAILES resumed his observations, and, in illustration of his argument, he put the following case:—Suppose the House of Commons, in whom originate all bills of supply, should pass a bill to impose a tax, and that when it came to the House of Lords they should insert a clause exempting their own body from its operation. Well, the bill so altered is returned to the Commons, who refuse to consent to the alteration. Let us also suppose that the great body of the people are in favour of this impost, and that it hath also

the concurrence of the Crown. Both houses, let us further suppose, persist in their own measures: now would not the King, in such a juncture as this, be justified in making such an augmentation to the House of Peers as should carry into effect the wishes of the people? But the present case was much more favourable to his argument, because the Reform Bill had been the subject of discussion for fifty years; twice it had passed the House of Commons, and the principle of the bill had at length received the sanction of the House of Lords. It could not, therefore, be considered as a sudden ill-considered movement, but the deliberate opinion of the great body of the nation, expressed in the most solemn and authentic manner by a House of Commons elected with a particular reference to the very question, and since then by every other mode in which the opinion of the people can be ascertained. This measure has also the approval of the King. If under these circumstances the House of Lords could be permitted to defeat the wishes of the House of Commons, the people, and the King, we should no longer live under a limited monarchy, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons, but of an oligarchy, consisting of a majority of the House of Peers. The constitution, to remedy such a collision, has given the King the power to add to the number of the peers. The crisis foreseen has arrived; and if ever there existed a great emergency which called for the exercise of the royal prerogative, it is on the present occasion; and he was convinced that an infusion of new and better blood into that ancient house was a consummation most devoutly to be wished. He had said, on a former occasion, that the House of Lords could not constitutionally reject that bill: that was still his opinion, though he did not mean to repeat the expression which had given rise to some controversy, and the assertion was treated as if he had said that the House of Lords had not the power of giving it a negative,—that they could not say no. I did not mean to say anything so foolish: what I said was this, that it was necessary and expedient, and that they ought to have said "ay." The learned gentleman, after putting this argument in a striking point of view, by supposing the abolition of colonial slavery to be the subject-matter in dispute between the two houses, or rather between the whole country, including the King and the House of Peers, paid a just tribute to the manly consistency of Lord Grey, who, from his first introduction into the House of Commons, to the present hour, had always been the steady advocate of parliamentary reform. After reading an extract from the *Edinburgh Review*, in answer to the question, "What will the Lords do?" which, after describing the state into which the country would be thrown by the two Houses differing upon the Reform Bill, says, that the increase of peers is the remedy which the constitution has provided for this state of things, and which is a necessary check, to prevent the Government degenerating into an oligarchy, and making some observations on a recent speech of the Duke of Wellington, the learned gentleman concluded with proposing the resolution which he had read at the commencement of his speech.

Mr. RICHARDSON, in seconding the first resolution, said, that the meeting was under great obligations to the worthy chief magistrate of Leeds; for, though he had declined to call the meeting, he had favoured them with the most powerful argument in favour of the object they had in view, viz. the support of "the independence of Parliament," which would be impaired if the House of Lords should succeed in throwing out or in maiming the Reform Bill, the main object of which was to restore the independence of the House of Commons. In conclusion, he exhorted the people not to allow any adverse decision on the Reform Bill to induce them to commit any breach of the peace; but by firm, peaceful, energetic, and constitutional efforts, continue to further that great cause, being assured that a measure patronized by the King, the Ministers, the House of Commons, and the people, can never be defeated by a faction in the House of Peers.

The Chairman then put the motion, when immediately a forest of hands were held up in its favour: on putting the negative, there appeared three dissentients, by which a pretty fair calculation may be made between the reformers and the anti-reformers in the borough of Leeds.

Mr. BAINES presented himself, and was received with loud plaudits. He said, our next proceeding will be to determine upon an address to be presented to his Majesty, to express the opinions that we entertain upon this subject. It affords me great pleasure to see here so many of the faces which I have been accustomed to see upon former occasions, when we have met for the purpose of soliciting for reform. (Hear.) Gentlemen, we shall assuredly accomplish our object. It may be attended with some difficulty in the attainment, but we shall not value it the less because of that difficulty. (No, no.) It has long been a matter of consideration with us; we have pressed it forward by every means in our power; and if the people of England continue to urge their suit, the bill will undoubtedly be carried without being materially altered. The Duke of Wellington and his colleagues have, as you have already heard, put forth an address in the form of a protest; and in that protest he advances several propositions which I have no hesitation in declaring unfounded, and directly contrary to the truth. (Hear, hear.) I do not mean to say that the Duke has deliberately uttered a falsehood, but I do say, that he and those who have acted with him, are utterly unacquainted with the state of the country as to this great question. The Duke has said the British Government is a monarchy. I do not deny it, but I say it has popular branches as well as a monarchical principle; and therefore

it is more than a monarchy. It is a government consisting of three estates; and the estates of which this Government is constituted are, King, Lords, and Commons. (Hear, hear.) But it is unfortunately constituted of more than three, and the fourth estate is an usurpation—an oligarchy, that rules over and controls both King, Lords, and Commons. (Hear.) It is to put an end to this oligarchy that we are labouring, and therefore, when the Duke of Wellington asserts that the kingly power is every thing, he asserts that which is not true in fact, and which I hope never will be true in this country. (Cheering.) But he goes on and says "that no change, however specious, should be adopted, which would strike at the principle of the monarchy, or deprive the King of the free and independent exercise of his lawful prerogative." Nothing is more distant from us than to assail the monarchy. The duke says, we are not to assail the King's prerogative; certainly not, we are met to support it,—that is the principal object we have in view. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, if that be our purpose, I suppose the duke will hardly think we are acting in violation of the great principle that he has laid down; on the contrary, he will think that we are acting in support of that principle; because, how is this prerogative to be more fitly employed than when it is for the benefit of the people for which the prerogative was conferred? (Hear.) The duke then goes on and says, "that the Reform Bill will give a preponderating influence in the election of the House of Commons to the lowest classes of inhabitants in towns, and close the door of the House of Commons against the moneyed and the colonial interest, and against the heads of the great commercial body." Is this true? (No, no.) Is it true that this Reform Bill will give to the lower classes an undue influence? (No, no.) My opinion is, that it will not give them sufficient influence. (Hear, hear.) It deprives a great many men, who are exceedingly fit to exercise the elective franchise, of that influence which they ought to possess. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I will prove this to you; and I will prove it, not by going to a great distance, but at home. (Hear, hear.) We happen to have in the borough of Leeds no fewer *than* 120,000 *souls*. To how many of these persons will this bill, as at present constituted, give votes? Will it give votes to half that number? (No.) Will it give votes to one-third of that number? No; out of 120,000 souls it will only give votes to *about from* 5,000 *to* 6,000. How, then, is it possible that the Duke of Wellington could stand up and assert that the consequences of this bill will be to give undue influence to the lower classes of the people? The bill itself is as large in its grants as Ministers can carry, *but it is the lower class only* that *it deprives of influence*. (Hear, hear.) Very well, then, I say that the persons who have made this assertion have made it, not in the spirit of truth, but in the spirit of error and of falsehood. (It is.) Then there is another consideration, and it is of considerable importance, and that is, what the consequence will be if Parliament should advance the qualification of the *elective franchise from* 10*l.* *to* 15*l.*? Why, instead of the numbers that at present constitute the electors, they will very likely be reduced *to* 3,000 *in Leeds*, and in the same proportion in other places; and *is it a fitting thing* that you should have 3,000 people to elect members to represent 120,000? (No, no.) My opinion is that the franchise ought not to have been at 10*l.* but at 7*l.* (Cries of "5*l.*," and "Householders.") I hear a cry of "householders," and I don't mean to enter upon that point now, but I do mean to say, that if *the franchise is to be altered at all, it ought to be made lower and not higher*. (Hear, hear.) That is my decided opinion upon this subject, and I am sure you will give me credit that I don't say it to please or displease anybody. It is my practice to speak what I consider to be the truth, and every honest man ought to pursue that line of conduct. (Hear, hear.) But there is a situation in which two branches of the legislature are likely to be brought, and that it is a very curious one. It has been glanced at by Mr. Wailes in his elaborate speech, and with great spirit. We will suppose the bill having now passed the House of Commons, it comes next to pass the House of Lords: they have read it twice, and many of them have said in pretty intelligible terms that they will reduce it in its efficiency. Suppose then, that when this bill comes to be passed they say the qualification for the *elective franchise shall be* 15*l.* *instead of* 10*l.*, and that 30 boroughs instead of 60 shall be disfranchised, or that they resort to any other manœuvre to destroy its efficacy, how would the matter between them stand? The Commons have passed one bill and the Lords another, and they each of them are determined to support their own bill. A conference is then proposed. At that conference they both remain inflexible, and in this way a collision arises. The consequence is, that the wheels of Government would be suspended. To remedy this evil the King is applied to as the arbitrator. He cannot by his own voice settle the point at issue, but there is a mode prescribed by the constitution, and that is, the power vested in him of creating peers; by the exercise of which power on behalf of men of right principles the collision is terminated, and the two conflicting branches of the legislature will be reconciled. (Applause.) The object of the address which I shall have the honour to submit for your approbation is at once to produce this happy reconciliation, and to secure to the country the advantages of the Reform Bill in all its efficiency. (Hear.) This is our prayer to the King; and this prayer we have no doubt his Majesty will, at the proper time, of which he and his Ministers must be the best judges, grant to a loyal and dutiful people. Mr. Baines concluded amidst loud applause and clapping of hands.

Mr. BAINES then read the following address, and moved that it should be forwarded to Earl Grey for presentation to his Majesty :—

"*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

"The humble Address of the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds, in the county of York, in public meeting assembled, on the 19th of April, 1832.

"Sire,—You are our sheet-anchor—our refuge in the storm. The last necessity appears to be at hand. Resistance to reform and the consequent delay have unhappily produced deep injury to the most important national interests; our commerce and manufactures are already in an alarming state of stagnation; and *the mutilation of the bill would issue in great public dissatisfaction, indignation, and perhaps tumult.* Your Majesty fears nothing, and has nothing to fear. You wisely identify yourself with the interests of your people. We know and venerate your Majesty's paternal solicitude for the peace and happiness of your subjects. Some of the Lords in Parliament know but little of the people; they imperfectly appreciate their sentiments and their rights, and appear to misconstrue the use and constitution of their own house. Respect for the House of Peers would not be impared, either by addition to its numbers, or by alteration of its political sentiment, which indeed has become necessary to the pure administration of public affairs.

"We, therefore, most humbly implore that your Majesty in this emergency, will, at the proper moment, by a fearless and liberal exercise of your royal prerogative (in the creation of peers), at once protect us from an oligarchy, and with the aid of your present Ministers, who alone possess the confidence of the public, secure the safety of the bill, and the conservation of the constitution."

Mr. JOSHUA BOWER, the President of the Leeds Political Union, said—I stand forward to second the address which has been moved by Mr. Baines for the adoption of this meeting. There has been so much said already on the subject on this occasion, and also at former meetings, that nothing new can be said upon it, and I should have contented myself with merely seconding the motion, if it were not for the fear that my townsmen should say Joshua Bower has grown cold in the cause of reform, and that a reaction has taken place. I shall therefore say a few words. In the first place, then, I say that so far from any reaction having taken place, into whatever company I go, whether it be of those who have been politicians 30 or 40 years, or those who have only just begun to inquire, I find that they are all more and more in favour of the Reform Bill, and that Tories are coming round more than ever, and nothing can now prevent the measure from being carried. Half of the House of Lords are now in favour of it, nay more than half; but then the bill has to go into committee, and there an attempt may be made to *raise the franchise above the 10l. householders, and it is our duty to do all we can to prevent this.* I, for one, think that the franchise is now low enough; but I was willing to take what I could get. After adverting to the shortness of the notice convening the meeting, which had brought together more persons than could have been expected, he concluded with expressing his hearty concurrence in the address.

The Chairman then put the address, which was carried with only three dissenting voices.

After the address to the King had been agreed to, Mr. Wailes presented himself, and proposed that three times three cheers should be given, which was immediately complied with, amidst hearty cheering and the waving of hats.

Mr. R. HOWARD spoke in favour of the address. After stating that when this bill was first introduced he had advised the people not to be carried away by their feelings in its favour, but to look at it with an eye of patience. He said he did not intend to rescind what he then said, for he still thought that the elective franchise ought to have been given to all householders; but being convinced that the present bill was as large a measure as the Ministers could carry, he was desirous of giving it all the support in his power.

Mr. SMITHSON said that in cases of partnership where one partner was fraudulent, the other party filed a bill against him in Chancery, and he was made to give up that portion which was improperly gained, so, in this case, the bill was filed against the boroughmongers, who must soon render up their spoils. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) He should advise the non-payment of taxes in case the bill were not passed, and concluded by declaring that the proceedings of the day had his cordial approval. (Cheers.)

Mr. CLAPHAM, in moving a vote of thanks to the reformers of both Houses of Parliament, said, they were deserving the approbation of the country, for the talent, perseverance, and zeal they had displayed in support of the measure which had excited such intense feeling throughout the country. The more they contemplated the objects designed to be effected by the reform bill, the more would they be convinced that its success was intimately connected with their best interests. Mr. Clapham concluded by moving

"That the thanks of this meeting are due to his Majesty's Ministers, and to the friends of reform in both Houses of Parliament, for their persevering efforts in support of the Reform Bill."

Mr. LUS, in seconding the vote of thanks to his Majesty's Ministers and the friends of reform, for their exertions in the great cause, and its happy and successful issue on the second reading, observed, that he attributed that success mainly to the generalship of Earl Grey. *He had displayed great tactic and finesse,*—he had in fact obtained the second

reading not by the friends of the bill, but by its avowed enemies. (Hear, hear.) By the management of Earl Grey the "waverers" had voted for the bill, *with the avowed intention of frittering it down to nothing in the committee.* How did the case really stand? There were but a majority present of two, and that majority included Lord Wharncliffe and many of his followers who go into the committee with the intention of destroying the very vitals of the bill. It is said that Earl Grey can secure it at once by a creation of peers, but it should be recollected that to exercise this prerogative to a great extent, good and sufficient reasons should be assigned, and Earl Grey had so placed the matter that by the small majority it was self-evident it could not be carried without a new creation of peers. That he had never been solicited to do, and it was for the people of this country to declare their conviction that it was necessary to be done, and by that means justifying Earl Grey in advising the King to exercise his prerogative in this great and awful emergency. (Applause.) The motion was then agreed to.

Mr. T. PLINT, jun., in proposing a motion to carry the resolutions of the meeting into effect, said—"At this late hour, Mr. Chairman, I shall not trouble you with many observations; indeed, the resolution which I have to propose does not call for any extended remarks. I cannot, however, resist an inclination to comment upon the subject of the resolution just carried, which the importance of that resolution fully justifies. You have been called upon to tender your thanks to the Ministers and those members of the legislature who have supported the bill of reform. (Hear.) There is an opinion on this subject which I never could bring my mind to prove. It is said by many "We want measures, not men." Now it is true that the measures attempted or effected by particular public men, are those things by which we determine upon their claims to our respect and gratitude; but it is a cold and selfish policy to accept all which such men effect for their country and for mankind, without returning them our ardent affection and esteem. I never could separate in my mind men from their actions, nor consider that while I praised and admired the latter, it was right to withhold my personal affection from the former; and when we have before us the example of a man who commenced his political career as a reformer nearly forty years ago (for it was in 1793 that Earl, then the hon. Charles, Grey, presented his memorable petition for reform), who has consistently and perseveringly supported all great measures, who long refused office and powers, rather than compromise his principles; and when, more especially, we see that individual crowning his labours by bringing into Parliament, and so far successfully carrying forward a measure of reform,—I say, sir, that such a man is entitled not merely to the praise of his actions, but to our warmest and most fervent affection, and to our most profound veneration. (Cheers.) It has been said by a preceding speaker, that the Ministers have succeeded in carrying the second reading of the bill by great *generalship, skill,* and *finesse.* Sir, I infer from the result of the second reading, that a great change has taken place in the opinions of the House of Peers, relative to the necessity for reform, and the unanimity of the public wish for that measure, of reform which is now before Parliament. It augurs well for the ultimate success of that measure, that the second reading has been carried without any exercise of the royal prerogative in the creation of peers. It indicates that a great many of those who, when the bill was thrown out in the last session of Parliament, voted against it, have become convinced that the national desire for reform must be complied with, and will indeed be satisfied only with the *whole unmutilated bill.* It is nevertheless quite true, that there yet exists a strong and urgent necessity to create peers, either to carry the bill safely through the committee, or, on the third reading, to correct the mutilations it may undergo in the committee. Without such a creation, although the great principles of the bill may be preserved in the committee, yet will the provisions of the bill, by which its principles are to be carried into effect, be so altered that it will be sent back to the Commons, shorn of its honours, and no longer worthy of that ardent attachment which is now felt for it by the Commons and the nation. The will of the King, of his Ministers, and of the people, cannot be set at defiance; and all which Earl Grey has hitherto done indicates to my mind clearly and satisfactorily, that the bill must pass soon, and pass in *all its integrity and efficiency.* (Cheers.) It is to strengthen the Minister in his determination to carry the bill by the means *which he is known to possess,* that the address which has been approved by this meeting, is to be forwarded to him for presentation to his Majesty. The influence of the address will be in proportion to the number of signatures which may be attached to it; and I would beg, in conclusion, that each individual now present would sign the address so soon as it shall be laid for public signature, and induce as many as he may possess influence with to do the same." Mr. Plint moved the following resolution:—

"That the gentlemen who formed the sub-committee for preparing these resolutions be a committee for carrying them into effect, and that they have power to add to their number."

Which motion being seconded, was carried unanimously.

Mr. Marshall having vacated the chair, which was taken by John Clapham, Esq., Mr. Whitehead moved, and Mr. Benjamin Walker seconded the motion, that the thanks of this meeting are due to John Marshall, Esq., for his able and impartial conduct in the chair, which was put and carried by acclamation.

The meeting, consisting of about 4,000 per-

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sons, and which had been convened at a notice little exceeding twelve hours, then dispersed in the utmost harmony.

LONDON POLITICAL UNION.

The weekly meeting of the council of this union was held last night (Wednesday, 25th of April) at eight o'clock, at their rooms, Saville-house, Leicester-square, Mr. Taylor being in the chair.

The Secretary having informed the meeting of some donations to the Union—

(THE REFORM BILL)

Mr. GEORGE ROGERS, at the request of the committee, rose to move the adoption of certain resolutions which had been considered worthy their attention, whereon to found the bases of motions to be proposed to a general meeting of the Union. To the propriety of calling this meeting on the 3d of May the committee assented, and to the spirit or tenor of the resolutions proposed for its adoption. It is high time that the nation should awake from its apathetic lethargy, and should exert itself to prevent the Reform Bill, now nearly anchored within the haven of their hopes, from being wrecked, or drifted again to the ocean of difficulty or despair. He certainly was one of those who had placed an entire reliance on the skill and sincerity of their pilot, and he had seen no reason to doubt his integrity, or to repent a misplaced confidence. Yet, though he had every respect for my Lord Grey, he was not so sanguine in the exertions of those who had tendered him their support; many of whom too much resembled wolves in sheep's clothing; or as suppliant tigers ready to pounce upon their prey. There was very little doubt that the knot of pseudo-reformers, who have lukewarmly given their support for the second reading of the bill, will seize every advantage or grappling with its contents, will exert all their influence in endeavouring to smother their reluctantly-adopted child, will strain every nerve to render its principles less democratic, and therefore less useful and less acceptable. At the last meeting of the council he had made some observations on what had fallen from my Lord Grey, in his reply on the second reading of the bill; and as those observations had been the subject of many adverse remarks in the daily papers since, he had procured the best edition of his speech, in order to set himself and his lordship right in the opinion of the people. "Although (says his lordship) I think fifty-six boroughs ought to be disfranchised—although I should be very sorry to see a less number disfranchised—and although I think the ten-pound franchise is not too great an extension of the qualification, still these provisions are no part of the principles of the bill." So says his lordship; and if he is correct, then have the people been misled. But his lordship continues, "And these provisions may be altered in perfect consistency with its principles. That is, the principles—for its provisions are here its principles—may be altered in consistency with its principles." "But (resumes his lordship) it is said that I will not consent to any alteration. To this assertion I can only repeat the answer I made to a similar one last October,—it does not depend on me, but on your lordships. When the bill goes into committee, I shall certainly feel it to be my duty to resist any alterations which I now think inconsistent with the main object which this bill proposes to carry into effect. But if it can be shown that any injustice has inadvertently crept into any one of the schedules; if it can be shown that any qualification not so small as 10*l.* would be less open to fraud and abuse, I will not resist the correction of such circumstances." Now, what does my Lord Grey mean by injustice inadvertently having crept into the bill? An injustice, inadvertently, after all the combatings and canvassings, the ransackings and researches, the carping and hypercritical opposition of one party, and the too easy credulity or concession of another? And after the nights of toil and trouble which the House of Commons have spent over the subject in all its multifarious details, are now the provisions of the bill—nay, its very principles to be considered the subject of unjust inadvertence? Is not the ten-pound franchise one of the most important, not merely of the particulars of the bill, but actually of its principles; and shall it now be said that this standard was lightly adopted, or that it has inadvertently crept into the bill? And does it show a consistency in my Lord Grey, now to endeavour to escape from one of the most prominent features of the bill, by terming it not a principle, but an expedient provision that has crept inadvertently into the bill? If so, the pledges he has given cannot be redeemed, and the confidence of the people has been misplaced. It therefore becomes doubly essential to ascertain minutely what his principles are, and to watch vigilantly and narrowly the progress of the bill. The people must be aroused from their apparent apathy; and must be made not only to think, but to resolve for themselves. The lukewarmness of their friends should stimulate to increased exertion; and their attention should never be abstracted from the subject now postponed, partly, if not principally, to try the pulse of popular feeling on the great question. Other subjects have of late been introduced, such as the West India question, to divert the attention of the people from the prominent topic, just as a tub is thrown out to a whale intended to be harpooned. Now or never, should be the watchword of the people. He then moved the resolutions, an abstract of which was given in the *Chronicle* of Thursday last, which were then referred to the consideration of the committee, and were now adopted by that committee for the consideration of the council, preparatory to that of a general meeting.

They principally relate to the halcyon of public feeling produced by the operation of the Political Unions, in consequence of the confidence placed in his Majesty's Ministers, in their endeavours, though slow, to carry into effect the Reform Bill; but that, should that confidence have been misplaced, or the Bill be any way mutilated or rejected, the allayed feeling will be enraged into a hurricane of popular violence detrimental to society, and injurious particularly to the privileged orders. In order to arrest this storm, the people should exert their every energy to have the Bill passed unmutilated and soon.

Mr. THOMAS MURPHY could not attribute any feeling in him of confidence towards Lord Grey, much less towards any other of his Majesty's Ministers. In contrasting the conduct of Lord Grey on the present bill, he thought much apathy had been displayed, and much less energy than on the former occasion in October last. The advocacy on the present occasion was slight, hesitating, and dubious. The postponement of the bill is another argument for confidence. But if no confidence in the courage or sincerity of Lord Grey can be placed, can any be in the integrity of my Lord Melbourne by any who remember his gagging bills of 1816 and 1819, and his conduct as Irish secretary? He then adverted, at great length, to the particulars of the bill, which he said had been so determinedly advocated in the House of Commons by the members of the cabinet, and hoped it should meet the same treatment in the committee of the Lords. He said that though Lord Grey might, of himself, be willing, nay, anxious, to carry the measure, those with whom he was surrounded served as drawbacks on his powers, therefore on the confidence of the people. He is the acknowledged and avowed associate of those who have proved themselves to be the enemies of the people; some who are recreants in politics, and others known corruptionists; to one he extends the hand of fellowship, to another he succumbs in smiles of blandishment. The 10*l.* franchise he considered one of the most material parts of the bill, since it was better not to attempt universal suffrage in the present state of legislation and society, and that they could not get suffrage by scot and lot; let us, therefore, have the 10*l.* by hook or crook. He animadverted very severely on some of the nobility, particularly those of the cabinet; and on the conduct of Earl Grey in pensioning his family on the public.

Mr. W. D. SAUL, F.G.S., thought that the only effective and certain remedy for the people, in case of the failure of the bill, was in the non-payment of taxes. This would rouse the legislature to a sense of its injustice and danger. He felt confident of the result of such a procedure.

Mr. WALLIS entered into an elaborate and minute defence of Lord Grey, and said that the interpretation put upon his speech was not warranted by the context; nor could any abandonment of principle be proved by a concession of particular details. And it might reasonably be thought, that though his lordship had said he was disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, or a modification of parts, if any injustice had inadvertently crept in unnoticed in any former discussions; yet he had guarded himself against any misrepresentation by what he added, that he was not only fully prepared, but resolutely determined to resist any alteration of principle, though he might submit to an amendment of a part. The main principles of the bill—the enfranchisement and disfranchisement of a particular number of boroughs or places, and the terms of franchise, were not abandoned by his lordship; and a concession of *minutiæ* could not be considered an abandonment of principle or pledge. So, too, he defended strenuously the conduct of Lord Grey with regard to the creation of peers—the mode and time of which, or the propriety or necessity of which, should be left to his lordship, who was or ought to be aware of how far he might with safety depend on the means at present in his power. He did not like a creation of peers for any express purpose; it would establish a dangerous precedent. Lord Grey had a moral and political fame to maintain; and he saw nothing to warrant the suspicion that he would wantonly risk that reputation for which he has been contending during a long career of political turbulence. He had proved his steadfastness and integrity formerly, and he has maintained them entire.

Mr. DANIEL WAKEFIELD also defended the character of Lord Grey, both with regard to his protection of the bill, and of his own relations. He thought the private character of any public man should not be too closely scrutinized. Success would hold his Lordship up to the admiration of the present, and the veneration of future ages; and treachery or neglect would procure execrations and contempt.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT THOMAS, in warmly advocating the part of Lord Grey, said it would be bad for his lordship to rely on the people as his sheet anchor; for they were as a vane, that would turn round by every wind, and would desert him at his utmost need. (Cries of "No, no.") The people wish the bill to be carried; but they are lukewarm in their exertions, and would not support determined measures in case of failure. (Cries of "false!") I may be told it is false, but I am persuaded that it is too true. I for one will not pay any taxes should the bill be abandoned or rejected. (Cheers.) But I fear I shall be a sufferer alone, and that the great mass of the nation will look on with fear or a pathetic indifference. (Loud cries of "No, no!"—"false, false!"—we are all determined to do the same!") I am afraid we will be allowed to work out our own independence; and that while the lower classes of the people might anxiously put into practice what they seem determined on, the upper and middle classes would look on unconcerned but for their own share of the spoil. I fear that the

words of Blackwood will be verified—that there will be disturbance, some bloodshed, and that things will be permitted to return to their former course. (Loud cries of "No, never!") He hoped not; but that the nation would work soon, and securely, and peaceably, its own independence.

Mr. GALLOWAY neither despaired of nor doubted the determination, not merely of the lower classes of society, but of the middle and many of the upper. And as for Mr. Thomas thinking he would be alone in the non-payment of taxes, he begged leave to assure him, not only were others present who would be in the same situation, but that thousands in the city were firmly resolved on the subject. He for one was similarly determined; but he could but think that the resolution would be rendered unnecessary, as he had every hope that the measure would be carried. He knew Lord Grey to be both sincere and determined; but the people must make allowance for his age and his opponents; he cannot act now at seventy with that energy he displayed at forty. A calculation had been made, proving that a majority of six for the second reading had been foreseen; yet even had there been but one it might have been more pleasing, for then his ordship might have resorted to the powers with which he had been entrusted. But his forbearance of the peer creation before the second reading of the bill was wise and prudent; for of those who supported him in the former, thirty would have opposed the present; and of those who now supported, thirty would have been firmly against; thus he would have lost sixty of his present supporters. But he knew that the first motion in the committee would be, that fifty-six be the number of boroughs in Schedule A; and that, if this should be rejected, then the peers will be made. But, though confidence might be placed, it should not be without an exertion on the part of the people.

Messrs. Redman and Detrosier followed on the same side, and Major Revell spoke energetically concerning stopping the supplies, rather than the non-payment of taxes. This was illegal—that constitutional; and should be recommended to, nay, forced upon the House of Commons.

Professor ARNOTT also vindicated the expressions of Lord Grey, who could not have said otherwise but as a dictator or the satellite of a despot; as one who came to decide, not to deliberate.

Mr. J. H. POWELL had been in the House of Lords, and thought that the insinuated threat of the creation of peers by Lord Grey, if found requisite, was a sufficient proof of courage and sincerity, and had been so met with general cheering by the advocates of the measure, and as a warning by its opponents.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted; and it was ordered that the committee prepare an address to his Majesty to exert his prerogative, if necessary, to secure the Bill, and also a petition to the House of Peers for the consideration of a General Meeting to be held on Thursday, the 30th of May.

The council adjourned at a late hour.

RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLVED,—That the National Political Union was established at a time of unexampled excitement of political feeling and of great diversity of opinion respecting the Reform Bill, which had been then rejected by the Peers.

That, relying on *the pledge of Lord Grey* that he *would* be no party to provisions *less efficient* than those contained in the bill tendered on his behalf by Lord John Russell, this Union has steadily given its support to the bill *as a whole*, endeavoured to persuade, and to a considerable extent has succeeded in persuading, the ardent but honest advocates of more extended suffrage to forego their opposition, and unite in support of the Reform Bill which his Majesty's Ministers had proposed.

That, knowing the difficulty with which this sacrifice of honest determination has been obtained, this Council learn with dread the probability that important provisions of the bill will be either mutilated or rejected, to which should Earl Grey consent, *the bond of agreement* between the people and the noble Earl will be broken and set at nought.

That, in this new extremity, this Council warn the aristocracy generally, and his Majesty's Ministers more particularly, that a mutilation of those provisions of the bill which are important to the industrious classes, will produce consequences equally fatal with those which could not fail to follow a rejection of the bill.

That the storm of political feeling which has in great measure been allayed by the various unions, will rage with violence; and that there is reason to expect that a stop to the payment of taxation and other obligations in society will take place, the consequences of which, it may safely be predicted, would be the utter extinction of the privileged orders.

That, to avert the calamities which would be occasioned by so sudden a change, and to promote a peaceful effectual reform while there is yet time, it is necessary that every man in the country should use all the means in his power in every way he can to promote the passing of the Reform Bill through the Lords' House in the state it has been sent from the Commons.

That the Business Committee be instructed to prepare an address to his Majesty, praying him to adopt all constitutional means in his power to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill unmutilated, and also a petition to the House of Lords, founded upon the foregoing resolutions, for the consideration of a general meeting of the members of the Union, and that the said meeting be held on Thursday, May 3d, at eight o'clock in the evening.

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From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

ALLMAND, R., Wem, Shropshire, victualler.
ATKINSON, J., Cockermouth, Cumberland, slate-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

REYNOLDS, J., Royston, Herts, carrier.

BANKRUPTS.

BORSLEY, J., Lower Grosvenor-place, boot and shoe-maker.
CHALKEN, W., Warwick-square, Kensington, boarding-house-keeper.
CROOKS, G., Anglesea-pl., Limehouse, baker.
CADBURY, W.B., Leadenhall-street, woollen-draper.
GREENACRE, J., Brompton, builder.
HALL, C. jun., Walsall, Staffordshire, brush-maker.
JAMESON, J., Muscovy-ct., wine-merchant.
RAMSAY, T.G., and S. Lancaster, Mark-lane, wine-merchants.
BOOKER, F., Chorlton-row and Manchester, yarn-dealer.
TALBOT, W., Cambridge, watch-maker.
VIZE, J., Crawford-street, Bryanstone-square, stationer.
WILLIAMS, R., Tottenham-ct.-road, chemist.
WALKER, T., Burslem, Staffordshire, iron-founder.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

HARVIE, T., Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, APRIL 24, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

BONSFIELD, S., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, saddler.

BANKRUPTS.

BRICE, E., Bristol, cabinet-maker.
CABORN, G., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, inn-keeper.
DAVIES, E., Sheffield, draper.
GARDNER, J.L., Little Tower-st., wine-mer.
GILL, W., Upper-st., Islington, linen-draper.
KAYE, W., Chorlton-row, Lancashire, joiner.
LEWIS, R., Portsea, timber-merchant.
M'INTIRE, J., and R. Welsh, Cartlett, Pembrokeshire, coach-builders.
THOMAS, W., Park-lane, Piccadilly, livery-stable-keeper.
TOWNSEND, W., Brighthelmstone, Sussex, brewer.
WELLS, T.G., New Park-street, Southwark, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MACKENZIE, T., Dundonnell, Edinburgh underwriter.
MORRISON and Ewing, Glasgow, cotton-yarn-agents.
RATHBONE, S. and R., Portobello, potters.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 23.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of wheat from all quarters, and English, Irish, and foreign flour collectively, as also English and Scotch malt, moderately good; of Irish oats, great; of English and Scotch oats, English and foreign barley, as well as beans, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

In this day's market, which, for that of a holiday Monday, was tolerably well attended both by London and country buyers, the trade was, owing to advanced prices having been for most articles stiffly demanded, with wheat, oats, beans, peas, rye, seeds, malt, and flour, very dull; with barley, on account of the shortness of its supply, somewhat brisk, at fully last Monday's quotations.

Wheat	53s. to 67s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
——— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	35s. to 39s.
——— Boilers	38s. to 44s.
——— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 29s.
——— Poland	24s. to 27s.
——— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 84s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	80s. to 86s.
——— Cork	80s. to 84s.
——— Limerick	80s. to 84s.
——— Waterford	70s. to 78s.
——— Dublin	74s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double	56s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
——— Edam	49s. to 54s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	56s. to 58s.

SMITHFIELD.—April 23.

This day's supply, though short for that of the generality of Monday, was, for that of a holiday Monday, moderately good; and the trade, throughout, exceedingly dull; with beef and veal at a depression of about 2d., lamb full 6d. per stone; with mutton and pork at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,224; *sheep and lambs*, 15,550; *calves*, 8; *pigs*, 120.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 27.

The arrivals this week are large, and the prices 1s. lower than on Monday.

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THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	—	85⅜	84⅜	84⅜	84⅜	85¼

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Conducted by WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"If any would not work neither should he eat."—St. Paul to the Thessalonians, chap. iii. ver. 10.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER,

On the Designs of the Ministers with regard to the Reform Bill.

Kensington, 2d May, 1832.

My Friends,

How do we stand *now?* What ought we *now to think* of the designs of the Ministers with regard to the Reform Bill? In the *Register* of the 21st of April, I very distinctly declared my opinions as to those designs. I said that their words, and more especially their acts, convinced me that Grey meant to pass the bill through both Houses, *with a raising of the* 10*l. qualification*, and to *keep his place*; and that the House of Commons would support him in so doing; and further, that the other faction wished him to keep his place upon this condition seeing that the main body of the people would be *worse off, less represented*, under a bill like this, than they are at present. I said, that if Grey suffered the bill to be lost, or to be thus mutilated without making peers; if he then kept his place; or if he even quitted his place without distinctly telling the country, that the King would not let him make the peers; I said, that if Grey did either of these, he would merit the execration of the country; and I further said, *that I had my fears that he would.* I gave the reasons on which these fears were founded; and I particularly dwelt on a passage in his speech in the House of Lords on the 13th of April, being his *reply* in the debate on the *second reading of the bill.*

This article of mine was the *alarm-bell* to the country, which began to be in motion, in actual motion, *on the 18th of April.* But, in spite of all the suspicion thus excited, a whole week passed without any one of the ministerial papers offering us a single word, tending to remove the suspicions. The main ground of the suspicions was, a passage in the reply of Grey; and not one of his papers attempted to question the correctness of the report of the passage: nor did any one of them deny, or attempt to deny, the construction which I had put upon that passage; and this construction fairly was, *that the* 10*l. clause formed no part of the principle of the bill:* that that clause *might be altered*, and *the principle of the bill remain unviolated*; that he himself should strongly oppose the altering of it, *but that the decision of the matter must be left to the Lords.* Now, if words in the mouth of a minister have the same meaning that they have in the mouths of other men, these words mean, that he would take and carry on the bill *thus altered:* and this I believe to have been his meaning and an expression of his design.

Seeing such a design imputed to him, would not his newspapers have denied the justice of the imputation, if they had *dared* to deny it? Aye, and *if he had not entertained the design*, would not he have taken care, that his newspapers should deny the justice of the imputation? Yet, it was not done by any of them; *nor has he done it up to this hour.* His slaves may say, "What were "*your* imputations? Why need he care "for *your* imputations? Perhaps he "never even *heard* of them." Very true, very likely; and perhaps his newspaper hacks never heard of *my* imputa-

tions. This is likely enough; but surely, they must all have heard of the imputations of the same sort, to exactly the same effect, and put forth at the same time, and that proceeded from the COUNCIL OF THE LONDON POLITICAL UNION, who met at, and who issued their declarations from the CROWN-AND-ANCHOR TAVERN IN THE STRAND! He and all his hacks, all his sword-police eulogists, had heard of these declarations even before the 21st of April: and yet, not a word did any of them say, nor has any of them said to this hour in the way of *defence of design* or of *explanation of meaning*. Dr. BLACK states fairly enough what *others say*. He *reports* all the declarations about the 10*l.* clause made at the several meetings; but as for himself, he says nothing about it; and particularly, he says not a word in explanation of the ominous words of sword-police GREY, special-commission GREY, Irish-tithe-coercion GREY. The Doctor is like the Lord Mayor of London, spoken of (in the play of Richard III.) by BUCKINGHAM, who had been to the Guildhall to proclaim the king: "And what said the Lord Mayor? Oh! "he only repeated what I had said: "'*the Duke* hath told us this: thus "'hath *his Grace* declared': but *the "devil a word from himself!*" Thus has it been with Doctor Black: he pretty faithfully describes the suspicions and the indignation of *others*; but "the devil a word *from himself*." Now, as I said before, *I know* that Dr. BLACK sees VAUX BROUGHAM and ALTHORP; *I know the fact*; and what conclusion am I to draw, then, from this abstinence of the Doctor? On most occasions he is by no means shy in the offering of his opinions; and is it not clear, that he is now restrained by his conviction, that GREY not only uttered the words imputed to him, but that he entertains the designs which I have said that I suspect him to entertain? This is clear *to me*, and I can see that it is equally clear to the several meetings throughout the country, in spite of all the efforts of the London press to keep them in darkness.

I now come to the affair of Mr. JOSEPH PARKES and the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL. My circular upon this subject was inserted in my last *Register*. Mr. PARKES has answered at last; his answer came too late for insertion in the *Register* last week; but, though the answer was not addressed *to me*, I, supposing that it would appear in the *Morning Chronicle*, found room to refer my readers to it. I will now, my friends, lay it before you; and in it you will see a proof of *my having been right all the way through*; even down to the most minute details. A *long* answer to a *short* question seldom looks well; but let us hear this answer, which, you will please to observe, is of great importance, when our object is to come at the *designs* of those Ministers with whom Mr. PARKES has intercourse.

"*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle,*

"Sir,—1. I have seen a *printed circular* addressed by Mr. Cobbett to the "people of Birmingham and to the reformers in all the great towns, inserted also in the *Morning Chronicle of yesterday*, which requires from me a public *and immediate reply*.

"2. Mr. Cobbett, on the authority of some person, imputes to me a conversation with a stranger in some bookseller's shop in London, on Wednesday the 18th ult., in substance as follows:—

"1. That I would accept any compromise of the Reform Bills.

"2. That I would consent to (or not oppose) the raising of the 10*l.* town qualification.

"3. That the ardour of the people was abated, or that they would not 'keep together.'

"An inference by Mr. Cobbett, that, assuming the report of this conversation to be correct, the Ministry intend to raise the ten-pound franchise.

3. That a conversation on the subject of the Reform Bill may have been held by me with a stranger, Mr. Cobbett's informant, is probable; but I have no recollection of such person or conversation, and I assert that the report of it sent to Mr. Cobbett is in-

"correct, and either that his informant "misunderstood any remarks of mine, "or that they were so brief that my "sentiments on the subject-matter were "not fully expressed.

"4. My opinions on the Reform Bill "have been so frequently and publicly "stated, and to the present moment are "so fully and unreservedly known to "most of the leading reformers of Lon-"don and the country, that I need not "detail them on this occasion. I sup-"ported the measure *as a whole*, al-"though I always did and do consider "it too aristocratic in the prepondemat-"ing interest given to the landowners, "in the division of counties and in the "franchise.

"5. On the means of carrying the "Reform Bills, I have on every public "opportunity (and recently as the au-"thor of the pamphlet on the *Preroga-"tive of Creating Peers*) expressed my "personal opinion that the essentials "could only be secured by an addition "to the present peerage. Common "sense now tells me that if no new "peers are made, the essentials of the "English Reform Bill will be modified "and injured; but I have no knowledge "of the power or the intentions of the "Ministry with respect to new peers, "and I know of no intention of the "Ministry to alter the Reform Bill now "before the Lords. I hope and be-"lieve that, if necessary, peers will be "made; but if any alteration of the bill "is meditated or passed by any party, I "shall independently act, under the cir-"cumstances, in such a way as I judge "the interest of the people requires.

"6. On the subject of the *ten-pound* "franchise, I have consistently expressed "my opinions. In public and in private, "and wherever I had any political in-"fluence, I have advocated the ancient "constitutional franchise of *scot and "lot* as an electoral qualification more "equal and extended, and as preferable "to the ten-pound *rent standard*. The "existing scot-and-lot franchises not "comprised in schedules A and B, are "the best parts of the present repre-"sentative system, and ought to have "been wholly preserved, especially "when the rights of freemen are main-"tained. The scot-and-lot electors, who "made the greatest exertions are sacri-"fices at the late general election, and I "think unjustly treated, and I trust that "their rights will yet be respected. If "*that* franchise had been continued, I "should have considered that any new "franchise for new places was a gain; "but I would give no consent to any "alteration of the present franchise of "the English Reform Bill which does "not continue or increase the popular "influence, and further reduce the usurp-"ation of the boroughmongers.

"7. On the state of public opinion, "I maintain that all classes of reformers "throughout the kingdom are *more* in-"tensely interested and determined on "the success of the full measure of re-"form than at any previous period "of the discussion; but I assert that "the lapse of *thirteen months*, and "the continued delay of the means "(through new peers) of attaining the "end, have lessened the confidence of "the people in the Ministry. They "will not renew their *petitions* to the "legislature; there is a growing public "feeling to demand and enforce a "larger measure of reform; and I do "fear that the reformers will not again "unanimously act with the moderation "which has hitherto distinguished this "memorable and peaceful contest: they "will combine and unite to demand a "larger—perhaps too large a—reform!

"8. I must, notwithstanding, state "my individual opinion, that Lord Grey "and the Ministry have hitherto for-"feited no claim to public confidence "by any reduction of the measure; and "although I still advocate more strongly "a creation of new peers, I am not in-"sensible to the difficulties of the Ca-"binet in the original agreement of the "bill, and in the practicable means of "ensuring success.

"9. I hope that the people will "'keep together,' and that the *reform-"ers will not be divided* by differences "among themselves.—I am, Sir, &c.,

"JOSEPH PARKES.

"*Birmingham, April 25th*, 1832."

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Here are a *dissertation* and a *profession of faith*, in answer to one short question, lying in half a line. First of all, however, look at *the date*, which is from Birmingham, the 25th of April, though Mr. Parkes *must* have seen my circular on the 22d, unless by such a wonderful accident as we have no right to suppose took place. And *why* did he not answer sooner? In paragraph 1. (I have numbered the paragraphs) he says, That the thing requires "an *immediate* reply." Why, then, did he not reply *immediately*? Why did he suffer *three days* to pass before he replied? As I stated last week, I sent on Saturday evening, the 21st of April, my circular to Dr. BLACK, to Mr. PLACE, and to Lord HOLLAND. If Mr. PARKES had been in town, will any one believe that he did not see the circular *on Sunday*? If he were at Birmingham, there it was received by Mr. THOMAS ATWOOD, Mr. CHARLES JONES, and Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, on the SUNDAY. Will any man of sincerity affect to believe, that neither of these gentlemen showed the circular to Mr. PARKES *on that Sunday*? Can any one believe, that either of these gentlemen would have been guilty of an act like this; which, considering their connexion with Mr. Parkes, would have amounted very nearly to an act of treachery? No: nobody will believe in either of these two things. Every one will, and must believe, that Mr. PARKES saw the circular on *the Monday*, at the *very latest*; and, therefore, every one will ask *why* it was that that reply, which he himself says the charge required to be *immediate*, was put off until *the Wednesday*? He did not, he may say, see the circular in the *Morning Chronicle* till the Wednesday; and that, until he saw it *there*, he did not deem it worthy of his notice. Very true, I did not think of that; and now I do think of it, I am quite willing to give Mr. PARKES all the benefit of the discovery.

To be frank, however, and not to suffer *my* readers to be deceived, let me observe, that this delay is not to be accounted for, except from *the difficulty of giving it in a manner at all satisfactory*. He had to *consider* and to *consult* before he gave his reply; and my real belief is, that it was not given without consulting with his *ministerial friends*. That is *my opinion*, and I think that the reply itself tends to confirm this opinion: for what did we want from Mr. PARKES? My correspondent had informed me, that he had heard Mr. PARKES say, that he "*did not know*," that it was better to lose the bill altogether, than have the bill without the 10*l.* clause; that "*we ought to take as* "*much as we could get*, for it was *im*-"*possible to get the whole*;" that my correspondent did "*not* know *how dif*-"*ficult it was to keep the people to*-"*gether*;" that "*he knew how difficult* "*it was, for that he had a great deal* "*to do with them*." Now what we wanted from Mr. PARKES was a *denial* of this, or an *avowal* of it; and we have neither. We have an *argument* in answer to *a charge*, and whenever we have this, we fairly infer that there is an inability to answer satisfactorily, and especially, as is the case here, when the argument is a reply to propositions not at all included in the charge; for look at the *four propositions* of Mr. PARKES, and you will at once see, that they contain allegations not made by me, nor by my correspondent.

It was not Mr. Parkes's *general conduct* that we wanted an account of; it was not his *political principles* that we were questioning; it was not his opinions about this bill itself that were at all called in question by us; we were alarmed at his words *about the 10l. clause*, which words implied, *that he would take the bill without that*; this was what alarmed us, and especially me, who had been well informed that he frequently saw Lord HOLLAND, VAUX BROUGHAM, and others of the Ministry, and who, without imputing any *bad motive* to Mr. PARKES, was pretty sure that he spoke that which the Ministry wished him to speak upon the subject. *This was the point*, and upon this point Mr. Parkes *is not explicit* even *now*, and we have from him not a word to induce us to believe, that he would *reprobate* the perfidy, the matchless per-

fidy, of passing the bill and *remaining in place*, with the working people wholly shut out by a raising of the qualification; an act which would, in all time to come, give us *another* and a *shorter* name to use instead of that of JUDAS ISCARIOT!

I should have liked Mr. Parkes's eighth paragraph much better if he had given us his opinion as to the *intentions* of the Ministers, instead of his opinion of their conduct *as to the bill as it now stands*. When a man *defends* another against a thing that he *is not charged with*, and is *silent* upon that *which he is charged with*, we infer that he has no defence to offer on the latter score. When you accuse a servant of *laziness*, and he says that he is *no thief*, your answer is, or mine at least is, "I am glad of *that* at any rate." Mr. Parkes (quite unnecessarily, as far as I can discover) states his "individual opinion that Lord GREY and the Ministry have *hitherto* forfeited no claim to public confidence, *by any* REDUCTION *of the measure*." Who says they have? Nobody says it. But millions say, and I at any rate say, that Lord GREY has forfeited his claim to public confidence *by his speech of the 13th April*; and about this all-important speech Mr. Parkes says not a single word, nor to it makes the slightest allusion.

In his ninth paragraph Mr. Parkes expresses a hope that the *reformers will not be divided*; a very good hope, to be sure, but hardly in such a case worth expressing, for he may be well assured that "*the reformers*" will not be divided, and that as to the falling off of those who are, in fact, *not reformers*, it will be, in the end, of no earthly consequence. One way of preventing all danger of a division amongst the reformers themselves is, to prevent them from being *deceived*, to prevent any of them from being lulled into torpidity through the instrumentality of the tools of the Ministry; and though I accuse them not of the intentions and impute to them *no bad motive* whatsoever, I must say, and I will say, that my sincere belief is, that the COUNCIL OF BIRMINGHAM have but *very narrowly escaped incurring the imputation of having been thus instrumental upon the present occasion*.

For how stand *the facts*? The second reading of the bill was carried by those who expressed their determination *greatly to alter it in committee*, and especially *with regard to the* 10*l. clause*; and Lord GREY said, that it was *for the House* to decide upon that matter, and that *the clause might be altered without a violation of the principle of the bill*. The BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL heard and saw all this as well as the rest of us. They saw the LONDON COUNCIL meet, and heard them express their alarm at the words of Lord GREY, and at the menaced alteration. They saw the same take place at Leeds, at Newcastle, at Morpeth, at Glasgow. And yet they were silent! They have, indeed, NOW *spoken*; but *when*, and, after all, *how*? Let us see.

"At a special meeting of the council "of the Birmingham Political Union, "held at the rooms of the Union, in "Great Charles-street, this 27th day of "April, 1832,

THOMAS ATTWOOD, Esq. in the Chair;

"This council considered that the "enemies of reform, and of the peace "and order of society, have held out the "most unfounded representations re-"specting a re-action, an indifference, "and an apathy in the public mind, "in the good cause of Parliamentary "Reform; and considering that a grand "exhibition of public feeling and deter-"mination is thereby rendered abso-"lutely necessary, in order to contra-"dict and refute such false and un-"founded representations, and in order "to assist in enabling our most excel-"lent King *and his patriotic Ministers* "to accomplish their great designs for "the happiness of the people, and to "carry the great measure of reform into "a law, uninjured, and unimpaired in "all its great parts and provisions,

"*It was resolved unanimously*:—

1. "That a General Meeting of the "inhabitants of Birmingham, and its "neighbourhood, be held in the open "space at the foot of Newhall-hill, on "Monday, the 7th day of May next, at

"eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for "the purpose of petitioning the House "of Lords to complete the great work "of national liberty and reconciliation, "and of agreeing to such further reso-"lutions as the council may recom-"mend, and the meeting may approve, "The chair to be taken at twelve o'clock "precisely.

2. "That this council having here-"tofore declared that they will cease to "labour in the great work of exciting "the public mind to political objects, "when the bill of reform shall have "become law, and when the prosperity "of the lower and middle classes of the "people shall have been restored, *do "now think it their duty* to recommend "to their fellow countrymen to declare, "most positively, that if the Bill of Re-"form should be rejected, or in any "*way injured or impaired in its great "parts and provisions*, they will never "cease to use every possible local exer-"tion in their power, to obtain a *more "complete and effectual restoration of "the rights of the people, than the Bill "of Reform is calculated to give.*

3. "That this council, feeling deeply "grateful to the inhabitants of the town "and neighbourhood of Birmingham, "for their uniform, peaceful, legal, and "loyal conduct upon so many occasions, "do earnestly urge and enjoin all per-"sons attending the meeting, as they "value the great objects which they "meet to promote, strictly to respect "the law, since nothing can tend so "much to endanger the cause of re-"form, and the happiness of the people, "as any disorderly conduct or illegal "act upon this occasion of unprecedent-"ed importance.

4. "That the council do walk, in "procession, from the rooms of the "Union, in Great Charles-street, to "Newhall-hill, at eleven o'clock in the "morning of the intended meeting: "and that the members and friends of "the Union be invited to join in the "procession.

"Thomas Attwood, Chairman.

"By order of the Council,

"Benjamin Hadley, Hon. Secretary."

Very good: *better*, however, *if the 10l. clause had been specified*, and if the *ground of alarm* had been plainly stated, as at *Newcastle* and at *Morpeth*; yes, better to have *hinted*, at least, suspicion at Grey's language, than have, at such a moment, *buttered* him with "*patriotic.*" However, very good: but *when*? The London Union issued their proclamation on the 18th, Leeds and Glasgow, and Morpeth, the same; *Edinburgh had met*; Dudley had nearly stunned the council with its noise. And, *on the 27th*, nine days after we have the news from Glasgow, the above takes place; but, not until *five days after the council got my circular* about Mr. Parkes! The council *now* thinks it its *duty* to do this. Why not think so *before*? Why stop to be *among the last*? There was *no reason* on the 27th for doing this, which reason did not exist on the 14*th*. No new act had been done by anybody in power: the Parliament was not sitting; nothing new had transpired: and again, I ask, then, what made the council speak *now*, after having set an example of silence so profound for so many days?

The truth I believe to be this: that the sword-police Ministry, the *liberal* Irish-tithe-coercion Ministry, had formed the scheme of *altering the ten-pound* clause, and chiefly with a view of keeping me out of Parliament, and all others who were likely to act on the *fourteen Manchester propositions*. I sincerely believe this; and though the scheme was foolish, though the alteration of the ten-pound clause would not have effected their object, and, if they pursue the scheme, will not; still, I believe that they thought it would; and I believe that they had resolved on pursuing this scheme, and that Grey's speech was *a feeler*, and the *long adjournment* intended to give *time* for preparation, for *working with the press*, and also for *working with the* unions. Whether they *sent for* Mr. Parkes or not, is of little consequence; but, if compelled to bet, I would bet that they did. At any rate, I believe that they lost no time in prevailing upon him *to urge the* Council *to be quiet*, and to

reconcile them, if possible, to the contemplated alterations in the bill. I believe that the COUNCIL *was kept quiet by these means, and by no other.*

Now, I do not impute corrupt or bad motives to anybody belonging to this COUNCIL. I do not impute any bad motive to Mr. PARKES himself. I do not ascribe the conduct of either of them even to folly or to weakness. Few men are aware, or can be aware, of *the difficulty of avoiding to be misled* by men so full of low craft, and, at the same time, clothed with such tremendous power! When Mr. O'CONNELL came to England in 1825, and did me the honour to call on me, the very first words I said to him were these: "Well, Mr. O'CONNELL, let me beseech you to bear in "mind that you are *come into hell*, and "that you have, of course, *devils to deal* "*with.*" Poor Mr. Parkes should have come from Birmingham with this persuasion well implanted in his mind; and then his dispatches to his court would have been very different from what they were, and the result would have been very different. Well, but Mr. Parkes has ten times the *sense* of any of these people; he must know that they are a parcel of fools; he must laugh at them in his own mind; he must despise them from the bottom of his heart. Yes, yes; and may, nevertheless, be made their instrument! Why, he knows as well as I do, that a great part of the fellows in office cannot put a two-membered sentence upon paper correctly, if it were for the salvation of their souls. Aye, he knows this well; and yet he deems it *an honour* to be permitted to be familiar with them! The whole Ministry, with the exception of about three, have not as much talent as either of the members of the Birmingham Council: and yet these men suffer themselves to be swayed by them! Astonishing! But such is the effect of a people having been born and brought up in the *habit* of reverencing *titles* and *offices;* and if the reform did not root out this vice, this source of general degradation, it would be of no use at all.

It is difficult, however, to find, in a case like this, an apology for such a man as THOMAS ATTWOOD. What! a man possessed of his great abilities, of his great knowledge of the nation's affairs, of his great powers of expression both with tongue and pen; a man who has, a hundred times over, proved these fellows, set after set, to be so many bands of conceited and mischievous fools; a man who has seen the creatures *within* (as confessed by themselves) *forty-eight hours of barter*, and *who actually then saved them* from total destruction; a man who has seen this present set just as conceited, as silly and as obstinate as any of their predecessors; a man who must despise and scorn and laugh at them. What! such a man suffer himself to be swayed for one single moment by *advice from them;* suffer himself to be made their instrument in smothering the just indignation of the people! That such men as the POTTERS of MANCHESTER, who crept out of a sort of chandler's shop at Tadcaster in Yorkshire, and who, having become *swells* at the former place by carrying on, on a grand scale, a traffic somewhat resembling that of the *three golden balls;* that such men should think it an honour to receive a nod from anything having a title or an office; that such men, when become the sort of *ex-officio* meeting-callers, should, like the Westminster rump, act, at the instance of the fellows in power, as *torpedoes* on the people, and keep Manchester still, while Leeds, Glasgow, and Paisley, are all in motion; that such men as these, gorged with conceit as well as with money, and who think, perhaps, to become *lords* themselves; that such men should prevent public meetings, when the object is to express alarm at the ominous language of a Whig Minister; that such men should do this is by no means surprising; it is *in them* natural enough; but, in a man like Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, it is both surprising and unnatural; and it cannot fail to be injurious to his country, because it inevitably must lessen the confidence of the people in him, and thereby lessen his power to do that great quantity of public good which his knowledge and his talents

are, in the times that are approaching, so eminently calculated to produce.

However, this will, I warrant, never happen to Mr. ATTWOOD again; and, it will do good, "and *great good too*," by warning others of the danger of coming into personal or literary contact with any of the people belonging to the THING. It ought to be a *warning* to *another* gentleman, who has again made his appearance in a remonstrance with me in behalf of the THING, and whose remonstrance I am now about to insert, as follows:

"*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*

"SIR—As Mr. Cobbett, in his *Register* of yesterday, recommends me "to be quick in my motions, I take the "liberty of again requesting you will "publish the enclosed letter to him in "Wednesday morning's *Chronicle*. In "so doing, you will be the means of "bringing certain *doubting* minds to "the proper use of their senses, and "teaching them, for the future, to place "more confidence in *a good Minister* "than they have lately shown.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
"C. WOLSELEY.

"*Wolseley, Sunday Evening.*"

"To WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.

"Dear Sir,—I hasten to carry into "effect your recommendation—but you "must be contented with *my way* of "doing it,—and if you have any *confidence* in me, you will believe me when "I say, that I HAVE AS GOOD A 'PROOF' "of the determination of Ministers "'*not to fritter away*' any of the "three great principles of *the bill*, "*and the* 10*l. suffrage is one of them by* "*acknowledgment*, now, as I had when "I '*gave you reason to hope*,' as you "express yourself, '*last November*.' "Had my *reason* been founded *only* on "my *former* 'PROOF,' I should not have "addressed you in the way I did through "the *Chronicle*.

"So be thou *satisfied*, aye, be thou *still*,
"For thou wilt *verily* have "*the bill*."

"And remain, yours sincerely,
"C. WOLSELEY.

"*Wolseley, Sunday Evening.*"

Not being a judge of *poetry*, I presume not to offer an opinion as to the quality of this, except comparatively, but I have no difficulty in saying that Sir CHARLES'S *rhyme* is better than his *reason*. For, how stands the matter? I told him that if he would produce me just such proof *now*, relative to the intentions of the Ministers regarding the ten-pound clause, as he produced me relative to their intentions regarding the same matter *late in November last*, I should *again begin to hope*. He tells me that he has "*as good a proof now*," and I believe him. But, of *what* has he the proof now? Why, that the Ministers are determined not to "*fritter away*." I do not like this phrase. Not to fritter away *any of the three GREAT PRINCIPLES of the bill*. O Sir Charles, that will not do! for though you and all of us say that the 10*l.* suffrage is one of the *great principles* of the bill, your "*good* Minister" says that it is *not at all a principle of the bill*, and that the bill may be *altered relative to the ten-pound suffrage, without at all touching the principle of the bill!* In this state of things I really cannot *begin to hope*, except in the sense and pluck of the people; and in them I have never, for one moment, ceased to hope. As to the *goodness* of the Minister being a ground of *confidence*, if to pass a law *authorizing the Privy Council to order at its discretion the levy of sums of money on the people*; if to pass the *Irish-tithe coercion law*; if to arm *thousands of police-men with swords*, and place a military commander at their head, *à la Bourbon*; if to augment the *standing army in time of peace*, so as to make it very nearly equal to the war-numbers; if to refuse to do away with *one single pension or sinecure*; if to prosecute the press *more in eighteen months than it was prosecuted in any seven years after the time of Perceval*; if to . . . . but the deeds are such as I do not think proper to speak of just now, especially as they cannot fail to present themselves to the mind of Sir Charles; if to do these things be, in Sir Charles's opinion, proof that he is a "*good* minister," Sir Charles would really oblige us by giving us a

description of the deeds of what he would deem a *bad* minister; if, indeed, the shorter and better way would not be to tell us, that a *bad* minister is known by his *black colour* and his *cloven foot*. Come, come, SIR CHARLES! It is our *interest* not to be cajoled and duped. Look at the *troops of all sorts drawn round London*; look at the *rows of houses hired and used as barracks*; look at the *swords in the hands of the bands of police*; look at *Charley's common-council voting their freedom to Grey and Althorp JUST AT THIS TIME*; look at the *poor-law commission*, *with* STURGES BOURNE *at the head of it*; look at the *wonderful kindness* between GREY and STRATHFIELDSAY: look at all this, Sir Charles, and then call on me again for "confidence in a *good* minister." However, let GREY pass *the bill without raising the* 10*l*. *suffrage*; or *quit his place, and tell us that the King will not let him make the peers*. Let him do one or the other of these, and then I shall be ready to allow, that, as to this particular matter, he is "a *good* minister;" and if he do neither of these, you, I hope, will allow, that he is *the very worst* that we ever had,—SNAP PERCEVAL himself not excepted.

I shall have plenty of time hereafter to dilate upon the acts of this "*good* minister," who seems destined to give a practical proof of the celebrated saying of one of the popes; "It is quite "surprising how *very little sense* is re-"quired to govern mankind!" His Holiness meaned, of course, that the party governing was to have *the sword* at will, and also the *people's purses* always open to him. Otherwise it requires *great sense* to govern mankind. *Cheap* government requires sense. In short, any fool may govern *slaves*; but to govern *freemen* demands wisdom. However, there will be time enough to talk about this hereafter. I must here insert the *resolutions* and *petition* of the LONDON POLITICAL UNION, passed last night (it is now Friday, 4th May), Mr. HUME in the chair. Mr. HUME acted a good part here: he blamed *the timid* conduct of GREY; he blamed his policy; he expressed a wish that his words might not be understood to convey an idea of *his want of confidence in Grey*; but his words *did convey* that want of confidence. He concluded by calling upon the people *to show their determination to have their rights*; he called on them *to come forward boldly*; and not by any means to be backward in expressing their intentions, for that, as to *threats*, nothing was ever got from the Lords without them. He said, that, as to the 10*l*. clause, the bill was not worth a straw without it; and that, instead of *eight* metropolitan members, there ought to be *thirty-four*. "What!" said he, "let the bill *linger* along thus, "and have *the power to pass it at once by* "*making the peers!*" Aye, aye: there 'tis! *Get over that*, sword-police Minister! Get over *that*, and then you may do; but, till you get over *that*, you are in a poor way, though you do "wear a sword."

The RESOLUTIONS agreed to and the petition to the Lords were as follows:

1. That this Union seizes this opportunity of declaring to the people that although the principles of reform have been recognised by the House of Lords, it has no confidence that that noble House will pass the Reform Bill, unless the opinion of Englishmen be universally and energetically expressed upon the subject.

2. That this Union therefore declares that it will look upon any infringement of the disfranchising, the enfranchising, *or the ten-pound clause*, or of that giving a franchise to the *metropolitan districts*, as an attack upon the principles of reform itself, *and will resist it by every legal means in its power*.

3. That this Union entertains the warmest feelings of gratitude towards the reformers of Scotland and Ireland for their patriotic and sincere co-operation in furthering the cause of reform; and will support them in obtaining the same measure of reform in their representation which the Reform Bill will give to England.

4. That an address be presented to his Majesty, founded on these resolutions; and that Messrs. Fox, PLACE,

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and WAKEFIELD, be appointed to prepare it.

'5. That the following petition be presented to the House of Lords :—

"To the Right Honourable the Lords
"Spiritual and Temporal in Par-
"liament assembled—

"The petition of the undersigned
"persons, who are members of a
"society calling itself the National
"Political Union—

"Showeth—That in the hope 'the
"'bill for amending the representation of
"'the people in England and Wales,'
"now before your Lordships, would
"become a law in the same state in
"which it passed the House of Com-
"mons, your petitioners have en-
"deavoured to persuade, and to a con-
"siderable extent have succeeded in
"persuading, the ardent and honest
"advocates of more extended suffrage
"than is thereby provided, to unite in
"support of that measure as a whole.

"That your petitioners submit to your
"lordships, *that a mutilation of any of*
"*the provisions of the bill which tend*
"*to secure an extension of the elective*
"*franchise*, will produce consequences
"as fatal as those which would as-
"suredly follow the rejection of the
"bill.

"That in either case there is *reason to*
"*expect that a cessation of the payment*
"*of taxes will take place*; that *other*
"*obligations in society will be disregard-*
"*ed*; and that the ultimate conse-
"quence may be the *utter extinction of*
"*the privileged orders.*

"That to prevent these calamities,
"and to promote a peaceful and ef-
"fectual reform, your petitioners pray
"that your lordships will pass the bill
"for amending the representation of
"the people unmutilated and without
"delay."

Yet amidst all this, MANCHESTER, and *all the towns in Lancashire*, are kept *silent*, by means really *so contemptible*, that it is almost a shame to mention them! What! All Lancashire pinned own by the *three golden balls!* Does the reader recollect SWIFT's poem of "DICK and TOM?" For God's sake get it, and stick it up on the walls of Manchester.

"But DICK was *eloquenter*."

For the love of fun, get it, and stick it up. It will put the whole county in a roar of laughter.

I must conclude, but I must just say this: that if *any alteration whatsoever* be made in the bill, to *raise the qualification for voting*, or otherwise *having the effect of lessening the number of persons entitled to vote*, or to *lessen the number of metropolitan members*, I will, to the utmost of my power, whether out of Parliament or in Parliament, endeavour to cause, throughout the whole kingdom, a voting by *universal suffrage*.

WM. COBBETT.

OF THE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE INCOME

OF THE

CHURCH OF SPAIN.

(*Concluded from No. 3, col. 181, vol. 76.*)

25. These donations, and others that could be mentioned, prove that during that time the custom of paying tithes was not generally used in Spain, and that it was introduced by degrees until the 16th century, when it was received by the churches of Spain, although before that epoch there was not a general law to enforce its payment. The Catholic kings were the first who, in 1480, 1501, ordained that tithes should be paid to the church by all their subjects. Alfonso X., Alfonso XI., and John II. decreed, at various times, their payment; but their orders were confined to Seville and Segovia, in whose dioceses this obligation was introduced, in the last city by an old custom, and in Seville by the Holy Conqueror: therefore, these royal decrees caused no innovation in the other provinces.

26. Notwithstanding the law of the Catholic kings, custom was the rule for

deciding who were and who were not subject to pay tithes; as even the princes who had been the means of its promulgation supported many noblemen of Galicia in the possession of the right of receiving them in the towns of their own territories. Don Juan I., when he declared in the Cortes of Guadalagara that the tithes of Guipurcoa, Vireaga, and Alara, did not belong to the bishops of Calahorra and Burgos, founded his decision only upon custom. Charles I., 1548, upon the same ground, prohibited by law any innovation in the custom of receiving them, which law was afterwards extended to the Indies. The same is observed in the other Catholic countries, whose princes have prohibited that any other tithes should be exacted from their subjects than those which were already customary.

27. In the same manner as predial were the personal tithes introduced into Spain. They were known in the kingdom of Arragon in the 11th century, but their payment was not so general in Navarre, as Don Sancho the Eldest made a vow to the monastery of St. Salvador de Legre of the tenth of the spoils that should be taken from the Moors, in the expedition against Tunis. Had the duty of payment been recognised at that time, Don Sancho would not have made such a vow, because the law of the Partidas says that only those actions which man performs of his own free will can be objects for vows.

28. From this doctrine it follows, that in the 12th century, the custom of paying personal tithes was not general in Leon and Castille; for we see that, in the year 1142, the troops commanded by the brave Galician Don Muño Alfonso made a vow to give St. Mary of Toledo the tenth of the spoils which they should take from the combined armies of Cordova and Seville: this they did after gaining the battle.

29. In 1199, Celestine III. declared that all Christians should pay personal tithes, and as all Europe at that time received the law from Rome, it appears that this was the epoch of the introduction of a tax unknown to the Hebrews. Notwithstanding the universality of such a decree, payment was not introduced entirely over the Peninsula; as we find in the 17th law, 20 tit., part I., that there were many towns which did not pay personal tithes in the reign of Alfonso the Wise. The tithe upon industry was not decided, as each gave what he thought proper; therefore, though the council of Peñafiel says that all the faithful ought to pay it, perhaps the custom has not passed the limits of the bishoprics of the prelates then present.

30. This tithe is now unknown with us, and if any conjecture is allowable in a matter of so little historical information, we may say, that it was extinguished at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The council of Salamanca of 1335, informs us that even then personal tithes were paid, but they also complain of the impropriety and covetousness of our progenitors, and of the frauds they committed to avoid payment.

31. Neither in the records of the council of Aranda, 1473, nor in those of after synods, can be found any information respecting personal tithes, although the subject of the predials was agitated, and measures were taken concerning it. Thus it seems that in the intermediate period, personal tithes were abolished, but we positively know that in the sixteenth century, in Spain their payment had long ceased.

32. Our church receives also new tithes. Some pretended that they were exempt from this tax, but as in those matters rule is formed by custom, and this being general, the Spanish rectors received them in their own parishes. A custom which has been approved by our own kings, among whom Charles I., Philip V., and Ferdinand VI., obtained apostolic bulls to receive the tithes, increased in Arragon and Valencia by the waters of the imperial canal and the pool of Alicant.

33. We have already observed that tithes in Spain were originally voluntary offerings for maintaining the worship and the priests, and to succour the unfortunate. When they are once es-

tablished, and the custom of payment authorised, they are legitimate debts and not merely alms, as they were called by Wickliffe, whose error was condemned in the council of Constance in the eighth session. The improper use that some of the clergy may make of them does not exempt the faithful from paying them, for as Alfonso the Wise says, tithes are not paid for the sake the clergy but for the sake of God, who will reward the offerers in this world or in the next. The pious are not excused the payment of tithes on account of the church possessing landed property, because the riches of the creditor do not exempt the debtor from his just debts. Further, there are so many orphans, widows, clergymen and other destitute individuals who are maintained with the patrimony of the church, as we shall see presently, that it will not be found too large for the support of so many claimants. For this reason it was said in the sixth council of Paris, that there was no cause for complaint of excess in the ecclesiastical revenues: there is none if properly distributed, the only thing to be regretted is, the covetousness of some of the administrators, not that the church possesses so much.

34. The complaint of many politicians is groundless, when they suppose that the riches of the church are prejudicial to the state. No civil society can be found without poor, nor government that does not consider one of its principal duties to be the relief of the distress of its subjects. Sensibility teaches man to commiserate the distress of his fellow-man; and as the state requires magistrates for the preservation of civil order, so it should have ministers to succour the poor and needy.

35. Governments owe to the law of Christ men who make an especial profession of piety and temperance to be satisfied with little, that they may have more to relieve the distresses of their fellow-creatures; who make profession of chastity that they may only have spiritual children to regard and preserve, and who employ themselves in all offices prescribed by charity, being all to all, as says St. Paul. When the nation left to the ministers of religion part of its property, it formed a real and effectual patrimony for the assistance of the unfortunate, who for want of the necessities of life, might disturb the peace of its citizens.

36. It appears that civil society can find no better or more attentive ministers for the poor, than ecclesiastics, as from the commencement of the church, we find them employed in this office as one of their principal charges. Spain owes to her clergy the erection of so many hospitals and pious foundations for the relief of the poor. The Christian religion is the only one, which, without disturbing the order of the government, or without attacking the inviolable right of property, provides sufficient funds to help the distressed of every kind; teaching men, that, as sons of the same father, they ought to succour each other as brethren. She it is, who, by threatening them with the most terrible pains, and offering them the best rewards, incites them to acts of charity. This religion it is, who also prescribes to all Christians the exercise of industrious habits for the increase of the produce of the earth; with sobriety and temperance to expend as little as possible, that they may have more to relieve the unfortunate.

37. Upon these principles the clergy possess their revenues. The rich, possessing larger property, put in the sacred deposit of the church a greater proportion of tithes than the poor; but while the rich receive only the spiritual rewards promised by Christ, the poor receive from the ecclesiastics, in case of need, more than they at first deposited.

38. Politicians who declaim against the riches of the clergy, have not formed their calculations upon such principles; dazzled with the abuses of some of the churchmen, they would wish to annihilate the patrimony of the poor of Christ, which is administered by the majority of the clergy with probity and exactness. They would alter their opinion, if they would compare the amount of the property of the church, her expenses and economy, that they may have more to give the poor and needy, with the im-

mense patrimony of our grandees, their dissipation and their alms. Allow the clergy to be despoiled of their revenues, and the streets will be filled with ghastly objects, houses will resound with the mournful cries of orphans and widows famishing with hunger, and the roads infested with miserable workmen, who, receiving no wages in winter, will seize by violence what the inhumanity of their fellow-citizens denies to their necessities; for, surrounded with luxury and the most criminal passions, they expend impiously what they should spare for the poor.

39. I do not pretend by this that politicians should not raise their voices in favour of the poor; what I wish is, that they should speak with the prudence which characterised the holy fathers in all ages. This is the language of the council of Milan, 1565, that in order to awaken some ecclesiastics from their lethargy, says, the patrimony of the church is of such a nature, that its fruits cannot be employed, excepting in pious uses. Therefore, the income beyond what is necessary for living with decency, is for maintaining divine worship, and to remedy the distress of the poor; so we ask these ecclesiastics, through Jesus Christ, not to forget that this property was given them, not to be consumed in vanities, or to enrich their families, but to live with the decency necessary for a Christian minister and a teacher of Christian piety. But if they do not divide with the poor the residue, they will be guilty of as many homicides as they have given refusals of succour; and farther, they stand convicted of a mortal sin, for having violated the most holy law of charity, treasuring for themselves anger against the day of anger.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Immunity of Taxes granted to the Ecclesiastical Property.

The church, illustrious of herself, on account of her own sanctity and the holiness of her ministers during the period of the persecutions, received an additional splendour, after the emperors embraced Christianity. Gold and silver began to be the materials of the vases employed for the celebration of the holy mysteries, and Easter and Christmas festivities began to assume a pompous and magnificent show. The Christians, who, frightened at first by the cruelty of their persecutors, used to assemble for the divine service in humble houses or in dark caves, began to erect splendid temples for the performance of their religious duties.

These temples, from the first centuries, were considered by the faithful as true houses of the Almighty; and they never went over their thresholds without ostensible marks of sincere humility and deep respect. They even washed their heads and hands before they came into them; and the Ethiopian Christians, even at the present time, enter their temples barefooted. The princes themselves, before they came into them, took their crowns off from their heads, and left their escorts behind them out of doors.

Constantine, with a view to ensure the splendour of the house of God, enacted that it should be lawful for any person to bequeath his property to the church, and that the property thus left should be exempted from taxation. No great inconvenience was derived from this privilege during his reign, because the revenues of the church were then rather small; but when the extravagant liberality of the faithful began to bestow property on the church, it was thought more advisable to repeal those privileges which had become rather burdensome to the state.

There was, through the whole Roman empire, a sort of taxation called by ancient writers *inlatio canonica*, or *capitatio terrena*: it affected the land property, and was commonly paid in kind, on account of which it was also called *specierum collatio*. The churches were subject to this tax, as it appears from the fact, that those of Thessalonica, Alexandria, and Constantinople, were specially exempted by the emperor Theodosius the Young.

Although under any well regulated government nobody is exempted from paying those taxes which are raised

for the repairings and works of public utility, the church, nevertheless, got among the Romans such an exemption: this, however, did not last long, because as soon as the church got a considerable accession of wealth, it was repealed. Great many holy bishops, besides, voluntarily applied a part from the ecclesiastical revenues towards the expense of works of public utility.

The emperors, under particular emergencies, used to levy some extraordinary taxes upon the landed property: the church was always exempted from paying them, as well as from paying that commonly called *devarisaus*, which affected those persons who by donations or any other lucrative contracts got any estate from an officer of the court.

It may be generally asserted that as soon as the church was wealthy, she began to contribute to the state for her landed property, in the same way that the other subjects of the empire. The emperors observed in this respect that prudent policy which becomes zealous princes: they granted privileges and exemptions to the church, as far as no injury was derived from them to the state; but they hastened to repeal them as soon as experience proved the contrary; as it must be acknowledged that the church herself has approved of this conduct. By the same general reason it was enacted by the emperors, that any property conveyed to the church should remain affected by the same taxes and obligations as it was before.

Till the irruption of the Goths, Spain being a province of the empire, was entirely governed by the Roman laws, and the property of the Spanish church was accordingly subject to the same system of taxation, which was generally established in the other Roman provinces. We do not know whether the church in Spain enjoyed any immunity from taxation during the period elapsed since the Gothic conquest till the conversion of the Goths, although it is most likely that the church did not enjoy such privileges, the Goths being then Arians, and inimical to the Catholics. They were on the other hand a warlike people, and since war cannot be carried on without great expenses, it appears most probable they they whose entire subsistence chiefly depended on the taxes levied upon the Spaniards, did not choose to diminish the number of their contributers.

Count Campomanes, in his learned treatise entitled "*Regalia de Amortizacion*," asserts that the appropriations of the Spanish church were subject to taxation, even in the times of Recared. At all events, it is most likely, since we cannot suppose that the church in Spain got such an inamunity before that of asylum; and we learn from Don Diego de Saavidra Fajardo, upon the authority of some ecclesiastical historians, that King Gundemar was the first who granted that privilege of asylum to the Spanish church. We know, to a certainty, that the property of the church in Spain, till the reign of Chindasvint, was subject to the payment of all sort of taxes and pensions affecting the said property before it was conveyed to the church, and this too, even if it proceeded from royal gifts. On the other hand, we plainly see that in 693, the fathers in the sixteenth council of Toledo prohibited the bishops to distribute among the parishes of their dioceses the amount of what was called "Regian inquisiciones," which were, no doubt, a sort of taxation raised by the king upon the churches in cases of extraordinary emergencies.

The ecclesiastical appropriations in Spain were subject to taxation not only in the Gothic time, but even after the irruption of the Saracens. It appears that in the reign of Don Ferdinand II., and even in that of Don Alfonso IX., the appropriations adjacent to the church, which are called *mansor* in the *capitularia* of Charlemagne, and *Diestros* in the records of the council of Compostelan, were the only ones exempted from taxation. The extent of each of these appropriations, at the time of the council of Coyanza, was only thirty feet: this measurement was augmented to seventy-two feet in the council of Compostella, 1056, and finally to eighty feet in the council of Palencia 1129.

The kings of Spain used to receive several tributes, from which churches were not exempted, at least not till a very late period. One of their tributes was called *yantar*, by which the inhabitants of any town were bound to entertain the king and his royal family, whenever they travelled through their country in time of peace. The cortes of Valladolid in 1351, with a view to prevent the extortions made under this head, enacted several regulations, minutely describing the prices of victuals afforded for their entertainments: eight *maravedis* are designed as the price for a sheep: forty-eight *maravedis* for a cow: twenty *maravedis* for a pig: three *maravedis* for a cantara (four gallons) of wine: three *maravedis* for a bushel of barley, &c.; the amount of the expenditure for an entertainment being 1,200 *maravedis* (about fourteen *maravedis* make one penny). The entertainment given by the prelates and noblemen was not so expensive, amounting only to 800 *maravedi*). This regulation, however, does not appear to have been enforced, because in the reign of Don Juan II. the *yantar* of the king amounted only to 600 *maravedis*, that of the queen to 400, and that of the prince royal to 300.

The churches were bound to pay this tribute as well as laymen; the inhabitants of towns, the population of which did not consist of thirty housekeepers, were the only ones exempted. Don Alfonso the Wise granted a similar exemption in after times to the churches of Seville, Salamanca, and Toledo; and the church of Tuy was also favoured with the same privilege.

The churches contributed, likewise, towards the expenses of works of public utility: the servants or bondmen of the church were employed on those occasions before the time of Recared, but this prince exempted them from that obligation. As for the expenses incurred in cases of war, there was a tribute called *Fonsadera*, and the property of the church was not formerly exempted from it. Don Sancho II. granted an exemption to the cathedral of Burgos, and all the churches of that diocese, and Don Alfonso VI. granted a similar privilege to the church of Astorga.

The immunities granted to the church decreased in proportion as the church became opulent. The royal munificence endowed the church with many fiefs, and she was accordingly bound to perform the services inherent to feudal tenants. These attended the king in the wars, and headed the troops which they were obliged to raise for the defence of their country. Hence we see many bishops in the field of battle, amidst the confusion of military license.

Some of them, nevertheless, though possessed of feudal tenures, were exempted from their attendance: such was the Bishop of Astorga, who, notwithstanding his privilege, attended spontaneously King Alfonso IX. The military policy being different in the present times, the ecclesiastics are accordingly exempted from such obligations; but when it is required for the defence of the country, they contribute of their own will towards the expenses of war, as it has been the case in recent instances.

The prelates had also a voice in the national assemblies, and they were bound, in the Gothic times, to attend the court, particularly those in the province of Toledo. Their attendance was more frequent after the expulsion of the Saracens; and being on this account rather familiar with the king, they got thereby the confirmation of their former tenures, and the grant of new privileges. The monks also attended the court, and held offices in the royal household. This was the origin of so many appropriations having been granted to monasteries, to the great injury of the royal treasury, and of the subjects of the realm. As a remedy towards that evil, the *fidalgos* and monasteries were in after times prohibited from getting any appropriation from the king, a regulation confirmed by the cortes of Valladolid, in 1351.

The privileges granted to the church became so burdensome to laymen, that Don Juan II., with a view to stop the evil, prohibited the conveyance of pro-

perty to the church, without previously paying on its account the tribute called *Alcabala*, enjoining further, that the fifth part of the conveyed property should be applied to the royal patrimony; a measure which, although effectual in itself, was, nevertheless, insufficient to cure the mischief already done. Another regulation of Don Alfonso the Wise, to the effect that the church should be bound to taxation for the property she acquired from persons liable to the same, proved likewise ineffectual.

The property of monasteries was exempted from taxation, if it derived from royal gifts, this being considered as a standing part of the royal patrimony, conveyed to the church merely for the purpose that the ecclesiastics should be obliged to pray to God for the souls of the king and his royal predecessors. All other sort of ecclesiastical property was subject to taxation, since we observe, as an exception to this rule, that Count Garcia Fernandez, in 978, granted an exemption from paying some tolls to the monastery of Covarrubias, and Don Alfonso the Wise exempted the houses of the church of Tuy from the obligation of being billeted. The ecclesiastics, in after times, got a general exemption from taxes, whenever their property derives from any special foundation, or bequest expressly made for their support. In all other cases they pay the general taxes. The church cannot be rigorously distrained for her debts on this account, but goods may be taken from her administrators to that effect.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Immunity of Taxes granted to the Clergy.

The clergy were always considered as holy persons deserving a particular regard and respect, on account of their consecration to the service of God: this consideration shown to them from the first centuries, as St. Jerome asserts, induced Constantine to grant them a personal immunity. Nobody enjoyed such a privilege amongst the Romans, all the subjects of the empire being bound to pay the personal tribute called *capitatio*; only the clergy, their wives and their children were exempted from it by that emperor: they were also exempted from the tribute called *metatum*, (billeting).

There were personal tributes of two kinds amongst the Romans: namely, honorary, from which the clergy were not exempted; and not honorary, from which they were. Constantine granted the clergy a general exemption from both, in order that they might apply themselves exclusively to their ecclesiastical functions.

Among the honorary obligations were reckoned the curial and municipal offices, the duties of which, according to Gotofred, consisted in the administration of the public money, and in the collection of taxes: also in the execution of judicial warrants, and in the administration of the patrimonial property of the commonwealth.

While the clergy did not abuse these privileges they were kept in possession of them: but since many persons embraced the ecclesiastical profession with a view to get those immunities, Constantine enacted that they should not be enjoyed by any wealthy citizen who should take holy orders after the promulgation of his edict. Theodosius allowed them afterwards to perform the functions of those honorary offices by substitutes; and Justinian repealed this concession no ecclesiastic being exempted but bishops. He further enacted that no curial officer should be allowed to become a clergyman, unless he had resided fifteen years in a monastery, and had moreover vested all his property, but the fourth part, in the imperial exchequer.

There were some other tributes among the Romans, called *angaria* and *parangaria*: by the first, people were bound to provide with carts and cattle, for the conveyance of luggage, when the prince or an army marched through an ordinary road; and by the second, when the conveyance should be led through an extraordinary one: this sort of obligation implied too a personal service. The clergy were always exempted from their personal attendance, but not from the

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obligation to supply the necessary carts and cattle. Constantius granted them an immunity from this, but soon after repealed his concession in 360. Theodosius and Honorius granted them again their former privileges, but again they were withdrawn from them by Valentinian and Theodosius the Young; the latter, however, exempted the clergy from the tribute called *aurum tyronicum*, and *stratyotticum*, which consisted in defraying towards the expenses of the military establishment.

The merchants among the Romans were subject to a tax called *chrysargyrum*, and also *lustralis collatio*, because it was paid every fifth year: it was paid on account of negotiations; and since the Spanish clergy were allowed to deal moderately for their livelihood, they were of course bound to pay the said tribute.

The only immunity constantly enjoyed by the clergy among the Romans, was that of paying extraordinary taxes; but even from this they were not exempted in regard to their private patrimony, which was exclusively considered their own, and as profane as the property of laymen. The church made always a proper distinction, forbidding her ministers to dispose of the ecclesiastical property, but allowing them to do with their own at their pleasure; and further enacting that both should be kept separate from each other, to avoid a confusion which might prove injurious to the heirs of the clergy as well as to the patrimony of the poor.

Constantine, notwithstanding his extreme liberality towards the church, acknowledged the justice of this distinction, and accordingly did not grant the clergy any sort of immunity on account of their private patrimony; it is curious that his edict to this effect was issued at the request of the Spanish, African, and Italian bishops. These holy prelates acknowledged the justice that the clergy should support the state with their own property, since they were protected in the enjoyment of it by the laws.

Although St. Jerome and St. Augustin were so rigid as to think it unlawful for the clergy to keep their own patrimonies, because they wished them as poor as the apostles. The canon laws both of the eastern and western churches allowed them, however, to keep them.

What has been stated about the immunities granted to the clergy was practised in Spain till the Gothic irruption. From that time the people in Spain were divided into two classes, namely Barbarians or Goths, and Spaniards or Romans. The northern conquerors used to reduce the vanquished to a servile condition, and to employ them in the cultivation of the fields. The Spaniards met with this fate under the Goths, whose first care it was to distribute the land, keeping for themselves two parts of it, and assigning the third to the Spaniards.

The Goths, when they settled in Spain, did not know the use of pecuniary taxes, they only exacted from their subjects personal services. The Spaniards were bondmen and the Goths freemen; these did not pay services, their only obligation being to attend the king in the war, and to keep half of their bondmen in arms.

No Goth was promoted to holy orders till the seventh century, and accordingly most of the clergy were bondmen; none of these could embrace the ecclesiastical profession without previous permission from his master, and even when this was obtained the candidate could not be raised to the priesthood if his master did not dispense with him those services which a manumitted bondman owed to his patron. Even in the seventh century the clergy were bound to serve in public works, as we learn from the records of the fourth Toletan council, in which it was enacted that the free clergy should be exempted from this grievance.

If a manumitted bondman refused to his patron the usual services, he might be again reduced to his former servile condition. Recared mitigated this severity with regard to the bondmen belonging to the royal exchequer if they became clergymen by royal permission, but not otherwise: binding them, nevertheless, to the payment of a certain tax as an indemnity for their personal ser-

vices. Doña Vrraca, in 1114, claimed as her own bondmen some clergymen of the church of Compostella who took holy orders without her royal permission, but they were relieved by the mediation of their bishop.

There were among the Germans a sort of bondmen similar to those called *adscriptiti* among the Romans: they were addicted to the soil: they were bound to cultivate the land, paying to their seignors a part of their fruits. This practice was introduced in Spain by the Goths, and we find some relics of it in the laws of Benevente and Leon; particularly in those towns which were populated after the conquest, according to the said laws. The seignors, who held their domains from the king, contributed to him according to the original conditions of their tenures, and the inhabitants in those towns, who became bondmen to the seignors, did not pay anything to the king, but were merely bound to the cultivation of the soil to which they were addicted: they could not abandon their lands without substituting another tenant in their stead, and if they did, forfeited their lands and half of their property besides.

This was the case in Galicia and Asturia, the lands in which became very valuable on account of their tenants being not obliged to pay taxes, conformable to the above-described system.

This was extended to many other provinces by the liberality of kings.

The system is already utterly changed, and, accordingly, the tenants are now bound to the payment of taxes as well as all other people; notwithstanding which, their seignors unjustly exact from them, particularly in Galicia, the same services to which they were formerly bound; a practice, indeed, very injurious to this worthy class of the people.

The clergy in the seignorial districts were subject to the same obligations as the other inhabitants and tenants, enjoying no immunity on this account.

The only immunities granted to the clergy, after the change of the feudal principles, were those of a personal nature. They were always considered by the king as holy persons only bound to the service of God, and no personal services were required from them by another seignor.

They were, accordingly, exempted from the payment of what is called *mônedæ forera*, which was a sort of personal tribute claimed by the king from every subject as a recognition of his supreme dominion. The *fidalgos*, with their wives and children, the cities, towns, and castles on the frontiers, and those whose property did not amount to the value of ten *sueldos*, were also exempted from it; and lately, in 1724, it was entirely abolished by Don Luis I.

The *alcabala* was a sort of subsidy granted by the Cortes of Burgos in 1342 to Don Alfonso IX., towards the expenses of the war of Algeciras: it consisted in a ten per cent. raised on every sort of sales within Spain.

The inhabitants of Toledo, as Ayala says, wanted to be exempted from this tax, but the King objected, alleging that he himself, and the queen, and grandees, paid it in the price of their victuals and every other article they bought.

The clergy are now exempted from the *alcabala*, as far as it regards tithes, *primitiæ*, the fruits of their livings, and the necessaries for their own support. Their houses can neither be billeted but on extraordinary emergencies.

Commerce has been repeatedly forbidden to the clergy by the canon laws; but since, in spite of that, there are great many who, for their own lucre, embrace this profession, the Spanish law directs that any merchant clergyman who, being thrice admonished by his prelate, continues his mercantile negotiations, should forfeit his privilege, and be bound to pay the alcabala on account of his negotiations.

This personal immunity of the Spanish clergy is a mere gift from the King. The gospel does not grant them any privilege. Jesus Christ himself paid the tribute due to Cæsar; and this was a personal obligation, because he had no property.

There were some remnants of personal services and tributes paid by the clergy in 1012, as we learn from the

charter granted to the city of Leon by Don Alfonso V. The principles upon which it was framed were in unison with those of the code called *fuero turyo*, which never allowed any exemption from personal tributes. The *fonsadera*, for the expenses in war; the *facendera*, for those of public works; the *abrubda*, for the support of some officers; the *homecillo*, a sort of fine upon the inhabitants of any district where, an homicide having been perpetrated, could not be produced the perpetrator; and the *calonas*, another sort of fine on persons guilty of any falsehood; all these were personal tributes, and were regularly paid by the clergy.

Their immunities in this respect were slow and gradual, till Don Alfonso VIII., who, in 1180, exempted those in the kingdom of Castille from every sort of personal contributions. In the kingdom of Leon, they were not generally exempted till the 12th century, since we observe Don Alphonse VI. granting a special privilege on this account to the church of Astorga. The clergy, at present, enjoy no immunity for their patrimonial property, and the secular justices can compel them to pay for it; provided that the ecclesiastical judge, being required by him to exact the money, would not comply with their request; and provided, too, that they would abstain from any unnecessary coercion against the persons of the clergy.

CHURCH PROPERTY.

TO MR. COBBETT.

Madrid, 3d April, 1832.

SIR,—I have not seen any of your *Registers* of a later date than the 14th of January last, but my correspondent in London has informed me that in one dated the 3d of March, you have announced a translation of the book which I sent to you in November last, upon the subject of church-property in Spain, and that, at the same time, you had published the letter which accompanied it. I omitted to state in that letter the fact, that during the administration of the Prince of Peace in the last reign, all the property coming under the denomination of "*obras pias*" (charitable foundations), was sold by order of government, the decree to that effect being authorised by a bull from his holiness, the then Pope; and that the money arising from the sale of this large property was paid into the "*caxa de amortizacion*," to be applied to the extinction of "*vales reals*," that is, government bonds. Not a murmur was heard on that occasion, every one feeling the propriety of the measure and the justice of applying such property to the relief of state necessities.

Now, Mr. Cobbett, what reason can there be why such kind of property in England should not be disposed of in the same manner, especially as you have the example before you of its not having caused the least inconvenience, nor given rise to any complaint whatever in this country: nor would it be necessary to trouble "his holiness" upon the occasion.

The book above alluded to, when translated, will, I am persuaded, furnish a fruitful subject whereon to exercise the thoughts of "the most thinking people in the world," but I fear that it will give great umbrage to that description of persons whom POPE heretofore described, I hope somewhat unjustly, as

> "A low-born, bad-bred, selfish, servile hand,
> "Prompt or to guard, or stab, or saint, or damn:
> "Heaven's Swiss, who fight for any God or man."*

Surely, Mr. Cobbett, this description of this class in the time of POPE, cannot be at all applicable to those of the present time, although I have little doubt of their making good the proverb, "*point d'argent point de Suisse*;" for I plainly see, that you will cause a mutiny amongst these "celestial troops," who, be assured, would speedily quit the service of heaven itself, whenever it be determined to reduce their pay to a reasonable standard.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. H.

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* Dunciad, Book II., lines 365 to 368.

THE *first part* of the following essay was first published in November last. The latter part just written: the whole is well worthy of the attention of the nation, and particularly *of the King*.

THE REMEDY.

An Ounce of Prerogative worth a Ton of corrupt Influence.

The Bill of Reform of the Commons has passed, and is rejected by a small majority in the Lords.

The country is almost unanimous in favour of Lord GREY and his Administration.

But how is the bill to get through the Lords? If by secret influence, are we not degrading our noble Premier in suggesting any such means, and should the Lords now pass the bill, or as an efficient one, where will be their consistency?

Why go to the Lords at all? The Commons profess on all occasions respecting election of their members, to be independent of the Peers, then why go to them for their assent to any alteration in the constituency, in which the Peers have no interest or concern? and wherein their lawful privileges are not affected. But this matter concerns only the Commons and Common House of Parliament.

In proof of this there is a resolution of the Commons entered on their Journals at the commencement of every sessions, "That it is "a high infringement upon the liberties and "privileges of the Commons of Great Britain, "for any lord of Parliament, or any lord-"lieutenant of any county, to concern them-"selves in the election of members to serve "for the Commons in Parliament."

Notwithstanding this, the Commons have taken their bill to the Lords, who have rejected it contrary to the advice of Lord GREY, who told the Lords they might possibly have another measure less palatable.

Therefore, in conformity with the above resolution, and in order to verify our noble Premier's prophetic admonition, let all our energies be centred in petitioning the House of Commons to come to some resolutions founded on the rejected bill, and take them to our gracious and patriotic King, to whom we will then send up petitions and addresses imploring him to exert his royal powers, by issuing (in accordance with ancient usage) his writs for a new House of Commons agreeable to those resolutions, and thereby insure the only means of restoring SAFETY, PEACE, and HARMONY to this now suffering and troubled kingdom, and which blessings we shall the more highly prize as being the work of a Sovereign endeared to us by every tie that can bind to a gracious King, a loyal, dutiful, and grateful people.

There will then be no occasion for Lord GREY to truckle to the majority of 41 peers and bishops, the Commons will be acting up to their own resolutions, and we shall have a House of Commons unshackled by any restraint by the Peers, which the Commons always profess themselves to be, and at the new Parliament the right of contested elections will be determined by the House of Commons as they now are, instead of applying to the House of Peers for numerous other acts for amendments and alterations of the law, which must be done in every case if carried into execution by act of Parliament.

Who is to object to this, but the 41 lords who may enter their protests? No, they cannot even do that, as they will be no way concerned; but the King and the Commons will accomplish the whole with the unanimous voice of the people.

Admitting (for argument's sake) that the bill passed the Lords, and a question arose as to the right of voting, as doubtless many will, and the Commons proceed to try the right, may not the losing party say, that he is entitled under an act of Parliament which can only be determined by law? If so, and as all law questions must be decided in a court of law, but the last resort is to the House of Peers by appeal, the Commons would be committing suicide on their own privileges by doing that by act of Parliament which should be done by their own resolutions and the King's writs, in pursuance of them, with the approbation of the people, testified in the most decided manner by petitions from all populous places.

From the year 1273, during the reign of Edward the First, (the greatest legislator of any English monarch since the days of King Alfred,) to that of 1684 in Charles the Second's reign, frequent alterations took place by discontinuing, restoring, and omitting different boroughs in the representation, as may be seen in Mr. Oldfield's representative History, which show the changes that have taken place, being in all 69 boroughs which sent members to Parliament in different reigns, and which are now deprived of that right, among which are Alresford, Basingstoke, Chelmsford, Doncaster, Ely, Farnham, Greenwich, Halifax, Kingston on Thames, Leeds, Manchester, Newbury, Odiham, Pershore, Ross, Spalding, Torrington, and Wisbeach.

The borough proprietors are ever declaiming on the perils of change and innovation, though there have till within the two last centuries been both innovation and change by the King's writs, which right, though not always used for the benefit of the people, has never been abrogated; then surely if the King has this right which formerly was exerted not always for the good of the people, he now has the same to exert it at the request of his people and the majority of the House of Commons, to which the two attorney-generals lately referred in different debates in the House of Commons, and who probably would have

supported their opinions had they been upheld by the other members of his Majesty's Administration, but who did not support their attorney-generals in their well-founded opinions, possibly from a recollection and apprehension of falling into the same error as the late hon. Mr. Fox did, by asserting at the time of the Regency, that the Heir Apparent was entitled to it, whereby he had all the Tories with Pitt at their head against him, who then being in high feather, outvoted him.

Though the kings with their estates (now denominated crown-lands), and the great barons or lords, with the monks, abbots, now archbishops, bishops, and other religious persons, up to the time of the reformation of our religion, between 1510 and 1550, wholly paid the expenses of the Government, with perhaps a very small addition from the customs and a few wealthy boroughs, the crown estates in the time of William of Normandy, called the conqueror, being 400,000*l.* a year, which had by our kings from his time been reduced to 132,000*l.* a year at the time of Queen Ann, in whose reign the whole annual cost of government amounted only to half a million a year, including the above 132,000*l.*, the produce of the crown-lands; before this time the religious houses almost wholly sustained the poor and entertained at their mansions all strangers and travellers, and the body of the people lived tax-free; whereas they now pay in customs, excise, stamps, post-office, and other taxes, more than forty millions a year as under, besides the sums we annually borrow and take up at interest in Exchequer-bills,* while the great barons or lords, and the bishops, enjoy their revenues free from all attendance on the king in wars, are never called on for subsidies of tenths or fifteenths, nor the latter for repair of cathedrals or religious houses, and the people return no more members to Parliament than they did before the days of Queen Ann, and many of those which they are said to return are in fact returned by rotten boroughs under the direction of the aristocracy who now refuse us any reform, though their burdens are done away with and their revenues remain; well might a French periodical author remark that the aristocracy of England have adopted the best mode in the world of appropriating the wealth and earnings of all the middle classes in the country to their own use; and at the same time leaving each to pursue his own mode of industry, when, by taxes of various descriptions, they contrive to gather the fruits of their industry, and divide them among themselves, their families, and dependents, as may be illustrated by the fable of the bees whom they suffer to gather honey into their own stores without smothering or destroying them, though to be sure they leave them a bare sufficiency to subsist on through the winter; so that the drones, being too indolent to collect the honey, employ an army of wasps who at low wages do it for them, and these are excise and custom-house officers, tax-collectors, soldiers, and police-officers; the first class collect the most, as they make the poor bees pay for every flower they taste or alight on to collect their winter store; the second class come to their hives and demand such a weight of honey; the third class stand ready to enforce the demands made by this second class, while the poor industrious bees give their honey, and work hard for more, not considering the more they make the more will be demanded of them; and when they stand up for reform in these matters, they are called mutinous and sad troublesome bees, whose ale and sugar must be heavily taxed, or they would get so much of it as would render them unfit for fifteen or sixteen hours' labour in the day, which is now required of them to furnish the drones and wasps with honey enough, although their grandfathers and grandmothers did not fifty years ago work more than eight hours, and in the large manufacturing towns the cleverest of them used to celebrate four or five saint-days in the fore part of the week, consuming sugar and ale heavily taxed, so as to well aggrandize the queen bee and a numerous aristocracy distributed among the drones and wasps.

Having stated what appears to be the best and only practical mode of bringing that to pass, which is the almost unanimous wish of all not interested in the continuation of abuses which have brought this kingdom to the verge of bankruptcy, I should without hesitation subscribe my name, did I imagine that in so doing it would confer any weight on it; but as that would neither diminish nor add to it, I shall only say that having for sixty years been a strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform, after having read the late Judge Blackstone's Commentaries and De Lolme on the British Constitution, and endured the names of a republican during the first American war, then that of a jacobin, and since of radical and other similar names, and during those times had the honour and patronage of two noble Earls differing widely in sentiments from those I professed, and one of them, with that liberality and candour which did him great honour, conferred on me a place of great trust and confidence, though at the very time

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* A rough sketch of what is yearly paid in lieu of that paid by the barons and bishops, formerly none of which in those days were collected of the people. The present yearly revenue up to July, 1829, was as under, leaving out odd hundred thousands.

	Millions.
Customs	15
Excise	18
Stamps	6
Assessed Taxes	4
Post-Office	1
	44

Crown-lands only 5,500*l.*

we were adverse to our politics, and one of whom did me the honour of saying why he was so, viz., that he thought our Parliament sufficiently democratic already, and though I am a native and an inhabitant of one of the above-named places which have not for some centuries sent any member to Parliament, yet having with a tithing thereto adjoining and forming part of the same town a population of 7,500, while other towns in the same county possessing not half that number, return members, I should be without a vote had I not freeholds in the three adjoining counties, and therefore am A FREEHOLDER.

November 15*th*, 1831.

19*th November*.—In the *Sun* of this date are five resolutions embodying the purport of the foregoing Remedy, which the *Morning Herald* of the 21st has inserted with comments thereon.

His Majesty, by proclamation of the 21st of November, has nearly dissolved all the unions, most of whom to their credit crumbled away immediately, whereby it clearly shows that the King's proclamation, when universally approved of, is EVERYTHING, but when wanting that, NOTHING.

Then why not by similar means dissolve the present, as also the oligarchy of borough-proprietors, direct writs to the sheriffs of the counties and other returning officers, with general instructions taken from the bill, which may be speedily converted into resolutions and carried up to the Throne as pointed out in the *Sun*, leaving the detail to the returning officers, and the measure might be accomplished without any Act of Parliament (which for reasons before stated should in this individual case be avoided); and which we are so accustomed to look on as a succedaneum for everything, that half the country think nothing can be done without one, as the late Lord WALSINGHAM had a notion in regard to all private bills, that there must be a schedule to it, and was as necessary an appendant as a tail to a paper kite. We forget that this measure of reform, if done by Act of Parliament, must have probably twenty more to amend and explain it, which will occupy the two Houses for the two or three next years, and virtually take all power from the Commons as to elections.

Mr. COBBETT having honoured the preceding Remedy, by inserting it in his last *Register*, has rendered the promulgation of it the less necessary, as many more may read it there than (Judas like) choose to acknowledge it, and probably do as old farmer H—— did, lay the *Register* by the back of their Bible, and when suddenly broke in upon, open it and hide the *Register*.

The bishops having, instead of waiting till a bill for attacking their temporalities appeared, shown their cloven foot too soon, have rendered it necessary more than ever for the King and the Commons to do this, than by resorting to the other House again.

November 30*th*, 1831.

14*th April*, 1832.—In the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, a noble Earl, resident in Hants, is reported to have said, "What could they think, when they heard law-officers of the crown not only maintain that the King had a right by making peers to destroy the House of Lords, but also that he had a right to issue writs to some towns and places, and withhold them from others?" Then the noble Earl is reported to have talked about the Grand Seignor and his slaves and dependents, which went beyond what the law-officers said. What then, my Lord, if the law-officers did say so? Your opinion without argument does not prove that they were wrong. On the contrary, it may not only be legal, but it has often been actually done. Moreover, making more peers is an odd way of destroying the House of Lords. Most of us think it is the way to renovate and instil new life into your body; nor is your comparison of our patriotic King William IV. to the Grand Seignor at all applicable, but might have been more properly applied to any one who strongly manifested an inclination to everything of eastern magnificence and voluptuousness, even in his edifices as well as his government; and if we may judge of the sentiments by the speeches of some peers in October last, who recommended the oppression of the people as in the days of Pitt, such a one would not have wanted co-adjuters.

Then the old Ex-Chancellor Eldon, the stanch supporter of every abuse, is reported to have said, that it had been proposed by those who wished to set aside the constitution as it existed, *that writs should be issued by the sovereign to new boroughs and great towns*, and that the writs which had been usually issued should be withheld from others; and he would say without hesitation (no doubting here any more than on the late Queen's trial); that, if the advice given by one of the newspapers to swamp that House with a number of new peers was adopted by the Minister, he would not pursue a course less unconstitutional than if he was to advise the King to exercise his prerogative with respect to the writs in the manner he had stated. Well done, old boy!—We pray his Majesty to adopt either of these measures, for both have been resorted to heretofore for bad purposes, and why not now for a good one? How many peers were created while the consciences of George III. and George IV. were in your keeping, and you not becoming poorer all the while? We care not which way it is done so that it is accomplished; and the Crown will be supported by the House of Commons, the best part of the Lords, and nineteen out of every twenty of the people who are not partaking of the taxes. And, then, who will care for the majority of the Lords and bishops?

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BASTARDY.

NOTHING for a long while has astonished me more than the following article, which I take from the *Morning Chronicle*, dated at ABINGDON, 20th of April.

At a Petty Sessions, held at the New Inn, on Monday last, for the Abingdon Division, Eleanor Luker and Charlotte Busby, two *fruitful ladies* from the parish of Fyfield, were each committed to *prison for two calendar months, for having bastard children.*—[One of the overseers stated that *relief to bastards the last year had been equal to one-fourth of the parish-rates.*]

Now, I do not know how I got it into my head, whether by *dream* or otherwise; but I *had* got it into my head, that the laws of bastardy were *all repealed*; and that, in future, the breeding of bastards, so far from being punished, was to receive a *premium*; and that bastards, instead of being called "*base born*," were to be *deemed the contrary!* I myself am not, to be sure, in like dangers, thanks to grey hairs, from the consequences of this curious error; but, who knows but these poor chopstick girls may have had a *similar dream!* One thing, for their comfort, I will pledge myself to, and that is this: that, if ever I become a member of Parliament, I will move, *and upon grounds distinctly stated*, for *a repeal of all the laws of bastardy.*

FIRES!

Don't start, reader, I am not going to set DENMAN to work! It is of *fires in France* that I am about to speak first. This is *wood*-burning; and if the reader look well at it he will find the blaze raging from *north to south*. "Mr. O. P. Q.," like our fools and knaves, in the case of our fires, ascribes these blazes to the "instigation of the JESUITS!" Our vagabonds ascribed our fires to a "*conspiracy in London*," who sent agents about the country in *gigs* and *post-chaises* to set incendiaries at work! Oh! how many traps they did set for these *London conspirators!* But whenever the trap fell they were sure to find a *Chopstick* in it! But, as if for the express purpose of confuting Mr. "O. P. Q.," we have, as the reader will see, WOOD-FIRES *in England*, while those in France are going on. He might, indeed, have been satisfied before, for surely our fires were not instigated by JESUITS! In short, the same Jesuits have been, and are, at work in both countries; and these Jesuits are DEBTS, TAXATION, RUIN, MISERY, and HORRID WANT. This horrid want urges people to *take without leave*; taking without leave brings *the halter*; to resist the halter brings *the bayonet*; hence the *silent and covert-revenge.* Mr. "O. P. Q." would do well to leave off this nonsense about JESUITS, and recommend to the French people to put an end to the *debt* and its *monopolies*, and to the *dear* government that they have got, and which is actually forced on them by *the usurers.* When the French get *cheap* government they will be well off; when well off they will be quiet, and until they be well off I hope they never will be contented. These fires are very dreadful things, but are they *more dreadful* than *death from starvation*, and that, too, in a land abounding in food, drink, and raiment?

FRENCH FIRES.

A destructive fire which is supposed to have originated in malevolence, broke out at St. Avold, near Metz, in the evening of the 14th instant, and continued burning for more than twelve hours. About sixty houses were consumed, and twelve individuals, four of whom were military men, perished in the flames. We have not heard any estimate of the amount of property destroyed.

On the fourth instant, at ten o'clock at night, a fire broke out at Aix-en-Othe (Aube), which before it could be extinguished, consumed thirteen houses, occasioning a loss to the amount of 26,000fr. Circumstances showed that it must have been a wilful act, and caused suspicion to fall upon a man named Michaux, who, on being arrested, endeavoured to destroy himself by cutting his throat in the most determined manner. Hopes are, however, entertained, that the wound will not prove mortal. Michaux acknowledged himself to be the incendiary, but declared that he did not intend the consequences to be so serious; that it was an act of jealousy, his wife having left him, and taken refuge in the house of a man to the roof of whose cottage he applied a lighted match, thinking that the fire would be confined to that house alone, but the wind changing, his own dwelling was

involved in the destruction he had occasioned. Michaux bears a very bad character.

We learn from Bourges (Cher), that a fire recently broke out in the forest of La Palais, and in a very short time consumed the timber upon 350 acres of land, and at about the same period between 500 and 600 acres of underwood were destroyed in the communes of Venemes and St. Baudet, between Chateauneuf and Mareuil. The system of incendiarism is still continued in the department of Morbian, and particularly in the environs of Lorient. Four houses have been burnt down near the Polygon, five in the village of Kerline, and several others in the neighbourhood of Hunnebon, Caudan, and the village of Lomalo, near Port Louis. At Bauderion two farms have been entirely destroyed. We also learn, by letters from Soissons, that several conflagrations have occurred in that part of the country. All these fires are attributed, the letter asserts, to political malevolence, the object of which is to render the people of the different districts discontented with the present government.

On the 9th instant a violent fire broke out at Lamanciere, near Chamout (Haute Marne). The whole village only consisted of forty dwellings, of which thirty are consumed. Most of the cattle were also burnt.

On the 11th instant nearly two-thirds of the village of Condé, about three leagues from Bar-le-duc, was destroyed by a fire, which broke out at seven o'clock in the morning. The village consists of one long street; and before the expiration of an hour, such was the violence of the wind, and rapidity of the flames, that the whole of one range, and a considerable portion of the other, was enveloped in one general conflagration. A similar fire occurred in 1786, when, on the 8th of October, 250 houses were destroyed, occasioning a loss estimated at upwards of 400,000fr. The recent event will, however, amount in loss to a much more considerable sum, though the number of houses burnt is only 150. According to the rough calculation made, it will not be less than 550,000fr. The greater part of the houses were insured.

The system of incendiarism it still pursued in the department of the Loiret. 176 acres of wood in the arrondissement of Montargis, belonging to M. Alexander Perrier, Madame Verdier, and General Sulpice, M. Lacour, M. Liger, and M. de Biron, were destroyed on the 4th and 7th instant. On the 6th, 103 acres belonging to M. Terrier de la Chaise, M. de Thou, and M. Cagna, were burnt in the commune of Thou. On the 10th, M. Colas Desfrancs, of Orleans, lost eighteen acres in the arrondissement of Gleu. On the same day the farm buildings of M. Couelte, in the commune of Poilly, extending over a frontage of sixty feet, with the forage and farming utensils they contained, were consumed in less than two hours. On the following night a very considerable tract of woodland in the commune of Autry and its neighbourhood, belonging to different proprietors, whose names have not reached us; and on the 11th, 200 acres belonging to M. Jules de la Rochefoucauld, fell a prey to the flames. The *Journal de l'Indre et Loire* of the 12th instant announces that forty acres of timber have been burnt in the forest of St. Denis. The same paper contains a circular, addressed to the mayors of the department, stating that the fires were multiplying, particularly in the woods, and therefore recommending the utmost vigilance in order to arrest their progress, and detect the incendiaries. The journals of the western departments announce that the prefect of Morbihan has issued a similar address. The *Finisterre* contains the following extract of a letter from Lorient, dated the 8th instant:—"The maritime prefect becoming alarmed for the safety of the arsenal, and imagining that the fires which have taken place outside the town were made merely to draw the public attention in a different direction, has issued orders that the soldiers of the mariue artillery shall not leave the fortresses. A quantity of gunpowder has been found under some thatch, with a train leading into the village of the Polygon, which was burnt the day before yesterday. One of the suburbs of Pontivy has also been burnt down. There are now in confinement about a dozen vagabonds suspected of these infernal practices. The town is in a state of general alarm, and the gates and airholes are all ordered to be closed at sunset." A dreadful fire broke out on Monday last, in the village of Geincourt (Oise), in which forty houses were consumed. The cause of this calamity is not stated. In the night of the 8th instant, about one-fifth, or fifty acres, of the forest of Peyrouse, at Nontron, Dornogne, was destroyed by fire.

ENGLISH FIRES.

Thursday a fire broke out at Creekmoor, near Poole, by which upwards of 200 acres of heath and furze were consumed. The property on which the fire took place belongs to Mr. Galton, of Weymouth. The fire is supposed to be the work of an incendiary. Another fire of great magnitude broke out at Haddon estate, the property of T. Redhead, Esq., near Wimborne, which consumed nearly 2,000 acres of heath, furze and plantation, together with a considerable quantity of game. This fire was occasioned by accident.—*Sherborne Journal.*

ENGLISH STARVATION.

I ASKED whether the fires were *more dreadful* than *death from want* in a land of plenty. We are now going to see what *want* is: we are now going to see *the state of those who labour* in this land, which the boroughmongers say *they*

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have made so prosperous and so happy! I wonder whether the brazen scoundrels of boroughmongers will *blush* as they read this!

The Wakefield Journal of Friday the 13th of April, contains a heart-rending report of the proceedings of a public meeting, held at Huddersfield, yesterday week, for the purpose of inquiring into the present distress which prevails in that district. It appears that a committee had been formed during the winter, to inquire into the state of the population, when after diligent inquiry, it was ascertained that the average support of members of families at Almondbury and the adjoining hamlets was *twopence per day!* and that there are hundreds of adult persons who have not tasted butchers' meat for many months, some of whom have not even tasted bread nor tea, but lived upon potatoes!

Mr. GEORGE BEAUMONT, one of the committee appointed to ascertain the state of the poor, said, the cases were not selected, but taken from door to door. The first case was that of a widow with six children, whose weekly income was *6s.* When visited, they were in a state of actual starvation; the youngest child was ill of the typhus fever, of which disease its father died some months before. At the time of his decease there was not a farthing or a farthing's-worth of food in the house, nor the least bit of soap to wash their few rags—nor any means of getting any. (Shame.) The second case was that of a family of three persons, whose income amounted to three shillings, who lived upon potatoes, and sometimes a little oatmeal. This poor man was *18s.* in arrear with his rent, for which his landlord sold his jenny, which cost him *3l.*, so that if the man had work he had no means of working. The next case was a family of ten persons, whose weekly income was *6s.*, and who when visited in the evening were found breaking their fasts with coarse bread and mint tea, without sugar. The mother was crying over her distressed offspring. Case the fourth:—a family of five persons; weekly income *8s.*; the wife had been in the typhus fever ten weeks; the family lived chiefly on potatoes and salt, and balm tea, without sugar; and they had had only four ounces of sugar during four weeks. Case the fifth:—a family of five, whose weekly income for the last twelve months was *6s.*; they lived upon potatoes mixed with salt and water—sometimes an onion to savour this unsavoury food. (Shame, shame.) Case sixth:—a family of seven, all without work, and had not had more than a pound of animal food during the last four months. The seventh case was a family of seven, who had not more than *7s.* a week for the last three months. These unfortunate beings had not tasted animal food for eighteen weeks; they lived chiefly upon oatmeal porridge: and, when visited, they had not a morsel of food in the house; they were all pining for want. This was on a Tuesday, and they had not had any food since the previous Friday, excepting a little that they borrowed. (Shame.) Case eighth:—a family of seven; weekly incomes *10s.*; they had not tasted animal food for many weeks, and had not had a gill of beer in the house for two years. They knew not how they lived; they were tired of living. The ninth case was a family of five, weekly income, for the last six months, *7s.*; all the furniture had been taken for rent; not a table or chair left. When visited they had no animal food, no bread, no beer, no tea, nor anything, They had neither tea nor sugar in the house, but lived upon potatoes and oatmeal porridge when it could be procured. The tenth was a family of five, whose weekly income was *7s.* One of these poor creatures had to work all the night before he (Beaumont) took his statement, to finish the work in his loom, for the purpose of saving the rest from dying of starvation, as the whole family had not had more than sixpennyworth of food for the three preceding days.

Mr. BEAUMONT then proceeded to give the meeting the state of the people of Scammon den, and out of a list of thirty-eight cases, he read the following nine:—1. A family of three—income *1s. 9d.* per week; they sleep in a corner of the loom shop, upon straw, strewed upon the floor, without any covering except the old clothing which they wore in the day time. 2. A family of four—weekly income *5s*; they live on potatoes and thin water porridge; no milk, as they could not pay for it; no bread, no meat; had woven 160 yards, and travelled 48 miles, for *16s. 4d.* 3. A widow and four children with a weekly income of *4s. 6d.*; they lived upon oatmeal porridge, without milk, treacle, or anything else; no furniture; their bed was not worth a penny; indeed, they were perishing for want of food. 4. A family of nine, whose weekly income was *7s.*; the whole of them lay on a bed of straw, in a corner of a wretched hovel, not fit for one of the brute creation to inhabit. They had no bed-clothes or other covering, except a dirty coarse wrapper. In this family misery reigned in silent triumph. 5. A family of nine, with a weekly income of *8s.*; they laboured fourteen hours per day; they had three beds, and but one blanket for the three, and that was nine years old. These miserable creatures, when visited, were getting their breakfast; the mother had a gill of milk, which she measured out by spoonfuls to their thin water porridge, being only two spoonfuls and a half each. 6. A family of ten, whose weekly income was *10s.*; they had only one straw bed for the whole family; they had no bed clothes, but slept in those which they wore during the day. This family lived chiefly on potatoes, but sometimes had a pound of suet; they had not had a pound of bread in the house, excepting two or three penny cakes, during the last three years. (Shame.) 7. A family consisting of a widow and three children; they are employed in weaving

woollen ends at 1*s.* 4*d.* per score; she scoured her own weft, for doing which she had nothing allowed, and took her work to Huddersfield. There was neither meat, drink, nor money in the house, when visited. 8. A family of three; weekly income 1*s.* 8*d.*; no bed, excepting some straw, with an old bag for covering. It was so long since this family had any animal food that they did not recollect the time. They had not had any bread in the house for the last five years. The old woman is seventy years of age, and *has long been praying for death to relieve her from her misery.* 9. A family of four, whose weekly income was 3*s.*; they could not tell when they had any animal food, and it was two years since they had tasted bread. (Shame, shame.) This was the state of men in middle age, and in the prime of life—of young men and women; what then was the state of their aged parents? If they searched the workhouse and poor-books, they would find that they had so much allowed them as would keep them alive, and keep them miserable or pining in workhouses.

Is there any evil *equal* to this? Can whirlwinds, earthquakes, pestilence or the sword, be *equal* to this? But mark, boroughmongers, mark, while this is the case there is a law to make corn (and *bread* of course) *higher-priced* than it would be without that law! What! a people in this state, and a law to make *bread dearer* than it would be without that law! Yes, because without that law the *agricultural people must all be ruined.* And *why* must they? Because other countries, which are *untitled* and comparatively *untaxed* would *undersell* our farmers. Well, then, *take off the tithes and taxes!* Ah! Here it is: here it is in a nut-shell: this would be done by the REFORM BILL; and this is the cause, and the only real cause, of opposition to that bill! Pass that bill, and we shall soon *see an end to the starvation.*

"THIS HAPPY LAND."

FROM ABINGDON, 28th April.—A number of poor men attended from the parish of Appleton, to complain of the insufficiency of the pay they received. From the statement of the overseers, it appeared *that the farmers are unable to improve the condition of the paupers, there being, as one of them emphatically observed, scarcely a rich in the parish.* One fact transpired, which cannot be too generally known, and that is, a determination on the part of the magistrates not to pass the accounts of those parishes *where any part of the wages of the working man is paid by the overseer from the poor-rate.*

"*Scarcely a rich in the parish.*" Ah! here it is again! The farmers are unable, in spite of the CORN BILL, to pay the labourers sufficient wages. The tithes, the taxes, and the monopolie leave them nothing. The *produce becomes less and less* every year as the land becomes less tilled, and more drive and less manured. The standing army thrives exceedingly, and Grey has *improved* Peel's-Bill-Peel's Police; but, alas! these do not add to the amount of the crops. Every year the land is worse and worse cultivated; and thus it must be, until the taxes be repealed. This is what *we want the reform for;* and my opinion is, that the Ministers *have not long begun to see this*; for they have repeatedly said, *that the reform will bring us no relief!* I believe that they *now see*, that it would and must *bring us cheap government*; and I also believe, that they *do not wish to have cheap government.*

"PIOUS TO THE LAST!"

DERBY BOROUGH SESSIONS.—APRIL 14.

BLASPHEMY.—An indictment was preferred by *the Rev. Mr. Dean, a clergyman of the church of England,* against Charles William Twort and John Ward. The defendants are dissenting preachers, and denominate themselves "Shiloites." Ward declares that he has the only true light, that God is with him, by whose power alone he speaks, giving the true and saving knowledge of God's mysterious word, "the Bible." The other defendant, Twort, professes to be called of God to assist in the work; and to engage in this, he gave up, voluntarily, a situation in the honourable East India Company's employ, which he had held for twenty years. The defendants have been residing in Derby, and issued notices of their intention *to expose the craft of the bishops and clergy,* in an address to the people, but the magistrates interfered. The defendants afterwards stuck upon the shutters where they reside bills and papers, *tending to hold up to contempt the established religion, the bishops and clergy.* The prosecutor, on passing the house, saw the bills, and *tore some off with his umbrella.* One of the defendants went to him, *when an assault* was committed upon the prosecutor. The indictment arose from the publishing of the bills and papers,

and also divers pamphlets of a blasphemous nature, and aggravated by the assault upon the prosecutor.

The defendants being called upon to plead, handed over a writ of *certiorari* for removing it into the King's Bench; but it having been the day on which the Sessions were held at Derby (Saturday, the 14th instant), and the *certiorari* commanding the return to be made on the 13th, the defendants had no alternative but to come to trial *instanter*, or get a respite until the next Sessions. The defendants wished to have a respite, and drew up an affidavit themselves of the fact; but, from a trifling informality, it was objected to. Several professional gentlemen were present at the time, but *none would prepare an affidavit for the defendants*, until at last Mr. W. Whisson, jun. prepared one, which was accepted. Bail was immediately given for the defendants' appearance at the next sessions.

MANGEL WURZEL BEER.

TO MR. COBBETT.

Paisley, 12th April, 1832.

SIR,—In your *Register* of last week, I observe inserted my letter to you of the 31st ult., and your request that I would give an exact description of my mode of making Mangel Wurzel Beer, which I do with much pleasure.

The roots are first of all thoroughly cleaned, and then cut into slices across the plant, of about three quarters of an inch in thickness, so that the substance of the root may be easily extracted in boiling; next fill your boiler with these slices as full as it can hold, then put in the water, say as much as will cover the roots, just in the same way as you would boil a pot of potatoes; let them boil moderately for about an hour and a half, or an hour and a quarter, too much boiling is not good, for the same reason that too much mashing of malt is not good; and although the whole substance be not extracted from the Mangel Wurzel, there is no loss, because what remains, makes it just so much the better for the cattle. If you wish the beer very strong, boil the same juice over again with another potful of the slices; after being thus boiled, the pot is emptied of its contents, which I do with a mashing tub that I used for malt beer, then I run off the juice (or worts as it now is) into a common washing tub or two, well cleaned, a small pipe being near the bottom of the mashing tub; and in order to get the whole juice squeezed out, I place a small tub filled with stones on the top of the roots on the other tub, which in the course of an hour or so will squeeze it sufficiently. I also use the washing tubs for coolers. In the processes of boiling with hops, cooling, fermenting, and casking, I follow exactly the directions given for brewing malt beer, in your useful book called Cottage Economy; but for which I believe I never would have thought of brewing to this day, (very few young folks now-a-days being taught this useful part of domestic management, as was the case in every family in former times, until the political economy of the Pitt school banished that, and many other good customs and comforts from the fire-side of the industrious). You have there given the instructions so plain in every particular, that no one who reads the book can go wrong in brewing. It is necessary to observe, however, in regard to this beer, that it does not do well, to be used so soon after brewing as is generally done with malt beer. After remaining in the cask a week or ten days, I put it into bottles well corked, and keep it for eight or ten weeks before using; indeed I have kept it for twelve months, and found it to improve. I suppose the reason of this is simply in consequence of its being brewed from *raw fruit*, which you well know must be very different from malt that is *dried on a kiln*. To obviate this defect, I at one time dried a small quantity of the slices of the Mangel Wurzel, and found the ale from them much superior to the other, but not having convenience to do this but on a very limited scale, I did not repeat it. If you well toast a slice at the fire, you will find it has a fine flavour and sweet taste. The difference in quality of spirits distilled from raw grain, and that from malt, is very great, and the difference of beer from Mangel Wurzel in the raw state, compared with what it would be dried, I am of opinion will be much greater, there being a greater quantity of watery

matter in the root, which the beer would be better without—and which might easily be evaporated by exposure to heat. Your known skill and attention to these matters will soon suggest the best method.

The beer, however, from the raw plant is excellent, if kept a little time in bottles before using; and it is the easiest thing in the world for farmers to brew, without any other utensils than those in common use. One farmer of my acquaintance here (Mr. Sproul Nether Craigs), who got some of your seed last year, has brewed excellent beer, with which he is highly pleased, and intends now to have good ale of his own manufacture at all times; and several others who have got samples of the beer, are planting small plots this season, just for the purpose of brewing.

You are well aware of the advantage of the Mangel Wurzel in feeding cattle; I have fed my horses with it for the two last winters, and never saw them thrive better on any food, or more healthy; caution however must be used in changing from any one food to another, and more particularly to Mangel Wurzel. The fact of its being richer than any other food of the kind to which the animal may have been accustomed, renders it the more necessary to begin by giving a small quantity at first, and increasing gradually to full meals. I found by experiment, in feeding a cow, that the produce of butter from a given quantity of milk was at least 15 per cent. greater than from Swedish turnips, and as to quality, nothing can surpass it.

I remain, Sir,
Yours most respectfully,
JAMES STIRRAT.

SCOTCH COBBETT'S CORN.

THE following letter will speak for tself, and then I will speak to it.

"*Delingburn, Greenock, 13th March*, 1832.

"SIR,—I embrace the opportunity of "a friend going from this to London, "of sending you a head of "Cobbett's "Corn," grown in a corner of my "garden here. I procured the seed "from an acquaintance who had it "direct from London. I planted it in "hills after the American manner. I "had twelve hills in all, and had I "been aware of having an opportunity "of forwarding a head to you I cer- "tainly would have selected one better "than that I have transmitted.—Be so "good as say whether the head I have "sent you is *inferior in quality* to that "you have seen from the various places "in England.—If agreeable to you, "notice it in your *Register*.

"I remain yours,
"THOMAS ANDERSON."

ANSWER.

Kensington, 30th April, 1832.

SIR—First expressing my satisfaction at receiving this proof that my corn will come to perfection in Scotland, and very sincerely thanking you for your kindness in furnishing me with this proof, I have to inform you that *no corn that I ever saw was*, IN QUALITY, *superior to this ear* which you have sent me. It had *fewer rows* of grain in it than the ears generally have; but no corn was ever riper or better. I have planted the grains *this morning*; and I will bet ten pounds that the produce *is more than a Winchester bushel of* SHELLED *corn*. I have told my people that this is the *Scotch corn*: and if I should be from home at any time during the summer or autumn (which is very likely to be the case), either you, Sir, or any friend of yours, will be showed the crop growing; and if I be at home upon any such occasion, I shall have particular pleasure in showing it you myself, and in showing it to any friend whom you may desire to call. A base miscreant tax-eater published, some time ago, in a Scotch newspaper, that "*Scotland* owed me a *national debt of revenge*." If this corn thrive there, Scotland will owe me some gratitude; but, be the debt of what nature it may, this miscreant, if the devil have not already got him, will *see me there* one of these days to receive my payment. If it were proper to talk of gratitude *due from one's country people* (which it never

is), the Scotch *people* would owe me a great deal; for I have always been the foremost to praise their sensible, their gallant, their public-spirited exertions to rescue their country from oppression; and always the foremost to detect, expose, and reprobate, their oppressors, and the impudent scoundrels calling themselves *philosophers*, whose only object is *to live somewhere, and somehow or other, without work*, on the fruit of the care and the toil of the industrious.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble
and most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. When I go to Scotland, I intend to visit Edinburgh, Paisley, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and to take Newcastle, Morpeth, and Carlisle, on my way; but I will certainly go to the ISLE OF WIGHT *first*; and they may expect me at the latter place in about *a month*; that is to say, as soon as my corn is safe from the cursed birds.

SQUASH,

OR VEGETABLE MARROW.

THE season is now approaching to plant this seed; and I have *four sorts* of it. They are all of those early kinds which will ripen well in the open ground in this country. It is a very fine vegetable, and surpasses everything in quantity of produce. I had, last year, *more than a Winchester bushel upon a single plant*. The plants require *room*, and the soil should be as good as that which is required for *cucumbers*. The four sorts, or any one of them, may be had at my shop at Bolt-court. The seed is put up in *packets*; each packet is sold for SIXPENCE; and each contains seed enough for the largest garden for two or three years; and the seed will keep good for any length of time. I do not know which is the best sort: it is mere matter of fancy. They are all good.

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP, No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6*s.* a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14*s.*

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10*d.* a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9*d.* a pound; above 100lbs., 8½*d.* A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and

under 50lbs., 7*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6*d.* a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. Pym, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, FIRST *as bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; SECOND, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; THIRD, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; FOURTH, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; FIFTH, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without; and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice,

and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE. £.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly TWO RODS	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

SMITH, H., Salisbury-st., Strand, wine-mer.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BOWER, G., Chipping Barnett, Hertfordshire, linen-draper.

PALMER, E., Bath, hardwareman.

BANKRUPTS.

BACKHOUSE, R., Liverpool, innkeeper.

BURTINSHAW, J., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

CUMMINGS, J., Landport, Hants, baker.

FALK, E. W., Vine-st., Minories, chocolate-manufacturer.

FORTNUM, C., and W. Mencke, Nunhead-hill, Peckham-rye, patent brick-makers.

HESLEDEN, R., Southampton, horse-merch.

MITCHELL, C., Trentham, Staffords., miller.

PEALL, H., London-road, stationer.

REYNOLDS, G., Coventry, druggist.

ROBERTSON, J., Whitstable, Kent, timber-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

JACKSON, T., Glasgow, coach-proprietor.

TUESDAY, MAY 1, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

GRANT, W., Jermyn-street, Westminster, upholsterer.

M'CAPIN, W., Belfast, Antrim, provision-merchant.

MOLD, W., Walsall, Staffordshire, saddlers' ironmonger.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

MINSHULL, W., Cholsey, Berkshire, cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALDERSON, T.D., Great Marlborough-street and Warwick-street, Golden-sq., pewterer and lead-merchant.

BICKLEY, J. jun., Warwick, victualler and maltster.

BLACHFORD, J., Devonport, Devonshire, watch-maker and silversmith.

COOPER, A., Ambleside, Westmoreland, woollen-manufacturer.

FAREY, W., Princes-st., Lambeth, lime-burner.

FOX, J., Newgate-street, cabinet-maker and upholsterer.

HARRIS, R., Tottenham-court-road, chemist and druggist.

HEPWORTH, J. D., Leeds, surgeon and apothecary.

HEWER, W., Claverley, Shropshire, surgeon and apothecary.

LINES, W., and J. Fisher, Ipswich, Suffolk, maltsters and coal-merchants.

MORGAN, T., and J. Jayne, Clydach, Monmouthshire, provision-merchants.

NAYLOR, J., now or late of Belper, Derbyshire, cheese-factor.

PHEASANT, J., Ebury-street, Pimlico, tea-dealer and grocer.

POPE, E., Abingdon, Berks, innkeeper.

REED, E., Bristol, milliner and dress-maker.

ROGERS, J., Beauvoir-place, Hoxton, engraver and silk and muslin-printer.

ROGERS, T., late of Speen-hill, Speen, Berks, victualler.

SELKIRK, W., Birmingham, letter-cutter and engraver.

SPICE, W., Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars-road, grocer.

STANLEY, R., High Wycombe, Bucks, linen-draper.

STEEL, W., Berkeley-street West, Edgware-road, stable-keeper.

WELLINGS, H., Birmingham, victualler.

WEST, J., late of Newport, Monmouthshire, corn and provision-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HONEYMAN, J., Glasgow, grain-merchant.

SINCLAIR, Hon. J., Edinburgh, underwriter.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 30.—Our supplies have been, since this day se'nnight, of English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat, oats, and flour, rather great; of foreign barley, and English and Scotch malt, good; of English barley, as also beans, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, very limited. Of rye there has been none.

Notwithstanding the above-stated abundance of the supplies, and that this day's market, though tolerably well, was not to be

numerously, attended by buyers. The trade with wheat, oats, barley, malt, beans, and flour, was somewhat brisk at last Monday's prices; with peas very dull, at a depression of from 2s. to 4s. per quarter. In rye or seeds little, if anything, seemed to be doing.

Wheat	53s. to 67s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
——— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
——— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
——— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 29s.
——— Poland	24s. to 27s.
——— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 86s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	70s. to 80s.
——— Cork	80s. to 82s.
——— Limerick	80s. to 82s.
——— Waterford	70s. to —s.
——— Dublin	74s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
——— Edam	49s. to 54s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	64s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD.—April 30.

This day's supply was, throughout, limited; and the trade, with each kind of meat, rather brisk; with mutton and beef at an advance of from 2*d.* to 4*d.* per stone; with lamb, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,348; sheep and lambs, 17,100; calves, 130; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 4.

The supplies this week are again large, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	85⅜	85⅜	85⅜	85¼	85	84⅞

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book;

(*Price 2s.*)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3*s.* bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6*s.*

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

4. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* in bds. To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

At No. 149, Leadenhall-Street,

BLACK TEA is sold at 4*s.*; 4*s.* 2*d.*; 4*s.* 4*d.*; 4*s.* 6*d.*; 4*s.* 8*d.*; and 5*s.*

East India Tea Company's Offices for agencies, 9, Great St. Helens, Bishopsgate-Street.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(*Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,*)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (*for cash only*) which they charge for:—

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley Colours	2	12	0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth	3	0	0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers	1	8	0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats		12	0
Figured Silk ditto		18	0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets	1	10	0
Barogan ditto	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

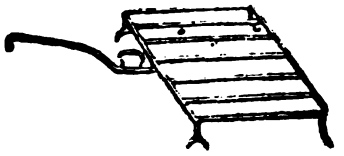
Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 12TH, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.



CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

Bolt-court, 10th May, 1832.

UNDER circumstances like the present, the great thing to do is to put safely upon record the facts as they have arisen, and then to offer to the reader such opinions as the writer may entertain respecting those facts, and their consequences. The readers of the *Register* are aware, that after the Reform Bill had been read a second time in the House of Lords, I was of opinion that Lord Grey was ready to give up the most popular part of the bill in the committee; and that the Tories were willing that he should remain in place upon that condition. I have seen and heard nothing to alter that opinion. The long adjournment gave the people time to move, and to express their determination not to be content with anything short of the whole bill. This determination was expressed so strongly, and the expression came pouring in so loudly from all quarters, that Lord Grey saw nothing short of infamy before him, if he gave way upon the points above mentioned. The Tories, seeing this, and hearing his declaration, that he would not give way with regard to the 10*l.* clause; and knowing, indeed, that it was impossible for him to give way without infamy, resolved to trip him up altogether; they knowing that the King would not furnish him with the means of carrying on the bill in opposition to them.

When, therefore, the House of Lords met on the 7th of May, a motion was made, which, in fact, was a motion to take the management of the bill wholly out of the hands of the Ministers. It had been read a second time, and thereupon the Tories built their excuse for changing their tactics: they became friends of reform; and, as will be seen by their speeches, and particularly that of ELLENBOROUGH, of even a more extended reform than that which the bill itself contemplated! Upon a motion of Lord LYNDHURST, respecting the order in which the clauses should be discussed in the committee, Lord GREY made *his stand*. He was beaten, on a division, by a great majority. The Tories manifestly expected, that as this was merely a matter of manner of proceeding, he would give way here, and that thus he would become their mere tool in carrying on the discussions on the several parts of the bill. He, taught at last to do that which he ought to have done in October, seeing clearly that he must become the most contemptible of men, and finally be voted out of his place, made his stand at once; moved an adjournment of the committee from the 7th to the 10th. In the meanwhile, that is to say on the 8th, he went to Windsor, in company with the Lord CHANCELLOR; there advised the King to create peers sufficient to enable them to carry the bill; and the King having refused to do this, they tendered the resignation of their offices, of which, on the 9th, the King "*graciously accepted.*"

Below I have inserted the fullest and most accurate reports that I can find, first of the debate of the seventh of May, and second of the debate in both Houses of Parliament of the ninth of May. These contain full information as to the immediate causes of the change of the Ministry. I am writing on Thursday, and shall notice briefly, if I can, to-morrow morning, that which passes to-night in the House of Commons, where, as the reader will perceive from the report of last night's proceedings, a motion is to be made by Lord EBRINGTON for an address to the King on matters relating to this event. To offer opinions as to how the House of Com-

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mons will act would be perfectly useless, since the fact must be known in the course of a very few hours; but I cannot help fearing that that House will now show us that there is an absolute necessity for reforming it; in short, I fear that it will show that it is perfectly ready to support the new Ministry; for, though it is possible that there may be a majority to express their sorrow for the ousting of the late Ministers, I am of opinion that it will be clearly gathered, from the tone of the debate, that the new Ministry will meet with no very strenuous opposition. But what is a vast deal more material is, what line the Tories will now pursue. There is the bill in their hands; the King has refused his consent to adopt the advice of his late Ministers, in order to enable them to carry the bill through; and the Tories have either to carry that bill or a better bill through, or to encounter, in conjunction with the King, the effects of the ill-will and resentment of the people.

With regard to the conduct of the King, it does not appear that he ever gave his pledge to the Ministers that he would create the peers sufficient for the carrying of the bill. It is said, indeed, that he promised them to create the peers if necessary to cause the bill to pass a *second reading*. This would have been a strange promise to make, and it would be still stranger if it had satisfied them; for, what would have been the use of the second reading, when all the world knows that the bill might have been rendered wholly nugatory in the committee? Yet there are circumstances which seem to countenance this opinion. The curious change of HARROWBY and WHARNCLIFFE; the curious change in some of the BISHOPS; and then WHARNCLIFFE and HARROWBY changing back again after the second reading; there being a majority of thirty-five for LYNDHURST'S motion, while there was a majority of nine on the other side for the second reading; HARROWBY and WHARNCLIFFE voting *against* the Ministers after the second reading, and voting *for* them before: all these circumstances put together do seem to warrant the opinion that the King had promised Lord GREY to make peers for the second reading, if necessary; and that he had not promised him, and did not intend, to make peers after the second reading; and that the Tories *knew all this!*

However, with regard to the conduct of the King as to this matter; with regard to the question as between him and his people, the matter stands thus: he, having the power to make the peers, had the power to cause his people to have the Reform Bill, and, therefore, in refusing to make the peers, *he did in fact, refuse to let his people have the Reform Bill*, unless, observe, he now choose Ministers who will carry through that bill, and will put it into full execution. This is the true state of the case: we have no occasion to pester ourselves with any stories or speculations about promises made by the King; it is nothing to us whether he ever made any promises upon the subject or not. We see a bill brought in and passed by the House of Commons. We see the people everywhere expressing the most earnest wishes that the bill should pass. We hear from every corner of the kingdom expressions of admiration of the King's conduct, and of gratitude for his goodness in becoming the patron of the bill. We see the bill opposed by the Lords; we see the King with power to make their opposition of no avail. We are looking to him for the exercise of that power; it is at last brought to this: that he is to give us the bill or we are not to have it. He refuses to exercise his power, and he therefore refuses to let us have the bill. Unless, as I said before, he choose Ministers who will at once give us this bill or a better bill, and to be better it must be more extensive as to the right of suffrage which it gives.

My readers will bear me witness that I have always, from the very first, expressed my opinion that the King, as well as the rest of his family, were decidedly hostile to any reform of the Parliament at all, and much more so to a reform of the description provided for

by this bill. Upon every suitable occasion I have not only expressed this opinion, but in support of it have stated reasons which I never found any one to answer. Whether I looked at the conduct of the persons about the court; whether I looked at the persons composing the select parties of the King and Queen; whether I looked at the King's movements as towards the city or in other directions; whatever I beheld indicative of his wishes or intentions as to this matter, presented me with nothing but marks of hostility to the bill. But what could any reasonable man want more than the conduct of the Tories, and particularly of the bishops! Could any man in his senses believe, that they would have voted as they did had they not been well assured that they had the King with them? Besides, though Lord GREY has shown a disposition to truckle to the Tories; though he has done things in this way almost surpassing belief; still, would he have retained the Commander-in-chief; would he have retained all the Tory Lord-Lieutenants; would he have subjected Ireland to new Tory Lord-Lieutenants; would he, in short, have done these and many other things of the sort that might be named, if he had had the cordial support of the King? I am, therefore, disgusted when I hear him and BROUGHAM and ALTHORP boasting of the uniform kindness and condescension which they have received at the hands of the King! This is no more, however, than a repetition of the language of Lord GREY after he had been turned out by George III. in 1807. "*Kindness and condescension,*" indeed! Those gentlemen should remember Gil Blas's account of the squeezings and huggings of DON CALDERON! Gil Blas drew a very different conclusion from these demonstrations of kindness: they set him to calculate the number of hours that he should have to remain in office. In short, to give it the mildest term, to talk in this manner, and under such circumstances, is weakness in the extreme, and is mischievous, too; because it puzzles people in general, and makes them hardly know that they have to think of the conduct of the parties. My readers will recollect, that, in October last, when the bill was thrown out by the Lords *without a second reading*, I pressed Lord GREY to do one of two things: make new peers to carry the bill in its then form, or resign and tell the people in a most explicit manner, that the King would not consent to make the peers; for that this he must do first or last, or be covered with infamy. This he has done, at last; but mark, the vast disadvantage under which he does it now, compared with the having done it in the month of October. If he had done it then, the majority of the peers were regarded by the people as the decided enemies of all reform whatsoever. Now a majority of the peers, a majority of those who have turned out Lord GREY, profess themselves to be friends of reform, and of an *extended reform* too, and even give hints that they intend to go further than he has gone. If he had done it then the people would have seen no possibility of getting a reform except through him, and therefore they would have upheld him as identified with that measure. If he had done it then he would, as I then told him, have been carried down to Windsor upon the shoulders of the people. That may not be the case now, for though he has at last done the thing that is right, and though, as respects this reform, the nation will always owe him great gratitude, still they may, I fear, be satisfied with his reform though they receive it through other hands. Nevertheless, better late than never; he has now acted the proper part, and his opponents *feel it too!* He is out of place and out of power, but he has made that place and that power a bed of thorns, if ever there were a bed of thorns in this world. They must now do one of three things—carry on the bill and put it in execution; bring in a better bill, that is to say, one more popular; or carry on a Government *without taxes*. Then, let it be observed, they have now to deal with opponents in Parliament who are for the Reform Bill and not against it. They have to deal with men who will now cordially take part with the people.

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Let them attempt to fritter away the efficiency of the bill. Let them attempt to raise the qualification for voting, or to retain the rotten boroughs; let them attempt anything of this sort, and they will hear what a peal will be wrung in their ears. The cause of the people is infinitely stronger than it was before; they have now advocates such as they had not before in the two Houses; those advocates are not restrained in many respects as they were restrained before. Hitherto they have had a double office to perform, namely, to plead for the people's rights, and at the same time to check the zeal of the people; the latter is no longer a part of their business, and the former office they are urged to perform by every motive that can animate men, not by any means leaving out of account the resentment justly due to that double-dealing which they have experienced at the hands of their adversaries; and if the King and his family should now experience inconvenience from the discontents and claims of the people, the late Ministers can truly say that no part of that inconvenience, and that none of the consequences, arising from the same cause is ascribable to them. No opposition that ever existed stood upon ground so fair and so firm; and no ministry upon ground so clearly that of faction, and, therefore, the most slippery possible. What! now do that which they called it all but treason in others for attempting to do; and yet, if they do not do it, they are at open war with the whole nation. I should not be at all surprised to see them, as in the case of Catholic emancipation, go further than their rivals ever proposed to go. I should not be at all surprised to see them lower that qualification, which they have a thousand times over declared to be too low, and to lop off rotten boroughs with a more unsparing hand than those whom they will have succeeded. Something of this sort they must do, in order to be able to keep the country at peace; and, for which there are no words to express sufficient reprobation, they will now do, not only without exciting the gratitude of the people towards the Government and the King, but will do, under the contempt of the people, that which their opponents would have done with the gratitude of the people towards all the powers of the state. The first duty of a minister, who is sworn to advise the King to the best of his understanding, is to watch over the safety of the whole people; his next duty is (and, indeed, it is equal to the former) to watch over the safety of the King; and, in that watching, he is not only to attend to his master's immediate personal safety; but to his reputation and to the upholding of all those appearances, and cherishing in the minds of the people all those sentiments which tend to the maintenance of the authority, the dignity, of the King, and the love of the people towards him. How will the Tory Minister stand, then? He will have seen the King but the other day, the most popular of any one that ever sat on the throne; he will have heard him called the "*patriot King*"; and he will find him that which he may find described in the newspapers and at public meetings, which will serve his purpose better than any description from me. And, let not this Tory Minister pretend that this truly melancholy change is ascribable to Lord GREY. He gave the advice, which, if it had been followed, would have prevented this change. He, instead of causing this change with regard to his master, has exposed himself to a thousand disagreeable imputations in order to spare his master the mortification of experiencing such change. He has kept the secret undivulged to the last possible moment; for the last moment it certainly was, when he must either let out the secret, or himself be covered with infamy. Therefore, let the Tory Minister, be he who he may, not attempt to cast the blame upon Lord GREY: let him take it all to himself: it is he, we shall say, who has been the adviser of the refusal to make the peers; and it is to him that the King will have to address himself as to the responsibility for the consequences. The Tories, the enemies of reform, were so full of exultation at

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the thought of ousting their rivals for power, that they wholly overlooked the consequences. They imagined that they could step in, take to the bill, make it a little more popular, if necessary, and thereby make themselves more popular than their rivals had been. At first, and indeed, from the first of March, 1831, until that day in April, 1832, when the second reading of the bill took place, they had appeared before the nation and the world as a combined body, resolved at all hazards to combat a reform of the Parliament. But, a year had taught them that this combat could be carried on no longer; that they must give way; that the nation would have the reform. For the reform to be finally carried, and for them to remain opposed to it to the last; for the reform to be carried; for the people to get the power into their hands, and see in them still a band of bitter enemies, was too manifestly perilous. On the other hand, to turn about and to support these Ministers and their bill, was what their pride and their vindictive feeling would not allow them to do. They therefore resolved to take possession of the bill themselves; and, in order to gain over the people, to give them as much, at the least, as their opponents would have given them. They did not consider, that this change of place would lay them at the mercy of those opponents: they did not consider *that their motives would all be seen through*; they did not consider, that the people would always regard them as enemies to reform in their hearts; and, above all things, they did not consider the *vast consequence* that this manœuvre of theirs *must produce with respect to the King!* They did not consider that the words "*Patriot King*" would not incommode their slumbers, though they were to give universal suffrage and voting by ballot!

As to what *the people will do*, they will do as they have always done when they have not been deluded; that is, act *justly*, and act with *cool determination*. However they may differ as to other feelings, they all love and honour their country, they are humane in their very nature; every man has a respect for the rights of his neighbour; they will neither tear their country to pieces, nor suffer others to tear it to pieces. They feel, *as one man*, in favour of *Lord Grey*, who has *now* done that which has removed away every fear with regard to his intentions, and has produced a restoration of confidence in him. All his *long forbearance*: all his *useless efforts at conciliation*; all his *excessive complaisance* towards the enemies of reform: all these we now forget, or remember them only as adding to the savage baseness of the conduct of his enemies. Every drop of honest blood in the nation has been roused for him, and *against* his false and perfidious foes, in whom the people see *their own implacable and deadly enemies*.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, last night, Lord EBRINGTON made the following motion for an address to the King:—"That an humble address be "presented to his Majesty, humbly to "represent to his Majesty the deep re- "gret felt by this House at the change "that has been announced in his Ma- "jesty's Councils by the retirement of "those Ministers in whom this House "continues to repose unabated confi- "dence. That this House, in conform- "ity with the recommendation con- "tained in his Majesty's most gracious "speech from the throne, has framed, "and sent up to the House of Lords, a "bill for the reform of the representa- "tion of the people, by which they are "convinced that the prerogative of the "Crown, the authority of both Houses "of Parliament, and the rights and li- "berties of the people, are duly secured. "That in the progress of this measure "the House of Commons considers it- "self bound in duty to state to his Ma- "jesty, that his subjects are looking "with the most intense interest and "anxiety, and they cannot disguise from "his Majesty, that the taking of any "step which would impair its efficiency "would be productive of the greatest "disappointment. That this House is "therefore impelled by an attachment "to his Majesty's person and throne, "humbly, but most earnestly, to implore

"his Majesty to call to his councils such "persons only as will carry into effect, "unimpaired in all its essential provi- "sions, that bill for the reform of the "representation of the people which "has recently passed this House."

The House, after a long debate, divided upon this motion, and the numbers were 288 *for*, and 208 against! There, then! the King has now to *dissolve the Parliament again*, or to find new Ministers to carry on the government without supplies, or choose Ministers that will pass the Reform Bill! I have no time for comment on the debate: I am compelled to go to press directly. I applaud the whole of this address, except the words "*humble*" and "*humbly*," which appear to me to be redundant. All the nation is in motion: there is a mental convulsion in the country: if the King have one single sincere friend upon earth, he will go to him and implore him to take Lord GREY back to his councils immediately.

WM. COBBETT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

7th May, 1832.

REFORM (ENGLAND) BILL.

Earl GREY moved the order of the day for the House going into committee on the Reform Bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR put the question, which being agreed to, his Lordship retired from the woolsack, and the chair was taken by the Earl of SHAFTESBURY.

Earl GREY rose and addressed their Lordships. The question of reform, said the noble Earl, that important question having arrived by the sanction of the House at the stage which was now to occupy them, the first motion to be made was for going into committee, to which they had assented; the next was, that the consideration of the title and preamble of the bill be postponed; to which, as matters of course, he anticipated there would be no opposition. He next came to the provisions of the bill, and he would then take the opportunity of announcing his intention to propose an alteration in the first clause. The first clause, according to the general principle of the measure, provided for the disfranchisement of a certain number of boroughs. It set forth, that "each of the 56 boroughs enumerated in schedule A shall, from and after the end of this present Parliament, cease to return any member or members to Parliament." This clause had been introduced into the bill brought before the House of Commons after mature examination. On the introduction of the new bill, for the convenience of the proceedings, they agreed to the number of 56, but deferred the consideration of the schedules till the other clauses should be disposed of. Perhaps objection would be made in that House to an arrangement of this kind. As there were some who objected to their saying in the first instance that the number of 56 boroughs should be disfranchised, in order to obviate this objection, it was his intention when they came to the clause to propose that the words "fifty-six" should be left out, and to propose that each of the boroughs enumerated in schedule A should cease to send members to Parliament, that is, the different boroughs in the schedule as they were to be separately proposed to the House. This appeared to him the best mode of proceeding, being calculated to obviate the objection to the clause as it at present stood. He should therefore adopt it, and would now move, that the title and the preamble of the bill be postponed, that they might come to the consideration of the first clause.

The questions of the postponement of the title and preamble of the bill being severally put and agreed to,

Lord LYNDHURST said, that he would propose that the measure recommended by the noble Earl should be carried farther, and that the consideration of the first clause should be altogether postponed. If he succeeded in obtaining its postponement, it was his intention to follow it up by proposing that the consideration of the clause immediately succeeding be also postponed. He took this course for the purpose of submitting to their Lordships the question why certain places should be allowed the privilege of sending members to Parliament, which he was of opinion ought to be discussed before they entered upon the question of disfranchisement. (Hear.) He begged for a moment to call their Lordships' attention to the position in which they now stood. Their Lordships had decided that the bill should be read a second time, and considered in committee. They had decided for the principle of the bill with reference to inquiry. What could fairly and properly be deemed the principle of the bill was a point that might educe much discussion; but he would frankly admit, having attended minutely to its progress, that he regarded those noble Lords who had voted for the second reading, as intending to establish the three principles of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of suffrage. This he admitted fully, and would act candidly and uniformly upon the admission. But although noble Lords had divided in favour of the second reading, and had thereby acknowledged these principles, yet he begged to remind them that they were not fettered in the slightest degree as to the extent to which they were to be urged; and they came to deliberate as to the amount of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of suffrage,

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entirely free and untrammeled by their previous vote. Still he must allow that, after all that had passed on this subject in both Houses of Parliament,—looking at the state of the country and the expectations that were abroad, he felt bound to state, after the best consideration of this most important question, that he was not disposed, nor did he believe that those who acted with him on that occasion were disposed, to present to noble Lords such alterations in the measure as, if adopted, would render it ultimately of such a character as ought not to satisfy, not Radicals, but all intelligent reformers in the country, and (without entering more into detail) even the noble Lord himself by whom the bill was brought forward. As to the manner in which the discussion was to be carried on in committee, he was sure that on their side it would be marked by temperance and candour, and he trusted to noble Lords opposite meeting them in the same spirit, and to the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, upon whose character and professions he relied. Much had been said in that house and out of that house as to the opponents of the bill being influenced by party feelings and party measures. He would distinctly deny the imputation. Noble Lords certainly had felt it their duty to comment upon other proceedings of his Majesty's Government; but in so doing, he could declare, with entire confidence, that for the last 100 years never had any opposition been conducted with less of the spirit of party than the present. (A laugh from the ministerial benches.) He would repeat, that never had there been less concert, less co-operation, less of the machinery that characterized party, than during the period of that opposition. (Hear, hear, from the opposition.) This was especially the case with respect to the measure before the House. He had opposed it himself, as others had opposed it, upon principle—having felt convinced, after using his best endeavours to inform his mind, that if the bill passed into a law it would have the effect of destroying the balance of the mixed government of England, and the just rights and privileges of their Lordships' House. (Hear.) This was his conviction; and if it were so, what other course was he bound to pursue but that of opposing the bill? Was it possible for him to take any other course? Could he have acted otherwise as a peer of Parliament? Upon principle, and principle alone, had he grounded his opposition to the bill. (Hear.) It was his desire that they should postpone the consideration of the clauses referred to until after they had considered the clauses by which enfranchisement was to be conferred. In stating this wish, he would most anxiously entreat their Lordships not to misapprehend him. What he proposed was simple, and would involve nothing as to a prejudgment of the clauses. To borrow the language of his profession, he desired that the clauses should be postponed "without prejudice;" that in fact they should approach the consideration of them unfettered—unprejudiced—precisely as if they had not been postponed at all. The ground on which he would recommend the postponement of the clause was, that a bill of this description ought essentially to be a measure of enfranchisement. He objected to it because it appeared to him to be a measure of disfranchisement. In his opinion it ought to be a bill of enfranchisement, of which principle disfranchisement should be the consequent. He knew no other ground on which they should be guided in framing a measure of the kind. If it were for the benefit of the state that a number of large and populous towns should be enfranchised, disfranchisement might be required on account of the inconvenience resulting from too great a body of members in the other House of Parliament. On this point he would express no opinion, but he would repeat that disfranchisement should be consequent on enfranchisement; he would not say to the letter, but it should be so generally, and if a particular case arose, let it be judged by its particular merits. As to disfranchising a certain number of places, the proper mode of proceeding was to begin by establishing the necessity of the occasion, and by learning previously what places were to be enfranchised. The proposition of the noble Earl (Grey) met his objection in part, but not altogether; for by coming to the consideration of the first clause they would allow disfranchisement to precede enfranchisement. If the noble Lord would not only leave out the words "fifty-six," but would abstain from incorporating schedule A in the clause, then his (Lord Lyndhurst's) amendment would not be necessary, (Earl Grey expressed signs of dissent,) nor would he feel called upon to press his motion. The course he recommended appeared to him the worthier of their adoption, as it was the more gracious to begin with an act of favour, or, if they would, of justice. Now disfranchisement began by depriving persons of a right. The very preamble of the bill admitted that it was a right, and before touching upon it he conceived that they ought to establish enfranchisement as the foundation and justification of the proceeding. The authority of one of the most eminent Whig lawyers—Chief Justice Holt—warranted the view he had taken. There were other considerations which pressed strongly on his mind. If they pursued this course, they would disfranchise as a matter of necessity; but if they opposed this course, on what principle would they disfranchise? They would proceed upon the assumption that the boroughs were nuisances and stains upon the constitution. (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) He would ask their Lordships if it were advisable for them to pursue the latter course? ("Hear," from the opposition.) Would not any man pretending to be a statesman prefer the healing plan? It had been proclaimed at public meetings,—it had been 'blazoned on the corners of the streets'—that the

House of Commons was but "a borough-mongering Parliament; and what right had it to make laws for the people?—what right had it to call on them and their children to pay a debt which, but for Parliamentary corruption, would never have been incurred?" Was this a visionary statement? A noble Baron opposite had presented a petition from the National Political Union, and this was the language of the gentleman who had moved the first resolution. "Let us get a reformed Parliament—the delegates of the people—he thanked the noble Duke for the term (hear); and they should soon get delegates that would do good to themselves." After touching upon the church, he proceeded to say, "as to that pretty affair, the 800,000,000*l.* of debt,—who borrowed the money? The English borough-mongers? (Ministerial cheers.) And for what? To put down reform at home and revolution abroad. Had they the right to saddle them and their children with the payment of this debt? He denied it in toto." The orator was not disposed to be unmerciful to the fundholders; he thought they ought to be paid "as far as public property could pay them; as to the rest, some composition must be made. That would be the work of a reformed Parliament,—the thing was irrisistible, and a reformed Parliament would effect it." Such was an example—a common example—of the doctrines that were every day promulgated, and he would caution their Lordships against giving them the sanction of that House. Without entering upon other topics that presented themselves to his mind, he would proceed to point out to their Lordships the course taken on the subject of reform by those who had made that question the subject of long and deep consideration, from Lord Chatham down to the present time, and when he stated the several plans which they had proposed, it would be seen that enfranchisement was the end they had in view, and disfranchisement the means. He would begin with Lord Chatham. Seventy years ago, that noble Lord proposed his plan, of which disfranchisement formed no part. His plan was, that 100 members should be added to the representation, of which a part should be sent from the counties, and the others selected by the large towns. The next was Mr. Pitt's first plan, which, like that of his father, was, that an addition of 100 members should be made to the representation in the House of Commons. In this there was nothing of direct disfranchisement. He spoke of the plan of 1783. The disfranchisement was contingent, and made an exception to the general principle of the bill; for it was, except that it should be proved that at any time any borough should forfeit its right to return members, and that, in that case, the franchise should be thrown into the general mass. Mr. Pitt's next plan in 1785 was, that seventy-two new members should be added to the representation, and that afterwards a sum of money should be raised for the purchase of thirty-six boroughs; but this part was to be a subsequent measure, and was not to be resorted to until they should have tried the effect of the first part of the plan, and seen how the addition of the seventy-two new members should operate. In the purchase of the boroughs it was intended to give representatives to Birmingham and Sheffield. In the plan introduced by Mr. Flood, it was proposed to add two members to the House of Commons; but in this plan there was no mention of disfranchisement. He next came to the plan proposed by the noble Earl (Grey) opposite, the main feature of which was the great increase of the members returned by counties. On the general merits of that plan it was not necessary for him to make any observation, nor was he disposed to do so after what had been observed with respect to it by the noble Earl himself—that much of it was to be ascribed to the heat and inexperience of youth. This brought him to the plan introduced some years ago by the noble lord (John Russell), who was the ostensible mover of the bill now on their Lordships' table, as well as of that which had preceded it in a former session. The plan introduced by the noble Lord was in the shape of four resolutions, the second of which declared it expedient to give representatives to the large towns then unrepresented; but the third resolution recommended the appointment of a committee to consider how that enfranchisement might be best effected without any inconvenient addition to the number of members in the House of Commons. It was not, he (Lord Lyndhurst) thought, too much for him to infer from this proposition, that the noble Lord looked upon enfranchisement as the principle and end of his plan, and that he considered disfranchisement as the means. He did not mean to impute any inconsistency to the noble Lord, for whom he had a very high respect, but he could not avoid noticing the language of the noble Lord on that occasion. His words were, "Let us first agree as to what towns shall be enfranchised, and then we shall see what is to be the extent of disfranchisement—what alterations it may be necessary to propose." But this hostility to disfranchise, or the principle of regarding it only as a means, not an end or object of reform, was not confined to the noble Lord whose name he had mentioned. He thought, that in the speeches, as well as the writings, of his noble and learned Friend (the Lord Chancellor), the same principle was adhered to. His noble and learned Friend had, he conceived, given sufficient evidence that he also looked upon enfranchisement as the great end of reform, and that, if he regarded disfranchisement at all, it was to be only as a means. In a celebrated letter which his noble and learned Friend had written, he had made use of these words,—"Above all things, let us have no disfranchisement." He did not mean to charge his noble and learned Friend with inconsistency in this respect, but he was anxious

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to quote him as a very high authority for the course which he (Lord Lyndhurst) pointed out; and allow him to say, that he considered that course more in accordance with the spirit of the constitution. If that practice now prevailed which once existed, and which was certainly founded upon the then admitted prerogative of the Crown—of sending writs to places which had grown into importance, authorising them to return members, and this prerogative remained down to the time of King Charles II., who, as was well known, had sent a writ to the town of Newark—if, he repeated, that prerogative still existed in the Crown, there could be no difficulty in adjusting the principle of enfranchisement. But that prerogative no longer existed, and allow him to say, that at no time was the power of disfranchisement recognised by law as belonging to the monarch. He knew it had been held that the Crown had the power of withholding writs from places which had gone to decay, but this power had been most formally disavowed, first by a committee of the House of Commons, afterwards by the decision of the judges of the land, and eventually by Parliament itself. In the reign of James I, four boroughs complained to the House that *precipes* had not been sent to them to return members as usual in the case of a new election. The House appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and the committee decided that the *precipe* could not legally be refused to them. The matter was afterwards referred to the Chief Justices of the Courts, and the decision of the committee was confirmed, and it was, as he had said, subsequently confirmed by Parliament itself, and the *precipes* were issued. The towns of Wincheater and Pomfret were instances of the same kind, in the same reign. He (Lord Lyndhurst) must contend, then, that the power of the Crown not extending now to the issuing or withholding of writs from places which sent members to Parliament being admitted, and that the plans of all the great reformers, from the time of Lord Chatham to the present day, having been, as he had shown, on the principle of enfranchisement as an end, and disfranchisement as a means, he was acting in accordance with the spirit of the constitution, and in conformity with even the practice of modern reformers, in proposing that their Lordships should first consider the question of how far they were disposed to carry the enfranchising principle before they took into consideration the question of disfranchisement. Having stated the arguments which occurred to him on this point, he could assure their Lordships that in taking this course he did not mean to prejudice the question of disfranchisement, for their Lordships could afterwards measure the extent of disfranchisement by the extent to which they should feel disposed to carry the principle of enfranchisement. He would now therefore move that the first and second clauses of the bill be postponed. The question having been put from the chair,—

The LORD CHANCELLOR said he was sure that his noble and learned Friend could not have distinctly heard what fell from his noble Friend (Earl Grey) near him, from the construction he had put upon his observations as to the course he proposed with respect to the first clause. His noble Friend proposed as a course which was likely to be more convenient to their Lordships, that the words "fifty-six" should be omited from the first clause, because, as his noble Friend had observed, it might be not agreeable to many of their Lordships to be tied down in the first instance to the disfranchisement of so many boroughs, but his noble Friend had never meant or said that it was not his intention to propose the disfranchisement of that number of boroughs. On the contrary, he had most distinctly and emphatically added, that it was his intention to propose the disfranchisement of those boroughs—that was, that each of them should *seriatim* be proposed to be inserted in schedule A. He was anxious to set his noble and learned Friend right on this point, lest, by possibility, it could be supposed that his noble Friend near him, or he (Lord Brougham), or any of his noble colleagues, could by any possibility think of going back one atom from what they considered the essential principles of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial side.) The course which his noble Friend proposed was for the sake of the convenience of their Lordships, for he admitted that there would be an inconvenience attending the clause if it were proposed at once that fifty-six boroughs should be disfranchised. Therefore it was that his noble Friend proposed to omit those words from the clause, but with the certain intention of proposing each one of the fifty-six boroughs to be inserted in it as they went on. He was fully disposed to give his noble and learned Friend credit for the disclaimer he had made of want of candour, or of the existence of any factious party spirit in the proposition he now made; but if he were to judge of him by the party with whom he was acting, and to whose party his noble and learned Friend had most marvellously, as it appeared to him, assigned the absence of all factious or party motives—if he were to weigh all that they had lately done with respect to this bill, and to the Government by which it was introduced, he should not be disposed to give him that credit for candour and fairness which he then most unfeignedly did. He was unwilling to go back to all the proceedings of that party; but without going farther back than that most unfactious and most candid course which that party took on the occasion of the system of education lately adopted in Ireland, he must say, that when he recollected the various cases and degrees of party who were united on that question, for the purpose of showing, no doubt, their very good will to Government—when he recollected the strange union which was then made to assert a principle different from that on which Government acted,—they might be

right—they might have considered that they were wrong. But when he recollected the union formed on that occasion, of men who could not agree on any one point, but that in the plan they were pursuing, they were opposed to the Government—when he recollected these circumstances, he must own that if he were to measure his noble and learned Friend's candour by that of those with whom he acted, he should not be disposed to give him as much credit for that quality as he should willingly do if he were to consider him in his individual character and distinct from party association. (Hear, hear.) Considering then this motion—considering by whom it was proposed, and by whom it was likely to be supported, he could look upon it in no other light, than as a negative of the most important part of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial side, and cries of "No, no," from the opposition.) If his noble and learned Friend, instead of wrapping himself in generalities, would only say that there was any important part of the bill with which he would agree—if he would even now say that he did not object to the principle of schedules A and B, but that he would rather that schedules C and D should be taken first—then he could understand the ground of his objection, and might be disposed to accede to it, (though he should still think that the taking the clauses in their order in the bill would be the more desirable course). If even his noble and learned Friend would point out that there was something for which they ought to wait before they proceeded to the discussion of that clause, some information which they had not yet obtained, but which might be forthcoming at a later period of the discussion, he should not think his motion unreasonable; but when his noble and learned Friend left them in the dark as to all that, and as to his own intentions and those of the party with which he acted, with respect to those clauses, at a future period, he must think that the proposition was made only to get rid of the clause altogether, and therefore it should have his most decided opposition. (Hear, hear.) His noble and learned Friend had, in order to induce their Lordships to agree with him in this motion, taken rather a strange course, if his object were only the mere postponement and not total defeat of the clause. He had alluded to opinions which were expressed elsewhere, and his noble and learned Friend had read and commented upon a speech delivered at a public meeting somewhere in the north. He did not think it worth while to follow his noble and learned Friend into any examination of that speech, for he did not think it fair to pick out words from a speech at a public meeting out of doors, indeed he should think it hardly fair to do so to a speech delivered in any place, he would not except even the two highest and most important scenes of public discussion, the two Houses of Parliament. If he were disposed to make selections for the sake of comment on the speeches delivered in either of those Houses, or in the acts of the Houses themselves, he should be at no loss to find abundant subjects for remark, and that, too, not in the way of any cordial approbation. For instance, he had heard in one House of Parliament of a proposition made—aye, and carried too—and carried by a large majority, a majority of which, as expressing the sense of the then representatives of the people, he was bound to speak with all due respect; but he had heard of a proposition moved by that house, and carried by that majority, which in gross absurdity was not exceeded by any of the wildest or most extravagant which he had ever heard made out of doors—a proposition not only against the abundant evidence of the experience of that day, but against common arithmetic. That proposition was, that a one-pound note and a shilling were equivalent to, in real value, a guinea in gold, (cheers from the ministerial side),—a proposition which seemed to have been made almost for no other purpose but that of making the assertion of the contrary a misdemeanour, and made at the very moment that persons who knew well the relative value of the pound note and the guinea in gold, were giving 28s. of paper currency for that guinea. (Hear, hear, from the ministerial side.) He mentioned this only to show the danger of picking out passages from the proceedings of public bodies as proofs of general principles or general feeling. His noble and learned Friend had cited several plans of reform, to show that the object of all was enfranchisement, and that disfranchisement was means by which it was to be achieved; but he had passed over one great measure of reform, in which there was all disfranchisement and no enfranchisement—he meant the union of Great Britain and Ireland. In that great measure 200 out of 300 members were lopped off at once, without any corresponding enfranchisement. Was there nothing in that precedent which should induce his noble and learned Friend to pass it over without notice? But his noble and learned Friend had availed himself of the opinions expressed by individuals, and, amongst others, had quoted one which he (the Lord Chancellor) had given,—"That by all means there should be no disfranchisement." Did his noble and learned Friend think that the change which twenty-two eventful years had brought about was as nothing? He (the Lord Chancellor) could remember that in the period of twenty-two weeks a change had been wrought so great as was considered sufficient to induce many of their Lordships to alter an opinion on a great question of internal policy which they had within that time negatived by a large majority; and not only had this change taken place, but it was proposed by the very parties who had been most active in opposing the same question; yet the short space of two-and-twenty weeks had seemed with events sufficient to induce noble Lords to think that they were not only justified but bound to vote against their former decision. (Hear, hear).

Did he say this by way of disparagement to those who had taken that course, or in whose opinions that change had been effected? By no means. Did he mean it as any objection to the votes which his noble and learned Friend had given on that occasion? Not at all: he was rather disposed to quote his noble and learned Friend as a high authority for such a change, as his noble and learned Friend had been pleased to quote him. His noble and learned Friend had said, that statesmen ought to act according to the circumstances of the times; but to follow up his remark, and to show that there was any inconsistency in the course which he (the Lord Chancellor) had adopted, he should prove that nothing had occurred in the course of twenty-two eventful years which could justify that change. He contended that the change which had taken place in the times fully justified the departure, as far as it was in this bill, from the principle of previous measures of reform. The principle of the bill recognised the taking the franchise from inconsiderable places,—that was the foundation; then came the addition of members of towns not represented before, and then the addition to the representation of counties; but the leading principle on which the whole was founded was the taking away the representation from places which, in the lapse of time, had become obscure and decayed, and which had also from the same causes become corrupt or fallen into the hands of individuals. His noble and learned Friend had said that it could be of no importance whether the disfranchisement should be last, for that when they knew what they had to enfranchise, they should then know the extent of disfranchisement. This led him (the Lord Chancellor) to repeat what he had said, that the thing sought by the motion was the destruction of the clause altogether, and he was the more confirmed in this opinion when he saw who were those by whom this motion was likely to be supported. He had no doubt that his noble and learned Friend expected that all those who objected to the fundamental principle of the bill would join with him,—not merely those who would give a little here and take a little there, but who would rather not be called upon to give anything whatever. He did not mean to say that his noble and learned Friend had so framed and intended his motion, but it required not the great acuteness and quick perception of his noble and learned Friend to see that such a motion would have the effect of drawing together all those who felt any hostility to the measure. He (the Lord Chancellor) therefore could not consent to a motion which would put the leading, the most important part of the bill in risk and danger. But let him ask, from whom did this motion come?—from one who was disposed to admit the principle of the measure, or any important part of it, and to see how the rest might be remodelled in the committee? No; his noble and learned Friend had frankly and candidly declared that he was wholly opposed to the bill, as one which would destroy the balance of the constitution; that, therefore, he could enter into no consideration of the detail, for he would oppose the whole. He would, he admitted now, be disposed to see how far the principle of enfranchisement would go; and were they, he (the Lord Chancellor) would ask, were those who were favourable to the principles as well as to the detail of the bill, to wait and hazard the safety of that principle until they saw to what degree of enfranchisement the noble and learned Lord and his friends would go, that they might then ascertain how far they should be permitted to carry the principle of disfranchisement? For his part he confessed that in the prospect which his noble and learned Friend held out, his hopes of gaining anything to the bill by his acceding to his motion were very weak indeed. (Hear.) The attack, for attack it was, was made on that part of the bill which he most valued, and which those opposed to all reform most dreaded, for the great hatred was directed against schedule A; and if that should be put in jeopardy, or defeated, he could easily guess how it would fare with schedule B and the rest. (Hear, hear.) But if, as his noble and learned Friend intimated, the schedule A could be considered after the other parts of the bill, and if there was to be no objection to it, why might it not as well be agreed to in the first instance? The other plans of reform to which his noble and learned Friend had alluded had been brought in, it should be remembered for the first time, and proposed in unreforming Houses of Parliament; but the plan now before the House was brought into a House of Parliament disposed to admit the principle of reform, and that this bill had twice received the sanction by a large majority of one House of Parliament. Under these circumstances, and feeling that his noble and learned Friend had made no case for the necessity or expediency of the course he had proposed, he should feel it his duty to give his direct and decided opposition. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of HARROWBY rose with one or two other lords, but the cry for the noble Earl being very general, the other noble lords gave way. The noble Earl began by observing, that he should not have felt disposed to rise thus early in the discussion if the noble and learned Lord who last addressed the House, and whose authority was always of great weight, had not omitted anything like argument in support of his opposition to the motion of his noble and learned Friend. He should give his support to his noble and learned Friend's motion for postponing the consideration of schedule A; but in doing so, let it not for a moment be understood that he was one of those to whom the noble and learned Lord opposite had referred, who meant by this postponement to object to the disfranchising clause even to its full extent—if, after considering the enfranchising clauses, their Lordships should be of opinion that it should stand in the bill. He would repeat here what

he said on a former occasion, that not abandoning his opinion of the utility of preserving many of those boroughs which it was now proposed to disfranchise, still he did not think that considering the feelings of the public on the subject, which it was absolutely necessary should not be overlooked, it was expedient that those feelings should be consulted, and that the principle of disfranchisement should be carried to the same extent, for he admitted that if they were to have enfranchisement to a great extent, they must have disfranchisement in a corresponding proportion. He was glad to hear in the outset of the noble Earl's observations, that the words "fifty-six" were to be omitted from the clause—for the retaining of which he saw no earthly reason but that they were placed there; but the noble Earl, though he proposed to omit the words "fifty-six," meant to move that each of the boroughs composing that fifty-six should be proposed *seriatim*. Now he would ask whether this was not the same in effect? Would not the more safe course be to adopt that proposed by his noble and learned Friend; for if they went on from borough to borough in the first clause, they would not know where to stop. They would have in that case nothing to guide them with certainty as to whether they should disfranchise fifty-six, or forty-six, or sixty; but if they began with enfranchisement, then they would have something to guide them. He was ready to enter upon the question of disfranchisement if, having considered of the other parts of the bill, he should think it necessary; but first he should like to see his way, and to ascertain how far that principle might be necessary. It was not the difference of one or two towns; it was not the difference of whether this place was enfranchised before that was disfranchised. That might not be the most important consideration, but it was an important consideration to see generally how far the principle of enfranchisement was necessary, and then it could be more easily ascertained how far they ought to carry the principle of disfranchisement. The objection of the noble and learned Lord opposite that this motion would receive the sanction of all who were hostile to the principle of the bill could not apply to him (the Earl of Harrowby), who, like the noble and learned Lord himself, had done his best to persuade the House to assent to the second reading, thereby adopting its principle, and he was sure it was as little applicable to many other noble Lords who would support the motion of his noble and learned Friend, and not from a wish to defeat the bill, but because they considered the course pointed out as the most reasonable and the most convenient. He repeated that he was disposed to go any reasonable lengths which would give a chance of tranquillizing the country and placing a good Government on a firm basis; but in going this length, he thought that the more safe, reasonable, and prudent course, would be to consider first that part of the bill which was matter of grace and favour, to see which were the towns whose wealth and rank entitled them to representation, and then to go to the counties, and which were those which required additional members, and next to consider the means of giving to all a respectable constituency, and then they might with great propriety consider how far they might carry the principle of disfranchisement. The noble Earl, in conclusion, expressed his great satisfaction, and congratulated the House on the fact, that the discussions on this important subject had hitherto been free from heat and passion; that there had been no mixing up of private interests, but that the whole subject had been fairly considered as one which affected the general interests of the country.

Lord BEXLEY next addressed the House, but in a tone so low, as to be very indistinctly heard below the bar. We understood the noble Lord, in reference to what had fallen from the noble and learned Lord (the Lord Chancellor) on the subject of the resolution of the House of Commons declaring the one-pound note and the shilling to be equivalent to a guinea, to contend that the course taken by the House on that occasion was justifiable, and in accordance with the verdict of a jury of twelve men on their oaths on the same subject. With respect to the motion before the House, he had two reasons for supporting it. It should be recollected that one of the great grievances complained of was the want of enfranchisement, and that the enfranchisement of the large towns was sought for. And when that was done, the next point to be considered would be how it could be done with the least possible infringement of private rights. The second reason which induced him to support the amendment of his noble and learned Friend was, a desire that their Lordships should not carry the remedy beyond the extent of the grievance complained of. And thus their Lordships would arrive at the question, whether any disfranchisement at all was necessary (loud cries of "Hear," intermingled with laughter from the ministerial benches); for it was his opinion, that by a proper adjustment and classification of boroughs, disfranchisement might be avoided altogether. (Cheers from the opposition.) Wishing that some means might be discovered whereby an adjustment of the enfranchisement and the classification of boroughs, satisfactory to all parties, might be effected, he should certainly give his support to the amendment moved by his noble and learned Friend.

The Earl of RADNOR looked upon the question which had been raised by the noble and learned Lord opposite as a question of very serious importance. The noble Earl, who had spoken last but one, and wished to prove that it was a question of no consequence whether the words "fifty-six" were left in the clause, or whether the names of the boroughs to be inserted in schedule A were voted separately, as his noble friend near him (Earl Grey) had proposed. Now it appeared

to him to be a matter of great consequence which course was adopted, and he would shortly tell their Lordships why. Those persons who advised the postponement of this clause were the enemies to disfranchisement altogether. (A faint cry of "No.") He said, yes. The noble and learned Lord who proposed the amendment, had frankly avowed his enmity to the bill, and though he had stated that he should act in the committee with the utmost fairness by the bill, he (the Earl of Radnor) could not help feeling that the noble and learned Lord's wish to reject the bill in toto, might bias his judgment in considering its clauses. The noble Earl who had spoken second on this question, had avowed himself a friend to the system of nomination boroughs. He had even told their Lordships that evening, that he did not give up one iota of the opinions which he had formerly entertained respecting their utility and advantage; and the noble Baron who had just sat down had declared it to be his opinion that if this amendment were carried, disfranchisement might be done away with altogether. The postponement, then, of this clause meant nothing else than the throwing out the clause for the disfranchisement of what some writers had not hesitated to call the shameful parts of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) He looked upon that clause as the most important clause in the bill. Some noble Lords were of a different opinion, and maintained that the 10*l.* qualification clause was that which the people were most desirous of seeing part and parcel of the bill. He believed quite the reverse. He admitted that there had been more talk lately about the 10*l.* clause than about the disfranchisement clause; but the reason was obvious,—it was generally supposed that the nomination boroughs would be given up without a word by all parties. (Hear.) What was it, he would ask, which more than anything else had reconciled the country to this Reform Bill? The extent to which it carried the disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs. When the people first received the bill with that enthusiasm of which no man now ventured to dispute the existence, it was not because they had considered the mode of enfranchisement which it proposed, but because they discovered that it made a great disfranchisement. He therefore concluded that the disfranchisement clause was the main clause of the bill, and one which most interested the popular will of the country. Considering the quarter from which the proposition for postponement came, he could not look upon it as anything else than a mode of getting rid, by a side wind, of disfranchisement altogether. The noble Earl said that there was no essential difference between the proposition of his noble and learned Friend, and the amendment upon it proposed by the noble and learned Lord opposite. He would call the attention of their Lordships to the point in which the difference between them was to be found. If you lay down in the first instance that 56 boroughs are to be disfranchised, you must then look out for the different boroughs which are to form part of those 56; but if you leave out the words fifty-six, you are at liberty to look out for nomination boroughs, and if you find 56 boroughs or even more deserving disfranchisement, you can put them at once into schedule A. The difference between two propositions was thus nothing more than the mere difference between cause and effect. (Hear.) With respect to the necessity of disfranchising these nomination boroughs, he had recently had an opportunity of informing himself of the opinions which the people of England had entertained upon that subject. He had recently been in Lancashire, and in travelling along the rail-road between Liverpool and Manchester, he had passed close by the decayed and insignificant borough of Newton. He had been told that it was impossible to form a conception of the effect which the existence of that borough of Newton so close to the rail-road had produced upon the minds of those who had travelled along it from the opulent and populous town of Liverpool, which was partially represented, to the still more opulent and populous town of Manchester, which was totally unrepresented. (Cheers.) The feeling as to the necessity of disfranchising such wretched and contemptible places as Newton was gaining strength daily amid the hardy and intelligent people of the north; and if they had talked lately more of the 10*l.* qualification clause than they had of the disfranchisement clause, it was, he repeated, because they supposed it was agreed on all hands that an extensive disfranchisement should take place. (Hear, hear.) If their Lordships were disposed to make this bill available to any good purpose, they must put a negative on the amendment proposed by the noble and learned Lord.

The Duke of WELLINGTON.—The noble Earl who had spoken last, and the noble and learned Lord who preceded him, had founded their speeches against the proposition of his noble and learned Friend entirely on the notion that it was made by an avowed enemy of the bill, and that it was intended for nothing else, but party purposes. He would not follow either of those noble Lords into an inquiry into the conduct of those distinguished personages with whom he had had the honour of acting on the memorable occasion to which they had both alluded, nor into an inquiry into their conduct during the last and the present session. Neither would he stop to compare it with the conduct pursued by the noble and learned Lord in another place, nor with the conduct pursued by other noble Lords in respect to all party measures. But this he would say, that if ever there were men who had found it necessary to differ from the policy of his Majesty's Government, and who had cautiously abstained from acting upon party motives,—and he had himself received credit from the noble and learned Lord for

having given support to his Majesty's Government when he thought it deserved support,—if ever there was an occasion on which men ought to have been exempt upon such an insinuation as was conveyed in the speech of the noble and learned Lord, the present was that occasion, and he and those with whom he had acted during the two last sessions of Parliament, were the men who ought not to have been exposed to such an unfounded and unworthy imputation. (Hear, hear.) It had been said, however, that this amendment is brought forward merely because we are enemies to the bill. He avowed his enmity to the bill—he was convinced that, do what their Lordships might with it, it would never be anything but an evil to the country. (Loud cries of "Hear.") His opinion was, that when they should have amended this bill as far as it was capable of amendment, they would find a crisis hanging over the country which this bill would have occasioned, and which it would not leave the Government with the means of averting. (Cheers from the opposition.) But when once the bill had passed the second reading, and a majority of their Lordships had decided that its principles were fit to be acceded to, and that its details should be considered in a committee, he felt it to be his duty, as a peer of Parliament, to come down to the House and to consider the principles of the bill, and to make it a measure, so far as it was capable of being made a measure, fit for the House to pass and for the Government to carry into execution. He could not help observing with some surprise, that neither the noble and learned Lord nor the noble Earl who had followed him, had said one word in answer to the speech of his noble and learned Friend, who had shown that, according to all precedent, according to all analogy of law, and according to all the acknowledged maxims of the constitution, the first principle which ought to be considered in this bill, was the principle of enfranchisement, and that the second was, whether disfranchisement ought or ought not to follow it. To the argument of his noble and learned Friend, the noble and learned Lord opposite, who was a great lawyer, and capable of giving an answer to any argument which could be answered ("Hear, hear," from the opposition), had not said a single word. He had left the argument as it stood, and that was a decisive proof that the argument was unanswerable. It was not with any dirty view of defeating the bill by a side-wind (cheers from the ministerial benches) that he supported this amendment. The question for their Lordships to consider was, whether they would first vote one clause, by which, one after another, fifty-six boroughs were to be disfranchised, and then another by which thirty more were to be partially disfranchised, without knowing what the extent of enfranchisement was to be, and without having decided whether they would go to the full length of the bill itself. And why was all this to be done? Because certain persons in the country thought proper to call those boroughs rotten nomination boroughs. Now, whilst they were talking of rotten nomination boroughs, he wanted to know whether no such boroughs would remain after this bill was carried? It was well known that there would. He thought that at a future stage of the bill he should be able to prove at their Lordships' bar that a nomination borough was even created by it. (Cheers from the opposition.) In conclusion, he stated, that though he was a decided enemy to the bill, he should proceed in the committee by fair means to make it as perfect as its many extraordinary provisions would allow.

Lord HOLLAND and the Duke of NEWCASTLE rose together, but on the Duke of Newcastle's withdrawing,

Lord HOLLAND proceeded to address their Lordships to the following effect:—He was very anxious, he said, to endeavour to assign a few of the many reasons which induced him to give his vote against the amendment which had been so ingeniously put forward by the noble and learned Lord opposite. He felt a strong desire to address their Lordships on the present occasion, though he confessed that, from personal reasons with which it was immaterial to trouble their Lordships, but of which personal indisposition was one, he was not sure that he should be able to go through the task which he had voluntarily imposed upon himself. He was anxious, he repeated, to address their Lordships from the perfect persuasion that the amendment proposed by the noble and learned Lord was one which, if unfortunately it should be adopted by a majority of their Lordships, would entirely do away with the great good which they had recently effected by giving their assent to the second reading of this bill. (Hear.) Of this point he was thoroughly persuaded, that the amendment of the noble and learned Lord was inconsistent with the past decision of their Lordships. (Hear, hear, and cries of "No," from the opposition.) He did not say this unadvisedly and though they might not be satisfactory to their Lordships, he would state the reasons, such as they were, which had induced him to come to that conclusion. He thought, then, that this amendment was inconsistent with the recent decision of their Lordships,—that it was irreconcilable with all reasonable and constitutional principle,—and that it was fraught with the greatest evils, as it was calculated to disappoint the expectations of the Commons of England, taking that term either in its confined sense of the House of Commons, or in the more enlarged and liberal sense of the constitution,—namely, that of the people of England. (Cheering from the ministerial benches.) He repeated that this amendment was inconsistent with the decision to which their Lordships had recently come, and for the reasons which he would now briefly state to them. He imputed motives to no one: he did not say that the intention of the noble Duke in supporting this amendment, or that the intention of the noble and learned Lord in

proposing it, was to act directly against what they considered to be the principle of the bill; but in his view of this matter, the postponement of the consideration of the disfranchisement clause would be tantamount to a vote against the principles of the bill. But when their Lordships were talking of the principles of the bill, prudential motives should lead them to consider not what they themselves considered to be the principles of the bill, but what the framers of the bill considered them to be, and still more what the House of Commons considered them to be. (Hear, hear.) Now what were those principles? The principle to which the noble and learned Lord had principally directed his attention was this:—Said the noble and learned Lord, "Let disfranchisement be the consequence of enfranchisement, and then you will act constitutionally, and according to precedents." Comical precedents indeed they would be which had always been rejected, and yet none but such precedents could the noble and learned Lord quote. "But," continued the noble and learned Lord, "if you act thus, you would be acting reasonably;" and then he held out to the House a distant hope that he would agree with it in voting for the principle of the bill. He (Lord Holland) would contend that the precedence of disfranchisement to enfranchisement was one of the principles of the bill,—nay more, that it was that very principle which had rendered the bill so palatable to the people, and had made it effectual for two great and magnificent objects which the bill contemplated. One of them was of a temporary character, and yet of great urgency and importance, for it was nothing less than the reconciliation of the people to the ancient and noble institutions of their country. (Cheers.) The other was the revision, correction, and improvement, of the ancient principle and practice of the constitution, by rendering it the true conservative principle of the country, which it had always been supposed to be by the collected wisdom of many individuals who were then no more. (Hear, hear.) He was not bound to look merely at the words in which this motion was couched, —he was also bound to look at its tendency. He was sure that the noble Duke had no dirty views on this question; but when men had strong opinions on any subject in their minds, it was impossible for them to look upon that subject with the same feelings which actuated those who adopted contrary opinions regarding it. The noble Duke, and those noble Lords who acted with him, said that they were now ready to give effect to a principle of which they had previously expressed their detestation. Now he would ask the noble and learned Baron opposite, whether, as a lawyer, he would advise him to consult a person how to do a thing, when he was aware that that person hated the thing which he asked him to do. (Hear, hear) He meant to impute no unworthy motives to a person in such a situation, but this he would say, that it would be impossible for a person so circumstanced to exercise a calm and unbiassed judgment. (Hear, hear.) The three principles of this bill were, as their Lordships all knew, disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of the suffrage. He believed that to correct and pacify the present uneasy state of the public mind the first of these three principles was the most important of all. (Loud cheering from the ministerial benches.) In saying this he did not mean to disparage the importance of the two other principles, for to every tittle of them both he was a sincere friend, determined that they should suffer no impairment. (Cheers.) Still he could not refrain from telling their Lordships that if they hesitated about passing this clause, which involved the first principle of the bill, they would deteriorate all the good which the bill was calculated to confer upon the people, and would embitter the enjoyment of it to coming generations. But, good God! to hear in that House what he had heard upon this subject had produced upon his mind emotions of surprise to which he should find it impossible to give adequate expression. First of all, he had been told that disfranchisement was such injustice! (Cries of "Hear," from the opposition benches.) Then he had heard, in common with their Lordships, changes perpetually rung upon the great advantages which the country derived from these nomination boroughs! And then, too, he had to listen to the very ingenious argument of the noble and learned Baron opposite, intended to prove the way in which these advantages operated,—an argument founded on the most visionary principles, untenable even in theory, directly opposed to the practice of the constitution, and irreconcilable with the opinions of all the great men who had ever written upon this subject. The noble and learned Lord had spoken with great indignation of proceeding to disfranchisement, unless an abuse of the franchise was proved against those who exercised it, or unless a strong case of necessity was made out in justification of it. Now on that point he would turn the noble and learned Lord over to a measure of his own. The noble and learned Lord had disfranchised, at one fell swoop, ten thousand times as many persons as this bill disfranchised. (Loud cheers from the ministerial benches.) The rights of those individuals to their suffrages rested not only upon Acts of Parliament, but upon the common law of the land, from which indeed we derived all the advantages which at present distinguished us. The noble and learned Lord, and the noble friends by whom he was then surrounded, had disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders. He (Lord Holland) had reluctantly supported that measure of disfranchisement, because he thought, upon the whole, that it would be attended with more advantage than disadvantage,—in a word, that it would prove the less of two evils. The noble and learned Lord, then, had disfranchised all the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland. The noble

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Lords opposite had no occasion to chuckle and rub their hands, and say that that measure was carried because it was intended to diminish Catholic influence. They must not lay that flattering unction to their souls, for the bill disfranchised not only the Catholic, but also the Protestant freeholders—nay, it disfranchised the Protestant freeholders under circumstances in which they possessed claims not only on the justice of the country, but also on the good faith of those who disfranchised them,—it disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders who had bought their freeholds from the Crown, and who had given an additional value for them, for the purpose of obtaining a vote, within a very short period of the time of their disfranchisement. Yes, in spite of all that the noble and learned Baron had that evening advanced on the score of disfranchisement, his bill disfranchised 400,000 Irish forty-shilling freeholders, without proving delinquency against them, or calling upon any of them for their defence at the bar of that House. (Cheers.) He had never heard the noble Duke opposite speak with more effect, or display more talent, than he did upon that occasion. The noble Duke had a difficult cause to handle, but he handled it with a master's hand. The noble Duke said, —and he (Lord Holland) did not intend to quote the noble Duke's words, he spoke from a recollection of their substance merely, —the noble Duke said, and said very justly, "After all, when we speak of these persons and of the hardship of taking their franchise away from them, we must recollect that they are so circumstanced that they do not exercise their franchise independently,—that they let it depend not on their own will, but on the will of others, in open violation of the principles of the constitution." Apply that language to these boroughs, and ask yourslves whether, if the bogtrotter with his 40s. freehold is to be deprived of his suffrages on account of his independence on his landlord and his priest, it is right for you to say, "We will not take away the franchise from the electors of St. Mawes, because they belong to and are dependent upon a great Lord." (Cheers from the opposition.) Whilst on this subject, he could not refrain from observing that their Lordships had been harshly treated not only by the friends, but also by the enemies of this bill. It had been said that the interests of their Lordships were affected by it. He (Lord Holland) had often asked the question, how were they affected by it? He had asked that question in public,—he had asked it, too, in private. He had got no answer to it in public, but he had sometimes heard an answer to it in private. Now if the answer which he had heard given to it in private had been repeated in either house of Parliament 20 or 30 years ago, when he first came into Parliament, he believed that the man who uttered it would have been called to order, and would have had a good chance of being also sent to the Tower! Good God! Could any man at this time of day be so foolish as to maintain the idea that the rotten boroughs were created for the purpose of enabling some of their Lordships to maintain an interest in the other house of Parliament? Dr. Paley was, he believed, the first writer of distinction who had broached this doctrine, and a doctrine more fallacious in principle, and more injurious in practice, could hardly be devised by the art of man. There was no borough attached either to the title or to the princely possession of any of their Lordships; there was no borough which belonged to that House as a House: it was true that the boroughs had produced an effect upon that house; and perhaps one of the greatest evils of the borough system was, that it had produced a stronger effect upon that House than it had even produced upon the other House of Parliament. To borrow a phrase from one of the many able and eloquent speeches which his noble friend on the woolsack had made on this subject, he would say that "the corruption of the borough was often the generation of the peer." (Cheers.) But did the noble Lords opposite, who expressed such generous and chivalrous sentiments respecting the dignity of that august assembly which he was then addressing—did those noble Lords mean to assert that it was right that the aristocracy should be the gaudy insects generated by the filth and ordure of the rotten boroughs? He was prepared to show, at a fitting season, from the records of history, that the effect which the rotten boroughs had produced in this way upon the House of Lords was far greater than the effect which it had produced in giving members of the House of Lords an influence over the other House of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He contended that the principles of the bill,—at least what the House of Commons understood by its principles, and what he himself had understood by them when he gave his vote for the second reading of this bill,—he contended that the principles of this bill were disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the suffrage; and that one of its subsidiary principles was the order in which its three great principles stood. (Cheers.) Men of honour might say, "You take that view of this bill; but you are calling upon us to do that which we conceive to be unjust, and which we therefore cannot do." Now there was a quarter from which this argument would not come with a very good grace; for he recollected certain circumstances inducing certain men to do that which they considered wrong before it was done, and were not prepared to defend now that it was done. He would, however, admit that the plea which he had just advanced would have been sufficient to justify any noble Lord in not supporting the principle of the bill upon its second reading. But he asked their Lordships whether, after they had sanctioned the view taken of the bill by the House of Commons, by agreeing to the second reading, they deemed that it would be

wise, prudent, or decorous, unless a strong case of necessity were made out, to tamper with that which the House of Commons, and, what was perhaps more material, the people of England, considered as the principle of the bill? (Hear, hear.) He again repeated, that in considering this amendment, he was bound to look at its tendency and effect, rather than at its professions. The noble and learned Lord had told them that he bowed with deference to the decision of the House on the second reading; and yet what course was he now pursuing? The whole of his argument was directed against the principle of disfranchisement. "I will admit," said he, "of disfranchisement as a consequence of enfranchisement, but as a principle, I abjure, abominate, and detest it." But what said the bill which their Lordships had now read a second time? That disfranchisement was the principle of the bill; and that enfranchisement, if it were not a consequence of, was at least subsequent to, disfranchisement. The noble and learned Lord, however, called upon the House to postpone disfranchisement. Postpone disfranchisement! The request was, in sooth, a very modest proposal. A noble Earl, who had taken a part in the discussion, and whose conduct he did not very strongly approve, had said,—"This is a very simple matter, and makes very little difference whether you enfranchise first, and disfranchise afterwards, or *vice versa*." He (Lord Holland) had said enough to prove that he did not think it a very simple matter. Was it a simple matter, he would ask, either in the feelings of the people, or in the effect which it would produce upon them? Did their Lordships think that those who were attached to the bill and looked forward with an earnest and ardent desire to its ultimate success would consider the postponement of the disfranchisement as a trifling matter? He shrewdly suspected that they would not. They would feel that the postponement of that clause proved the existence of a strong feeling of hostility in the House against the principle of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) But what said the noble Baron who had risen to speak on the subject of the currency, and of whose speech he had unfortunately heard nothing but a few disjointed fragments? He used as an argument, which was good to those to whom he addressed it,—namely the enemies of the bill,—he used as an argument this extraordinary assertion, "I think that if you postpone this clause, there is great probability that there will be no disfranchisement at all" (hear, hear); and then the noble Baron expressed a hope that some trick might be performed, — some adjustment or classification of boroughs might be devised,—which would do away with disfranchisement altogether. After such a declaration, coming with so much frankness from such a quarter, could he entertain a moment's doubt that the object of those who proposed the postponement of this clause was either to get rid of it entirely, or to maim and mutilate the bill in such a manner as would render it the scorn and not the delight of the people? (Great cheering from the ministerial side.) If such be their intention not even avowed to themselves, — if such be the secret wish of their hearts,—the best mode of accomplishing it is that which they have proposed,—to enfranchise first, and to disfranchise afterwards. The proposal of the noble and learned Lord was neither more nor less than this:—"Postpone your conclusion, and I'll give you any premises you may desire; but then, when I have done that, I'll make your conclusion as trifling and insignificant as possible." He (Lord Holland) acquitted the noble Duke most fully of any dirty views in supporting this amendment: but this he was compelled by a sense of duty to say, that whether it were a dirty way or a clean way, the present was the most effectual way to defeat this bill; and being so, he felt it necessary to give his decided vote against the amendment of the noble and learned Lord. (Cheers.)

The Duke of NEWCASTLE next addressed their Lordships, but we only heard one or two detached sentences of his speech, and have no idea how he applied them. We understood him to say that he opposed this bill, because he considered it revolutionary. As he deemed it pregnant with danger to the best interests of the country, he would not endeavour to amend its clauses, but would rather seek to crush them every one. With regard to nomination boroughs, he would agree to any measure which would bind the patron down, and prevent him from exercising undue influence over the voters. He would go along with any noble lord who should propose a measure to that effect. The noble Duke concluded by saying that he had felt it his duty to state the spirit which would regulate his conduct in the committee.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH said, that although a difference of opinion might prevail with respect to the correctness of the opinions entertained by the noble Duke who had just addressed the House, there was no noble Lord who would not be disposed upon this occasion, as upon all others, to do justice to the candour and manliness with which the noble Duke had avowed his sentiments. (Hear) For his own part, he entertained as much apprehension with respect to the measure,—however it might be altered consistently with its fixed principles,—as much apprehension as the noble Duke did. Nothing which he had heard, nothing which he had read, had produced the least change in the opinion which he originally entertained as to the changes which would necessarily be consequent upon the passing of the bill. At the same time it was impossible for him not to see that the position in which the question stood was most materially altered by the dissolution of Parliament, which was acquiesced in by his Majesty. He had also on a former occasion, taken the liberty to impress

upon their Lordships' minds, how much more the position of the question would be altered if their Lordships would consent to read the bill a second time. The question was now presented to their Lordships under circumstances different from those in which it had before stood. The principle of the bill had received the sanction, not only of the House of Commons, but of the House of Lords, in the independent exercise of their functions, not having, be thanked God, for the honour of those who were in his Majesty's councils, and for the permanent safety of the constitution, their numbers swelled by persons sent amongst them for the sole purpose of passing this measure. (Hear.) The bill had been read a second time by the sanction of an independent majority of the House, which carried with it greater authority than a majority obtained under other circumstances could possibly have possessed. He felt that he now was in a greater measure controlled by the vote of the House. Their Lordships having decided to read the bill a second time, it became his duty, as a peer of Parliament, to endeavour in committee to render the measure as safe as he could. When the bill should be reported, another question would arise. It would then be his duty to consider whether it would be more safe to pass the bill altered as it would be, than it would be to run the risk of the consequences which would follow from the rejection of the measure. In the committee, however, he should feel himself bound by the decision of the House upon the question of the second reading. He would propose nothing, he would support nothing, inconsistent with the three principles of the bill, namely, disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the suffrage. It was impossible that those persons who voted for the second reading should not have foreseen the extent to which the application of those principles might be carried; and of course they would not support any amendment which would have the effect of materially altering the bill from the state in which it stood on the second reading. It was his duty now to endeavour to amend the bill consistently with its three principles, reserving to himself the right of voting against the measure on the bringing up of the report, or on the third reading, if he should consider it safer to reject it than to pass it. The question which had been submitted to the House that evening was one of great importance, not so much with respect to the bill as with respect to the past and the future. To agree to the disfranchising clause in the manner proposed by Ministers was an invasion of private rights, and would form a precedent for an attack upon property of any description. He would never consent to such a course of proceeding. He should regret if, as the noble Baron said, the Commons of England should be disappointed that their Lordships did not proceed exactly in the way which Ministers proposed; but it was his duty not to indulge the people in that which was not reasonable, and would to themselves prove injurious. (Hear.) No man desired more than he did to witness the re-establishment of that confidence and good humour amongst all classes of the people, which the measures of Ministers had for a time destroyed, but he would not consent to effect even that desirable object by establishing a precedent which would shake the foundation of every thing which was valuable in our social system. He therefore supported the principle advanced by his noble and learned Friend, that disfranchisement was contrary to the practice of the constitution, and should only be resorted to in cases where a commanding reason required it. He regretted that the noble Baron opposite did not make the speech with which he had that night favoured the House upon the question of the second reading, for then his arguments might have been answered; but he rejoiced that he did not deliver his speech at the time the question of the disfranchisement of the 40*s.* freeholders of Ireland was under consideration, lest his reasons might have induced the House to reject that measure which he considered necessary as a safeguard. He could assure the House that he and the noble Lords with whom he acted were disposed to deal fairly by the bill, and endeavour to render it a measure under which it would be possible for the Government to be carried on; and for his own part, if the amendment proposed by his noble Friend should be agreed to, he would suggest to the House to proceed immediately to the enfranchising portion of the bill, and he would propose the names of the towns to which he thought that, in respect not only to population and taxation, but also on account of other peculiar circumstances, it would be expedient and right to give representatives. (Hear.)

The Earl of WINCHILSEA said, that he would vote for the amendment proposed by his noble and learned Friend, which was consonant with his own views of the subject. The noble Baron opposite had referred to the disfranchisement of the 40*s.* freeholders of Ireland as a precedent for the disfranchisement proposed by the present bill; but the cases were not parallel, for a reason was assigned for the former disfranchisement, whilst none whatever was offered for the latter. Although he supported the amendment, he wished it to be understood that he was fully prepared to vote for giving representatives to the great and important towns.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE said, that noble Lords opposite argued the question unfairly when they said that those who supported the amendment were desirous of getting rid of disfranchisement. In voting for the amendment he was actuated by no such motive. He objected to proceeding with the disfranchising clause in the first place, because by so doing they would cast a slur on all previous Parliaments. On a former occasion, he said that he would agree to nothing which would affect the principles of the bill. He now repeated that declaration. He was prepared to go the full

length of schedule A with respect to disfranchisement, and he knew that many noble Lords on his side of the House agreed with him upon that point. But he would not disfranchise except upon grounds which would satisfy his conscience and the judgment of the country. He should like to know how their Lordships could tell how many boroughs it was proper to disfranchise, until they knew how many were to be enfranchised. It was possible that an addition might be made to the number of boroughs in schedule A, by inserting in it some of those at present contained in schedule B, or by other means. He could assure the House, that now there existed no desire to defeat the principle of the bill. Now that the measure was in committee, noble Lords on his side of the House were as anxious as noble Lords opposite could be, that disfranchisement should be carried far enough to satisfy the reasonable desires of the people. He entreated Ministers to try whether there did not exist on his side of the House a cordial disposition to meet them cordially. If Ministers would not stand out upon points which, after all, would not have any practical effect upon the good or evil of the bill, they would have it in their power to pass a measure which would give general satisfaction to the country. Under these circumstances he must not be told that the mere proposition to postpone the reading of the first clause, until after the third had been disposed of, was an attempt to defeat the principle of the bill. (Hear.) What principle would it defeat? Would it get rid of disfranchisement? No; nor was it so intended. If a reform of the representation was to be made upon fair principles, enfranchisement ought to precede disfranchisement. For himself, if the question before the House was simply whether the whole of schedule A should be adopted, he would vote for it; and, further, he would state, that he would never consent to any arrangement which would reduce the amount of disfranchisement below that contained in the schedule. (Hear.)

The Earl of HAREWOOD said, that in the first place he would guard himself from the suspicion of acting upon the present occasion from any indirect motives. The bill having passed the second reading, and entered the committee, ought to be dealt with fairly. If the proposition of his noble and learned Friend contained anything of a sinister character, he would not support it. At the same time he could not but lament that his noble and learned Friend had not given the House a little more time to consider what would be the effect of his amendments. He believed that if the noble Lords opposite knew the nature of the amendments which would be proposed if the postponement should be agreed to, much of their objection to the proposition would be removed. An idea seemed to be entertained that the object of the amendment was to defeat schedule A; but he believed that no such intention was entertained, and if it were he would not support the amendment. He believed that the amendments which would be proposed would comprise the whole of schedule A. Under these circumstances, he trusted that noble Lords opposite would not persist in their objection to the amendment.

Earl GREY disclaimed any intention to attribute factious motives to any person, and he trusted that his conduct during the whole of the discussions upon this important question would ensure him credit with the House in making that disclaimer. He spoke not of the intention of the amendment which had been proposed, but of its tendency and effect; and he was bound to say that nothing could have been devised better calculated to defeat the bill than that amendment. (Hear, hear.) He further felt it his duty to state at once to the House, that he should consider the success of the amendment fatal to the bill. (Cheers.) He was pledged to the principles and efficiency of the bill, not only by the assurances which he had given to the House, and the public, but by his deep conscientious and unchanged opinion of the necessity of the measure. The principles to which he was pledged were those of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the qualification. With respect to the two first, he was ready to listen to any suggestions which might be made with the view of preventing injustice in details, but he would not consent to any reduction of the extent of either disfranchisement or enfranchisement. To the third principle he knew the expectations of the people were most anxiously directed,—he meant the qualification. After much consideration and much pains to obtain the best advice, he had satisfied himself—and he believed that when the question came to be examined he should be found to be in the right—that in taking the 10*l.* qualification, he had not taken too low a scale; and that if he were to raise it, he should disfranchise a great number of his Majesty's subjects who had so fair a claim and title to vote for representatives as any persons in the country. (Cheers.) To the principle of the 10*l.* qualification he felt himself decidedly and irrevocably pledged, and he would admit of no alteration respecting it, except such as could be clearly shown to be a security against abuse. He would resist with the most fixed determination any proposition which under the pretence of regulation, would have the effect of raising the qualification. (Cheers.) He had considered it necessary to say thus much, in order to set himself clear with the House and the country. He would now address himself to the question before the House. Like the noble Duke opposite, he was unwilling to enter into a revision and comparison of the conduct of the existing and the late opposition. He thought the noble Duke would at least give him credit for never having engaged in factious opposition to his Government—indeed, he did not remember having opposed it at all. On some occasion he had most cordially, and he thought not ineffectually, supported the noble Duke. However, he did not

wish to enter into any comparison relative to circumstances of that nature; and still less did he desire to impute any party motives to the noble and learned individual who had moved the amendment upon this occasion. If there was one circumstance more than another which could secure the House against the possibility of any such motive having had any influence whatever in the production of the amendment, it was to be found in the character and situation of the noble and learned Lord; because it was not to be believed that a person in his situation—a judge of the land—would put himself forward as the instrument. (Hear.) The amendment was by some persons spoken of as being of little consequence, and relating only to a question of form. He did not consider it in that light. It appeared to him to be a question of the first consequence. If it did not entirely subvert the principle of the bill, it materially affected it, and therefore it was quite impossible that he could accede to it. He could not understand upon what ground it was contended that it was necessary to enfranchise before disfranchising. The noble Duke said that no answer had been given to the noble and learned Lord's proposition,—that according to the analogy of the law, the practice of former times, and the principles of the constitution, that was the course which ought to be pursued. He was at a loss to understand how the noble and learned Lord made out that proposition. A noble Baron said that it was impossible to ascertain what degree of disfranchisement was necessary until it was known how far enfranchisement had been carried. He might reverse the proposition, and say that the amount of enfranchisement could not be ascertained till the extent of disfranchisement was known. (Hear, hear.) A noble Duke, whose candour was at least entitled to respect, had declared himself opposed to all enfranchisement. Another noble Lord had expressed his hope that if the amendment should be carried, disfranchisement might be altogether avoided, by some such means, probably, as a noble Duke had proposed in a plan of reform which he had propounded to the House. If the rotten boroughs were not to be disfranchised on account of the sacredness of private property, upon what ground did the noble Baron (Wharncliffe) support disfranchisement? In his opinion Ministers had pursued the most natural course which could be adopted. The noble and learned Lord said that if the House should proceed immediately with the task of disfranchising, they would justify all the cry which had been raised against nomination boroughs. To be sure they would. He should like to know upon what principle the noble and learned Lord would propose to disfranchise them. Perhaps the noble and learned Lord would propose to place the names of all places in England in a box, and ballot for them, to see which should be disfranchised; and in that case he might select places of the largest population. Noble Lords deceived themselves if they supposed that the present moment was the first in which a stir had been made on account of nomination boroughs. They had been denounced during the last half century by some of the greatest men whom the country had produced,—by men who were least disposed to advance what in an invidious sense was called the democratical spirit. They spoke of nomination boroughs as sores and ulcers eating into the vitals of the constitution, which it was necessary to excise, in order to prevent its total corruption. A noble Baron expressed a hope that Ministers would confide in the disposition of noble Lords on the other side of the House to grant a proper measure of reform to the people. If he had observed any such disposition, no one would have been more ready than himself to have met it in a proper spirit, always recollecting that to the principles of the bill he was irrevocably fixed; but what reason had he to expect that anything approaching to such an arrangement would be made? What evidence was there that night of the disposition to which the noble Lord had alluded? The noble and learned Lord who moved the amendment repeated what he said on the second reading—that the bill was incompatible with the safety of the Government, and destructive of the constitution. Then, he asked, what hope was there that the noble and learned Lord would give his consent to the bill? A noble Baron said, that he would endeavour to amend the bill, reserving to himself the right of voting against it on the report. From what had fallen from the noble and gallant Duke, he understood that he would act much in the same way. Many other noble Lords who had voted for the second reading, at the same time declaring that there was much in the bill which they objected to, now intended to support the amendment. Under these circumstances, could he trust the measure in their hands with the hope that it would be brought to such a consummation as would satisfy either his own conscience or the expectations of the public? With opinions so divergent, or rather so opposite, all arrangement was impossible. A noble Lord said that if any alterations should be proposed which would defeat the principles of the bill, Ministers might reckon upon many allies coming over to them from the opposite ranks. That, however, was a hope on which it was not possible for him to rely consistently with his duty to his King, his country, and himself. (Hear, hear.) He was of opinion that there would be a difficulty amounting to impossibility, under the present motion, to carry the bill to that successful issue which was necessary for the satisfaction of the public; and if it should miscarry, it would be then absolutely necessary that he should consider the course he should be constrained to adopt. (Loud cheers.) He certainly on this, as upon all other occasions, disclaimed any intention of offering any disrespect to the House; but he must concur in what had been said by a noble Friend, that this House, like every house, and more

especially this House, must not disregard public opinion. (Hear.) Noble Lords were wrong if they thought that the anxiety of the public had in any degree relaxed upon this question (hear, hear); the public were as anxious as ever. He did expect that this House would not oppose an insurmountable barrier to the accomplishment of a measure which was absolutely necessary to afford satisfaction to the country. But no such thing appeared; but he must say, from the symptoms he had observed in the debate of this night, there seemed to be an intention to put difficulties in the way of a successful passing of the bill, which, he was afraid, it was not in his power to surmount. (Cheers.) He had stated to their Lordships his objections to the motion of the noble and learned Lord, and having done so, he should say no more than that he should give to that motion his most determined opposition. (Cheers.)

The Earl of CARNARVON said, that anxious as he was that the first night of considering this bill in committee should pass away without any exhibition of feeling, yet it was impossible to hear, unmoved, such a speech as had fallen from the noble Earl, which was sufficiently intelligible, and which amounted to nothing less than a menace. (Cheers.) The noble Earl, as well as the noble and learned Lord (Brougham) who replied to the noble and learned mover of the amendment, had commenced by deprecating anything like personal allusions, and had said that nothing should lead him into such allusions, but that he should pursue a direct line to the question before the House; and the first step which the noble Earl took in this direct line led him to all the lengths of Irish education. When he (Lord Carnarvon) opposed the second reading of the bill, he said that if their Lordships determined it should be sent to a committee, he would go into it fairly and with no wish to harass the measure, but with a wish to render it as safe as it could be made to the Government and palatable to the country. That was the pledge he gave, and he was ready to redeem it. If the noble Earl would adopt the course of going into the question of enfranchisement first, and that of disfranchisement after, he might have the best opportunity of removing many of the difficulties in the bill and of carrying it through. Their Lordships had been told that the taking away some inconsiderable boroughs was the great principle of the bill. He should be glad to know the meaning of this. What were those inconsiderable boroughs? The first bill had a different schedule A, and a different schedule B. (Hear.) Yet the House was to assume that the exact number of boroughs to be disfranchised was fifty-six. (No, no.) "Do what you will with the details," said the noble Lords, "but if you take enfranchisement first, and disfranchisement afterwards, the measure must be fatal." The House was told that any alterations might be made in the details of the plan; but there were three principles, enfranchisement, disfranchisement, and qualification, and those must not be meddled with; for if they were touched, it would be fatal to the bill. Just as if, after a long law-suit, any one of their Lordships quarrelled with the attorney's bill, and the attorney should say when his bill was taxed, "You may meddle with the shillings, but do not touch the pounds." If he (Lord Carnarvon) did not sincerely believe that the course proposed would get rid of the blemishes of the bill, he would not adopt the dishonest and unmanly course of voting for the motion of the noble and learned Lord. A noble Friend had said that the difference between enfranchisement and disfranchisement was like that between cause and effect; and who ever heard of an effect before the cause? His noble Friend spoke of the great and magnificent object that would be destroyed if this bill did not pass; and this great and magnificent object was to reconcile the people to their old institutions. He (Lord Carnarvon) had never heard that this plan of reform, great and splendid as it might be, was a revival of old institutions. (Hear.) Although he regretted the situation in which they stood, he thought they should now look the measure fairly in the face. He would get rid of it by no tricks; and he must say it was more like a trick of the noble Earl and his colleagues, who might think thereby to slip out of the measure, and get rid of the effects of their own—obstinacy, he might call it, but their own—conduct, and not theirs (the opposition). (Hear.) If the noble Earl allowed the propositions of the noble and learned Lord to be opened, the country would find that those propositions would place the measure on a sure and firm foundation. The plan they (the opposition) proposed was a real reform; their (the Ministers') plan would please only corresponding societies and political unions. If their (the opposition) plan was adopted, there would be a reform without a revolution. (Hear.) A noble Lord (Holland) had asked, was there ever a revolution in a committee? Was there no revolution, he would ask, in the time of Charles I.? Was there no revolution in France in the reign of Louis XVI.? Although he (Lord Carnarvon) had a dislike to the bill, he would go into the committee with a sincere wish to make it such as the country ought to be satisfied with. After the course he had pursued on the second reading, he should not oppose the bill from any principle of cavil; and if, on the third reading, he should think it as fair and good a measure as the country had a right to look for, he should support it. The noble Earl concluded with deprecating party feeling in the consideration of the bill.

Earl MANVERS said, he had listened with the greatest attention, and with feelings of respect, to the observations of the noble Lords who had spoken in favour of the amendment, in the anxious hope that he might find some excuse or satisfaction to his conscience for voting in support of the amendment consist-

antly with the vote he had already given. He had, however, listened in vain; and although he deeply regretted that circumstances should have severed him from those with whom he had politically acted, he conscientiously believed that the essence of the bill was in schedule A. (Cheers.) That schedule A ought to stand unimpaired was his honest and sincere opinion (hear), and therefore, though he might give pain to some friends and connexions, he could not conscientiously give his vote for a motion which he firmly believed would defeat the object he supported. (Hear.)

Lord CLIFFORD began by observing, that this was the first time he had addressed the House. It was not his intention to enter into a discussion of the principle of the bill; he thought it his duty to defer expressing his sentiments on that point until the third reading. He wished merely to observe, with regard to the remark of the noble Baron (Wharncliffe) and other noble Lords on the (opposition) side of the House, that Ministers persisting in their course with respect to the arrangements of the bill, threw the *onus* upon them (the Ministers); that it was impossible to conduct the affairs of any country like this without, in a parliamentary sense, party men. The first duty of a politician was, not to indulge in abstract notions, but to adopt practical measures; and while he believed the noble Earl conducted himself with the utmost liberality, he could not think the noble Earl ought to concede in respect to the arrangements of the bill. It was quite as necessary that the House should support the arrangements as the principle of the bill. The noble Lord was proceeding, but the cry of "Question" became loud.

The committee then divided, when the numbers were—

Contents (for the amendment) .	151
Non-contents	116
Majority against Ministers .	35

On the re-admission of strangers to the House, we found

Earl GREY on his legs, expressing his intention to move that the House do resume, and that the further consideration of the bill be postponed till Thursday.

Lord LYNDHURST said he should move that the next clause (B) be also postponed.

The question having been put,

Lord ELLENBOROUGH observed, that to the motion of the noble and learned Lord he could have no objection: neither, as appeared to him, could the House object to it, after the vote to which their Lordships had just agreed. He had heard with great regret the intention expressed by the noble Earl (Grey) to move the postponement of the further consideration of the measure till Thursday. He could assure the noble Earl that on that (the opposition) side of the house there existed no wish for delay. (Cheers from the opposition.) If that were a charge against any members of their Lordships' house, it must be directed against the noble Earl and his friends: to him it applied, and not to those who sat on the opposition benches. For himself, he very much regretted that the motion which the noble Earl proposed to make went to deprive him (Lord Ellenborough) of an opportunity which he should otherwise have possessed to-morrow, to explain to the House in detail those amendments, which, in conjunction with noble friends who thought and acted with him, it was his intention to have proposed for their Lordships' consideration. He was unable, at that late hour, to go into those details fully and satisfactorily, and the respect which he felt for the House rendered him unwilling to attempt to do briefly and imperfectly that which he was desirous of laying before their Lordships with a clearness and precision commensurate with the importance of the subject. He should merely say, that having, in conjunction with other Peers, given the most serious consideration to the great principles of the bill,—having well considered the claims possessed by the towns included in schedules C and D,—having likewise considered the reasonableness, under existing circumstances, of carrying into effect the changes which these clauses, taken in conjunction with other parts of the bill, would create,—having reflected on the proposal to give additional members to the counties,—and having at the same time very strong objections to schedules B and E, the result of the amendments to be proposed would have been to give enfranchisement to an extent such as would have made it necessary (unless an inconvenient increase of members of the House of Commons were resorted to) to disfranchise the boroughs contained in schedule A, which, with Weymouth, would cause a reduction of 113 members. Such was a part of the purport of the amendments referred to, but which he was sorry that the conduct of the noble Earl, in proposing a postponement of the bill, prevented from being brought forward at present. He must again express his unfeigned regret at the course taken by the noble Earl. (Cheers from the opposition, mingled with laughter from the ministerial side of the House.) He had just been reminded by a noble friend near him that there was one most important feature of the bill to which he had not alluded—he meant the 10*l.* qualification. To that, as being a uniform qualification, he had at a late period stated his strong and decided objections,—objections that arose in his mind not because the qualification was popular, but because it was uniform. He had stated his regret that under the operation of this qualification, would be excluded from direct representation in Parliament all the poorer classes, and he had thought it absolutely necessary that during the progress of the measure, their Lordships should consider whether it was not requisite, with a view to the permanence of any measure of reform, that they should continue in certain places a more popular right of voting. For a short period—namely, while existing rights of voting were preserved and respected—the

change might not be so much felt; but he contended, that it could not endure for any considerable period after the exclusion of all the humbler and poorer classes. One great advantage of the system which it was now proposed to overthrow was, that it gave direct representation to all classes of the community; that while it secured the rights of property against the dangers of popular passion and excitement, and gave a direct representation to wealth, it also conferred a like privilege on the very lowest orders, without risk from the evils of democracy. The merit of the old system was, that under it no interest could obtain an undue preponderance. He now threw out for the consideration of the House whether it was right to disturb this equilibrium—whether it would be safe prospectively to disfranchise all the poorer classes. He might here observe, that it was the intention of a noble friend of his to propose an amendment, to which he did not expect that the noble Earl opposite would offer any serious objection. He alluded to a motion, the object of which would be to prevent persons from voting for counties in respect of property lying within the limits of boroughs. He regretted the necessity imposed on him of stating in a manner so brief and imperfect the amendments which it had been proposed to suggest. One further remark, and he had done. With respect to the 10*l.* qualification, he thought there should be a more clear and certain mode of ascertaining the genuineness, reality, and value of holdings, and it was proposed to bring forward an amendment with that view.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM observed, that with respect to the 10*l.* qualification, he could not quite go along with the noble Baron, because beyond the noble Lord's amendment he (the Duke of Buckingham) wished for an amendment to qualify, extend, and enlarge the franchise in particular districts.

Earl GREY said it was not his intention at so late an hour to trouble their Lordships, by entering into a discussion of the plan of reform suggested by the noble Baron, at this late period of the discussion. However, he could not avoid congratulating the noble Baron, and the House, on the progress which he had at length made in the principles of reform (hear), and also upon the extent to which he was now content to go in disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and (let it not be forgotten) extension of the popular qualification,—an extension greater than that contemplated by the destructive and revolutionary bill denounced by the noble Baron and his friends (cheers and laughter); greater and more extensive, inasmuch as the noble Lord had expressed his intention not to touch the 10*l.* qualification, and to preserve the scot-and-lot right of voting where it at present existed. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The noble Lord objected to the uniformity of the 10*l.* qualification, and proposed to change and correct the democratical tendency of the bill by bestowing a more extensive elective franchise. All this was matter of congratulation. He must also congratulate the noble Baron on the proof he had given (by stating the various persons by whom certain propositions were to be made in committee, and by his prompt attention to a suggestion from the noble Lord near him)—the proof that there existed no concert whatsoever between noble Lords opposite in their operations. (Cheers and laughter.) He must here recur to what had been said by a noble Earl opposite, who expressed his regret that no communication had been made to that (the ministerial) side of the House as to the course intended to be taken by the opponents of the bill in committee, and he must observe, that this was the first time he had heard of any disposition to make such a concession on the part of noble Lords opposite. Personally he was not disposed to complain of a want of communication on the subject; but on the part of the House he did complain, that the intentions of the noble Baron, as he had just described them in his speech, and the amendments of the noble Lord and his friends, were not explained before coming to this vote. (Hear, hear.) For what would many noble Lords who voted with the noble Baron have said (more particularly the noble Duke opposite), if the noble Baron had previously explained to them the consequence of their vote, and informed them that he wished to render this democratic measure still more democratic? (Hear, hear.) It was not his intention to enter now upon a discussion of the noble Baron's principles of reform; that must remain for a future opportunity; but he might observe, that the noble Lord's plan was to involve a measure of disfranchisement to the extent of schedule A; yet, if such was the noble Baron's intention, surely he must regret, on more mature consideration, a vote which had thrown an obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of his own purpose by postponing the consideration of the clause. (Cheers and laughter.) The noble Baron proposed to abolish entirely schedules B and D. He (Earl Grey) might here state that this was a proposition in which it was impossible for him to concur. He again declared his intention to propose, that on the House resuming, the committee on the bill be deferred till Thursday. (Hear.) As to the charge of delay, which the noble Baron had attempted to fix on him (Earl Grey), he felt perfectly satisfied to rest under the accusation, being convinced that there was not a man in the country who would not see that he was justified in the course he had taken under the particular circumstances of this case.

After a few words from Lord ELDON, Lord HOLLAND, and the LORD CHANCELLOR, which did not reach the bar, in consequence of the confusion prevailing in the House,

The House resumed, and the further consideration of the bill in committee was postponed till Thursday.

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WEDNESDAY.—9th May.

At an early hour the body of the House was crowded with peers, the peeresses' box with ladies, the spaces near the throne and below the bar with members of the House of Commons, and the gallery with strangers; but it was not until a quarter past five o'clock that the Lord Chancellor took his seat on the woolsack.

Earl GREY immediately rose, and presented petitions against the existing system of tithes in Ireland, from Doncaster, Calne, Dumfries, Wigton, &c.

RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.

Earl GREY then proceeded to the following effect:—And now, my Lords, after the proceedings of Monday last, and their result—after that night's debate and decision, your Lordships are probably prepared for the information which I feel it to be my duty to communicate to you. The result of that debate and decision certainly reduced me, in conjunction with my colleagues, to the alternative of either immediately withdrawing ourselves from the service of his Majesty, or of tendering to his Majesty our advice to take such means as appeared to us to be justified by the necessity of the case to ensure the success of the Reform Bill; and, in the event of that advice not being received, humbly and respectfully to tender our resignation to his Majesty. The last alternative was that which, after much consideration, we were induced to adopt. We offered to his Majesty the advice which we thought it our duty, under the circumstances of the times, to offer: the alternative was accepted by his Majesty, and he was graciously pleased to accept our resignation; at the same time honouring us with the fullest approbation of our services during the period that we have been in his Majesty's councils, during which period we have uniformly experienced from his Majesty a support and confidence for which I shall always feel most deeply grateful. My Lords, these are the circumstances under which we now stand. Having tendered to his Majesty our resignations, and those resignations having been accepted, and holding office therefore only until our successors are appointed, your Lordships will, I am sure, see the propriety of our not entering into the consideration of any public business on which it is probable a difference of opinion may prevail. Such being the case, it is not my intention to propose to-morrow that we go on with the consideration of the Reform Bill. But there is a measure of great importance, the second reading of which stands for to-night—I mean the bill for the regulation of the Admiralty and Navy Offices. It is of great moment that this bill should pass with as little delay as possible, as it has received the sanction of the other House of Parliament, and as the time fixed for its coming into operation is the 14th of May. If, therefore, no material objection exists to that measure, I hope my noble Friend behind me will be allowed to proceed with it. If, however, there is any objection to it, or any probability of a difference of opinion respecting it, I propose that the proceeding upon it be deferred to a more convenient opportunity; for, as I have already observed, under the circumstances in which we are placed, I trust your Lordships will concur with me in the propriety of adjourning the consideration of all questions that are likely to produce anything like contest.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH intimated the probability that some debate would arise on the bill mentioned by the noble Earl, so that it might be expedient to defer the motion for the second reading.

Earl GREY said he had no objection to the postponement of the second reading.

The order of the day for the second reading of the Admiralty and Navy Offices Bill was accordingly discharged.

The LORD CHANCELLOR. My Lords, I hold in my hand a petition from Dewsbury, signed by above 3000 persons, who, I am informed, are of the most respectable description, in favour of parliamentary reform. I also hold in my hand a petition from the town of Birmingham, in favour of parliamentary reform. This petition was agreed to at a meeting which was held on the 7th of the present month. A petition proceeding from so large a body of persons appeared to me to be worthy of your Lordships' deepest consideration. I have read the petition attentively, and although it contains opinions in which some of your Lordships may not concur, it is couched in respectful language, and I cannot find in it any statement upon which its reception can be objected to. This petition is the result of a meeting, in numbers unexampled. I have been informed by an individual, on whom I can rely, that in the course of the day above 200,000 persons attended that meeting. For the accuracy of that estimate of course I cannot myself vouch; but I had it from an individual of great respectability, of great powers of calculation, and who, I am quite confident, is incapable of wilful misrepresentation. I will not trouble your Lordships with entering more fully into this subject; but I beg leave to state that I stand in the same situation as my noble Friend, having felt it my duty most respectfully to tender my resignation to his Majesty, in consequence of his Majesty's having declined the advice which we thought it our duty to offer him. In stating this, however, I must add, that to the latest hour of my existence, I shall never cease to entertain the deepest and most heartfelt gratitude for the repeated proofs of confidence which I have received from his Majesty, and for the gracious kindness with which his Majesty has always condescended to treat me. As the petition is signed only by the chairman of the meeting, it can in point of form be received only as the petition of an individual.

At the suggestion of the Earl of SUFFOLK, the petition was read at length by the Clerk.

The Earl of SUFFOLK: My Lords, I think

that petition does great credit to the people of Birmingham. I congratulate myself on moving from this side of the House to that. I congratulate the country on the change; for I am persuaded that in opposition my noble Friends near me may be infinitely serviceable. In opposition they were the instruments of giving freedom to the Catholics of Ireland and to the Dissenters of England. But, above all, I congratulate the people on the firm but peaceable manner in which they have shown their determination to obtain Parliamentary Reform. By their temperate and conciliatory conduct they have won it from their friends; let them proceed in the same course, and they will extort it from their enemies. (Hear, hear, hear!)

The Earl of PLYMOUTH observed, that at meetings such as that from which the Birmingham petition proceeded, many persons attended, not for the purpose of meeting, but influenced solely by curiosity. He denied that there was the intense anxiety among the people, on the subject of reform, which was pretended. He denied the general respectability of the Political Unions; at least of those of which he had any knowledge. With respect to the particular meeting in question, it would not appear surprising that it was so numerous when it was known that a district of from fourteen to eighteen miles in circumference had been ransacked to collect an assembly for the occasion; and that in some of the unions it was a rule that any person above twelve years of age was eligible as a member.

The Lord CHANCELLOR did not wish to prolong the conversation on this subject. He would merely observe, that there could be no doubt that there might be some men, women, and children, who were induced to attend the Meeting from motives of curiosity; but from the information which he had received, there could also be no doubt that the great body and bulk of the persons who assembled on that occasion were most anxious for the furtherance of the objects for which the Meeting was convened. When they were talking of hundreds of thousands, it was a matter of little importance if a few hundreds were liable to the remark of the Noble Earl. He was happy, however, that the noble Earl had afforded him an opportunity of stating the loyal and peaceable demeanour of the great Meeting in question. In no single instance had there been the slightest violation of peace or order.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH observed, that if the order for proceeding with the Reform Bill in Committee to-morrow were discharged, another day should be fixed for that proceeding.

Earl GREY said, that he should move to discharge the order for to-morrow; but that he saw no necessity for naming any other day (a laugh).

Lord DURHAM presented petitions from Yeovil and Perth, in favour of Parliamentary Reform; and a petition from Durham for the abolition of Negro Slavery.

The Earl of CARNARVON: the noble Earl has moved that the order of the day for proceeding to-morrow with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee be discharged. My Lords, I do not think that we shall do our duty to our Sovereign, left by the extraordinary conduct of the noble Earl and his colleagues in a most difficult if not a most perilous situation, if we permit this order to be so contemptuously discharged, and abandon the measure now, because we expressed our wish—a wish which we share with the great majority of intelligent persons of the country—to proceed with it on the most liberal and conciliatory principles (a laugh, and cries of hear, hear!). Because the mode of proceeding which your lordships have thought proper to adopt, with respect to the bill, is not exactly that of which the noble Lords opposite approve: — because the alphabetical arrangement which the noble Lords opposite recommend, your lordships have not thought it proper to follow—because your lordships decline to consider schedules A and B until you have considered schedules C and D;—such are the only grounds on which the noble Lords opposite have proceeded. My Lords, the noble Lords opposite may act as they think fit: we know the grounds, the slight grounds, which their defeat on Monday evening afforded them for one of the most atrocious propositions with which a subject ever dared to insult the ears of the Sovereign. We have heard, and it was what I naturally expected to hear, that his Majesty, who was among the first to recommend reform upon broad and constitutional principles, finding himself reduced to the alternative to which his Ministers ventured to reduce him, has acted as became a Sovereign of the House of Brunswick; and, by so doing, he has established an additional title to the respect and affection of his subjects. But, my Lords, it shall not go forth to the public, because the noble Lords opposite, whatever may be the motives which have influenced them, have determined to abandon the measure, it shall not go forth to the public that this House is unwilling to enter into the discussion of its merits. This bill must be discussed, unless the majority of your lordships, which I do not believe, are opposed to that discussion. If, therefore, the order of the day, for proceeding to-morrow with the consideration of the measure, be discharged, I will move *instanter* that it stand for Monday next. Should it be impracticable to bring the subject forward on so early a day, it may easily be postponed; whereas, if it be fixed for too late a day, we cannot advance the period of the discussion. I, therefore, move that your lordships proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee on Monday next.

Earl GREY: My Lords, I am too much accustomed to the ill-timed, violent, personal, and unparliamentary language of the noble Earl who has just sat down, to be much af-

fected by the most disorderly attack which the noble Earl has made upon my colleagues and myself. Nor is it for the defence of myself personally against the imputations which the noble Earl has thought proper to cast upon me, that I again rise to address your Lordships. I trust, my Lords, that in the estimation of your Lordships and of the public, my character is such, that I may without presumption consider myself as sufficiently guarded from the danger of suffering from such imputations. (Hear, hear, hear.) The noble Earl has been pleased to qualify the advice which I thought it my duty respectfully to tender to my Sovereign, as atrocious and insulting; and there were other noble Lords on that side of the House who appeared to agree with the noble Earl in that opinion. All I can say is, that I deferred giving that advice until the very last moment; that I did not give it until the necessity of the case and my sense of public duty imposed upon me an obligation which appeared to me to be imperative. Whether I was right or wrong is a question which, whenever the noble Lord opposite may think proper to bring it under discussion before your Lordships, I am prepared to argue and to defend my conduct in the best way I can. But I appeal to your Lordships and to the country, whether, until that period shall arrive, I am called upon, whatever sinister motives the noble Earl may attribute to me, to notice the accusation.—[The Earl of Carnarvon said across the table that he did not impute sinister motives to the noble Earl]. The feeling which prompts the noble Earl to make his violent addresses to your Lordships, is such as sometimes to render him unconscious of the language he uses. If, however, the noble Earl disclaims the expression which I quoted, of course I do not wish to insist upon that point. I repeat, that the advice which I offered to my Sovereign, when the proper time comes I am prepared to defend; and in the meanwhile, I throw myself upon the candour of your Lordships and of the country, and ask if it be possible that I could have been actuated by any other motive than a strict sense of duty? Having as a Minister of the Crown given the advice which I thought it my duty to give, and that advice not having been accepted, I had no alternative but most humbly and respectfully to tender my resignation to his Majesty. The noble Earl says that the grounds on which we proceeded were only trifling; that they were only mere matters of form; that, in point of fact, it was only if the discussion of the schedules C and D should or should not precede the discussion of the schedules A and B. If that was really the case, then the noble Earl is right: but that was not the case. In the debate on Monday evening, I distinctly stated to your Lordships the reasons which rendered it evident to me that the question which we were discussing was of the utmost importance, and that it materially affected the principle of the Bill. The principle of the Bill is, to relieve the Constitution from the numerous evils which result from the existence of the nomination boroughs. The proposition made to your Lordships on Monday was, to postpone the consideration of that subject to the consideration of another; and make depend on that other the disfranchisement which the bill tended first to remove. That was a very material change in the character of the measure. But, my Lords, that is not all. In what situation was the author of the bill placed after the question of Monday evening was carried? The noble Earl said in that discussion, that he was disposed to grant a considerable Reform; but I did not hear any other noble Lord on that side of the House say so, except a noble Lord who expressed his willingness to agree to the whole of the disfranchisement comprehended in Schedule A. But by whom was the proposition of Monday evening made? By a noble and learned Lord, who, in the course of the very speech which he made on that occasion, stated that he still considered the bill to be inconsistent with the safety of the Government and subversive of the Constitution. What right had we to suppose that the noble and learned Lord would support the disfranchising portions of the bill when they came to be considered? And by whom was the noble and learned Lord's proposition supported? In the first place, by a noble Duke, who has declared that the present state of the representation is incapable of being amended by human ingenuity or wisdom. By whom else was that proposition supported? By another noble Duke, who has declared himself hostile to any disfranchisement—by a noble Baron, who expressed his hope that, by adopting the proposition of the noble and learned Lord, their Lordships might entirely avoid the necessity of any disfranchisement. My Lords, under these circumstances, is it not childish to say that the question decided by your Lordships on Monday was merely one of form or precedence (hear, hear, hear!)? In the circumstances in which that decision placed me, I had first to see whether I could obtain the means of insuring the success of the measure; and having failed in that attempt, I had to consider whether it would be consistent with my duty to my Sovereign and to the public, and with the maintenance of my own character and honour, to continue the mere shadow of a Minister, and to have the Reform Bill taken out of my hands, for the purpose of being cut, carved, mutilated, and destroyed, just as its opponents might think proper (hear, hear, hear!). My Lords, I am convinced that in the opinion of all your Lordships, even of those noble Lords who do not approve of the Reform Bill, the course which I have taken will be attributed only to a sense of the duty which I owe to my Sovereign and my country, and a sense of what was due to that personal honour which, I trust, I have never yet forfeited (hear, hear!). I stand before the public responsible for my actions. I am ready to meet any charge which may be brought against me, and to vindicate my con-

duct and my motives whenever the proper occasion may arrive (hear, hear!). One word, my Lords, as to what the noble Earl has chosen to call the contemptuous manner in which I have moved to discharge the Order for to-morrow. It is the usual motion on such occasions. It is not for me to appoint any other day. Even the noble Earl finds a difficulty in doing so. For myself, I certainly cannot proceed with the bill under the circumstances which have occurred. I trust that out of all these unhappy differences, a measure of Reform may eventually arise, extensive, efficient, and beneficial (if not extensive and efficient, it will not be beneficial)—a measure which may be satisfactory to the country, and which may restore the attachment of the people to the institutions of the State. But it is impossible for me to proceed with the measure, subject to the daily alterations which might be forced upon me by a majority, four-fifths of which consist of persons who object to all Reform whatever. To the unjust, the ill-timed, and I will add, the unprovoked attack of the noble Earl, I should, perhaps, not have considered it necessary to make any answer, had I not been desirous to set set myself right with your Lordships and with the public, with reference to the motives which have influenced me, and the sense of duty under which I have acted (hear, hear!).

The Earl of CARNARVON disclaimed any intention of imputing to the noble Earl a contemptuous feeling, or of charging him with sinister motives. He had certainly conceived that the alternative to which the noble Earl had originally alluded was the making of such a number of peers as would have degraded that House. But he never meant to impute to him that he recommended so tremendous a proceeding merely to escape the mortification of being occasionally outvoted in that House. When he said that it was the most atrocious advice that a Minister ever gave to his Sovereign, he said it in perfect good temper; if warmly, it was because as a member of that House he felt warmly on the subject. If such atrocious counsel as that he alluded to were not given to his Majesty, but some other alternative, the nature of which he was at a loss to conceive, he begged pardon for having used the expression. After the attack which had been made upon him by the noble Earl (a laugh), he must be allowed—

Lord DEVON spoke to order. The noble Earl ought to confine himself to explanation.

The Earl of CARNARVON observed, in continuation, that having made a motion of no small importance, he was entitled to reply even at much greater length. The noble Earl had said that he (Lord Carnarvon) was, perhaps, in a state of irritation, which, perhaps, precluded him from being conscious of the language which he used. He could assure the noble Earl and their Lordships that he spoke not in anger but in dismay. If he was not wrong in supposing that such advice as had been alluded to had been given to the country (and that had not been contradicted), he asked if ever, on such slight grounds, a proposal had been made, the tendency of which was absolute destruction of that House and the annihilation of its legislative and political importance—and made in the spirit of that dictation, which, from the beginning to the end of their course, had marked the proceedings of the noble Lords opposite; and which induced them to endeavour to make their Lordships the abject tools of their will? The motion which he had made he had made to enable every peer to show his conviction (and although there might be some differences of opinion, that he was satisfied was the general feeling) that, in the present state of the country, their Lordships had no choice, but were under the necessity of conceding, some considerable, and as safe as possible, reform. It was highly desirable that this opportunity should be afforded as soon as possible. He called upon their Lordships, therefore, not to adjourn the question to any distant period. He would, therefore, propose that the order be made for Monday; and if on that day a further postponement should be considered necessary, it might occur. At present, however, he did not see any reason why the subject might not be brought forward on Monday.

The motion, that the House would on Monday proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee, was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

9th May, 1832.

Lord ALTHORP entered the House before five o'clock, and was received with cheers from the treasury benches. He rose shortly after, and said it was his duty to state to the House, that in consequence of what took place in another place on Monday last, it appeared quite impossible to his Majesty's Government to hope that they could carry the Reform Bill in such a manner as they thought consistent with their duty, or without such alterations as would render it so inefficient, that, according to the pledges they had given, they could not carry it forward. Under these circumstances they had only the alternative to tender their resignations, or to advise his Majesty to take such measures as would enable them to carry it as it ought to be carried; and if his Majesty did not accede to their request, to tender him their resignations. They adopted the latter course. The result had been that they tendered their resignations, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept. Consequently they now only held office until their successors should be appointed. It was impossible for him, however, to leave office without expressing for himself, as he believed he might for all his colleagues, his and their sense of the kindness and condescension with which they had been uniformly treated, since they held office,

by his Majesty. For himself he could say, that the mode in which his Majesty had always treated him, and the condescension he had invariably displayed towards him, was such as to ensure his gratitude as long as he lived. He had now stated all it was necessary for him to state, and would move that the order of the day for the second reading of the Scotch Reform Bill be read, for the purpose of proposing its postponement.

Lord EBRINGTON, after expressing his regret (as we imagine) that a measure which had been sanctioned by so great a majority of that House was defeated in another place, proceeded to say, that under the circumstances, he felt it his duty to propose a motion to-morrow, of which he would now give notice. To-morrow he would move an humble address of that House to his Majesty on the present state of public affairs (cheers), and although he supposed that every Gentleman, whatever might be his opinion, would attend on the occasion, he would move that this House be called over to-morrow.

Mr. G. LANGTON was of opinion, that nothing short of the present measure of reform would satisfy the people.

Mr. HUME observed, that he was bound in justice to say, that the noble Lord and his colleagues had, as Ministers, now no other course to follow. He did state that, in his opinion, they had done honour to themselves; and not in his opinion only, but in that of the whole country. He had extremely to regret, that the just expectations of a united people, carried on from day to day, and so long, unfortunately, kept in suspense, were now likely to meet with complete frustration. As a true reformer, and a lover of his country, he could not but regret to see that the cause of reform had been interrupted. He had hoped that the noble Earl would have been enabled, by the same support and countenance wherewith he had introduced the measure, to bring it to a prosperous conclusion. (Hear, hear.) For himself, he waited with impatience for the motion of the noble Lord (Ebrington) to-morrow; and he trusted that, to refuse that motion, every man would adopt that course the purity of that body. For his own part, which the interests of the country, the dignity of that House, and the public peace required.

Lord ALTHORP said, that it appeared to him, that in the present crisis of the country, and in the present state of public affairs, any measure that might throw impediments in the way of the new Administration ought to be cautiously avoided (Hear, hear, hear), and would be exceedingly impolitic. (Hear, hear, hear.) Therefore he should much wish that his noble Friend had postponed any appeal to the opinion of the House, until the new Administration was formed. (Cheers.)

Sir J. NEWPORT differed with his noble Friend; he hoped the noble Lord (Ebrington) would not withdraw his motion. (Hear, hear.) It was well, in times like these, that the opinion of the majority of the House should be ascertained. It was essential to the well-being of the country that it should be unequivocally and firmly expressed. He hoped, however, that the noble Lord would reconsider the call of the House. It could not be effectual, as notice could not be given to the Members absent from town.

Mr. LABOUCHERE entreated the noble Lord to persevere in his motion. If the House now shrunk from their duty, he, for one, feared that the greatest calamities must follow. If the House did what the country had a right to expect from it, the country would receive with sorrow, but in a peaceful manner, the intelligence which would be communicated to it; but if the House did not, as was its duty, place itself in the front of the battle—if they were such cravens as to allow a Government which had honourably redeemed its pledges to be driven from their seats by a vote of the other House, he, for one, should have most melancholy anticipations. (Hear, hear.) He could not avoid contemplating scenes at which every man must shudder.

Mr. O'CONNELL thought the Government had acted well and wisely in resigning. His hon. Friend (Hume) had talked of the hopes of the people of England being frustrated. That, he believed, was impossible. All England had spoken, and had sent a great majority of reformers to Parliament for all open places. The only question was, would they be firm to themselves, or would they shrink from the contest with a sordid oligarchy? If the people of England were true to themselves, and insisted on reform, they must have it. The people of Scotland, he knew, did manfully insist on reform, and when they had so come forward, they never yet had failed. They had won the toleration creed they loved by their good broad swords, and now, without them, and by constitutional means, he had no doubt they would win reform. For Ireland, he could merely say, that the universal people would not shrink from their share of the contest. He hoped the noble Lord would persevere, and he trusted no member would absent himself to-morrow. He hoped no man who had flattered the people with his vote on reform would now shrink from his duty in coming forward. Indeed, he had too great confidence in the majority of that House to suppose that it contained a skulker or a recreant. Let all then attend, and let them firmly and respectfully send forth an address to the Throne, which would inform his Majesty that the truly loyal and those most attached to the succession of the House of Brunswick were the most determined that the rights of the people should be restored.

Mr. JAMES put a question, which was understood to be a request to know whether the noble Lord would communicate to the House the cause of that resignation which he had just announced.

Lord ALTHORP said that he did not know that he was at liberty to state more at present, than that his colleagues and himself had

tendered their resignation, and that that resignation had been accepted.

Mr. BARING observed, that he did not affect to give advice to the noble Lord opposite, nor to that House, but if they were to be called upon to make that sort of declaration of which they had heard from gentlemen who told them of agitation, he should wish to suggest to those honourable gentlemen, whether that agitation was not of their own creating. (Cheers from the opposition.) He trusted that that House, when it came to consider of the question which the noble Lord opposite was to propound to them to-morrow, and which it would then be time enough to enter upon, he begged, he said, to put forward his hope and expectation that that House would—and if it did not, it would not answer the expectations of the sound and sensible part of the country—that it would, while it asserted its own opinions with proper firmness, do so with due respect for the opinions of the other branch of the Legislature, and that if they were warned by the friends of the measure—as warned they had been not to act the part of cravens—he trusted they would also abstain from acting the part of bullies. (Cheers from the opposition.) He had risen chiefly for the purpose of suggesting to the noble Lord, whether it was not the custom, on a Minister coming down to that House on an occasion on which an administration had broken up, to state the grounds of that advice on the rejection of which it had broken up. He recollected an occasion on which the noble Earl at the head of the Government that had just retired—he meant in the year 1807—then explained to the House the grounds on which he had been compelled to retire. At present, except from mere rumour out of doors, they knew nothing. All that they knew was, that certain advice had been tendered by the Ministers to his Majesty, which his Majesty had rejected, and therefore his Ministers had resigned; and on that scanty knowledge they were to have the extravagant cheering they had heard on one side, and the denunciations of the conduct of his Majesty, which they had heard on the other—denunciations for so accepting their resignation. (Loud cries of "No, no;" answered by "Hear, hear.") They were not there to speak of the personal actions of his Majesty, but the Ministers whose resignations had been so tendered and accepted, made that sort of complaint (no, no!)—or that sort of statement of their case, as, if he was correct in his estimation of it, seemed to him hardly decorous towards the Crown, at least if the Crown did not know what that advice was—the consequences of the rejection of which they received in that House with so much indignation. (Hear, hear.) For if gentlemen cheered the conduct of the Government so loudly, he took it for granted that they knew what that advice had been, and that they were acquainted with the fact, whether the unprecedented demand upon the King was to create sixty or seventy peers, and whether that was the advice which he had rejected; and when this sort of language which they had heard was used, and when the country was thus called upon to make a declaration in favour of the Government, it was of importance to know whether that advice was what he would call the most outrageous and unconstitutional that could possibly be given. (Cheers from the opposition.) He could only say, that he was mistaken in the opinions and feelings of the people of England, if a great majority of them, instead of participating in the sentiments expressed by his honourable relative opposite, did not participate in the objections he himself felt at the proposal of so unheard-of a violation of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) Whether the advice given by the Ministers was good or bad, they should probably hear to-morrow. All that he could say was, that in his opinion it was fitting for the country to know what that advice was; and, speaking for himself, he must say, that the country ought to know it, because, without knowing it, they could not judge between the Crown and the Ministers.

Colonel DAVIES said, that although he differed entirely from the hon. member for Thetford on the question of reform; and although he should cordially co-operate with the noble Lord opposite in bringing forward the discussion to-morrow, he could not help thinking with the honourable Member for Thetford, that he ought, in justice to his Majesty, to give some declaration to the House as to the advice they had given his Majesty, and the rejection of which by his Majesty had caused their resignation. If the advice was what it was supposed to be, he must say, that more extravagant or unconstitutional advice never could have been given. (Cheers from the opposition.) It had been understood that the King had always hitherto given the Government his support in every constitutional plan which they proposed, and it ought therefore to be known what was the advice they had given to his Majesty on this occasion. He had heard that not only had the Ministers demanded the power of creating sixty or seventy peers, as the honourable Member for Thetford supposed, but that they had asked that a *carte blanche* should be given them to create one hundred peers if necessary. That demand was not at first refused—the King had taken time to consider it, and when he had considered, he refused it. That was what he (Colonel Davies) had heard; and if that was true, he must say, that in his opinion his Majesty was perfectly justified. That was the report. The noble Lord had not told them one word upon the subject; and he thought that they ought to have a further explanation, that would place this matter in a clear and distinct light.

Sir R. PEEL: Sir, I shall not anticipate the discussion which the noble Lord proposes to bring on to-morrow; but I beg to express my entire concurrence with the observations made by the hon. member for Thetford, and the

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gallant colonel near me, that it is essential, in conformity with the usages observed on occasions like the present, that the noble Lord should state distinctly what are the causes of the dissolution of the Government. I do not press upon the noble Lord to answer that question now; but I do trust and believe, that, upon reflection, he will see that that is the course which has been pursued under similar circumstances, and that he will solicit the permission of his Majesty to explain in detail the circumstances which have caused his resignation. We are not in the habit of referring to the personal acts of the Sovereign, for that which he does is usually done under the advice and on the responsibility of his Ministers; but the choice and the acceptance of the resignation of Ministers are almost the only personal acts that the King ever performs, and with the cause of these we ought to be made acquainted. It is, above all things, necessary, before we take the step now recommended to us, especially in the present peculiar crisis of affairs, that we should know what are the causes which have led to the resignation of the Ministers. If the noble Lord has not the permission of his Majesty, it would be improper to ask him now to make the disclosure of those causes; but I must say that I think he should request permission of his Majesty to do so, in order to give the information to the House.

Mr. JAMES said that he only put a question to the noble Lord, but without the slightest wish of drawing from him any statement which he might think it imprudent to make. He begged to say that he differed entirely from the right hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, and from the gallant Colonel. The most just proposition, and the most constitutional advice, the Ministers could have given the King would have been to create any number of peers that might be necessary to carry the question of reform. (Cheers and cries of "No.") He knew that was not the opinion of the anti-reformers, nor of the pretended friends of reform, of whom there were a great many. (Cheers.) He thought it would be found that that was the only measure that could be adopted to prevent the collision of the two Houses of Parliament.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE hoped the noble Lord opposite would persevere in his intention. It was necessary that the people of England should know who were the waverers in that House (cheers), and who were the men that would consistently support the vote which they had given last year, and which, in his opinion, ought now to be repeated. (Hear, hear.) With respect to what the right hon. Baronet had said, he thought that the noble Lord would be guilty of a breach of confidence if he were to state what was the advice that his colleagues had given to the King. The noble Lord had stated sufficient when he told them, that in consequence of what had occurred in another place on Monday night (No, no, from the opposition); yes, in consequence of what had occurred the other night, they had resigned, because the advice which that occurrence had induced them to give to his Majesty had not been accepted. What was that advice? What but that Ministers would not allow the Reform Bill to pass in that mutilated form by which the country and the people would be deceived. He hoped that the noble Lord would not ask the permission of the King, recommended by the right hon. Baronet. The people of the whole country would stand by the Ministers; and as to the agitation that was talked of, that agitation would and ought to continue until that power which had been taken from them was restored to them,—being taken from the hands of those who had wrested it from them by the grossest hypocrisy and treachery. (Hear, hear.)

Lord ALTHORP. I wish particularly to say, that in what I stated to the House at first, I most carefully avoided throwing any blame on any one, and especially blame of the nature insinuated by the right hon. Baronet. I hope I so expressed myself as to guard myself from the possibility of any misconstruction. With respect to what the right hon. Baronet has said with regard to further explanations, I can only observe, that I do not feel myself authorised at present to say more than I have said. I wish it to be understood, that I do not pledge myself that I shall make any further statement at any future time, but that at present I have stated all I am at present authorised to state. The hon. Member for Thetford has stated the case of 1807 as an example for the present occasion. I was then a member of this House, and I remember that what he states as then taking place is quite true. The noble Earl did make a statement of considerable length, as to the causes of the resignation of himself and his colleagues, but the hon. Member will recollect, that there were then circumstances which called for a full explanation, but to which there is nothing analogous in the present case. The reports which were then in existence varied much from each other. There were then imputations on the character and conduct of the Ministers, and it was necessary for them to obtain from his Majesty permission to make the statement. Such circumstances do not at present exist, and there is not in the case now so much of complexity as on that occasion, and therefore I do not think myself called on to make a more detailed statement than I have done.

Mr. MACAULAY: I should have said nothing, Sir, upon this subject, but for the remarks which have fallen from the hon. member for Thetford; but, in the first place, I wish to confirm my noble friend in his statement, that, in all the observations he made, there was not one single syllable that, in the slightest degree, could be construed as disrespectful to his Majesty. (Hear, hear.) And as we are on the eve of a discussion of importance, and which is likely to pro-

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does considerable agitation in the country, I protest, in the name of every Member of this House, against that unconstitutional doctrine, that doctrine so subversive of the freedom of debate, that the Members of this House, who speak with approbation of the conduct of the Ministers, or who say that they regret that the advice given by the Ministers was not adopted and acted upon, shall be construed to have spoken inconsistently with that affection which we all feel for the person, the House, and the office of our Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) I claim the freedom of speech for myself and for all the Members of this House collectively—that freedom of speech which you, Sir, on the first day of the meeting of this Parliament, claimed for us from the King; and I demand that any remarks we may make on the change of Administration shall not be construed into the expression of any doubt that our Sovereign, in all the conduct he has pursued, has been actuated by any other motive than the most sincere and single desire to promote the good of his people. (Cheers.) I shall now, Sir, say no more, than to entreat my noble Friend to persevere in the motion of which he has given notice.

Mr. BARING explained.

Lord MILTON fully concurred with what had fallen from the honourable and learned Member who had just addressed them. He was desirous of making one remark upon what had fallen from the right honourable Baronet opposite, who had stated that there were but two personal acts of the Kingly Government—of which the choice of Ministers was one, and the acceptance of their resignation another. He was afraid that if that opinion, so expressed, by a gentleman of high character in that House, received the unopposed sanction of the House, there would be an end of the responsibility of the Crown. He thought that, for the sake of public peace and tranquillity, they must maintain that the responsibility, in both cases, rested on the official advisers of the Crown.

Sir. R. PEEL could not see the danger the noble Lord apprehended. When a man accepted an office tendered him, he became responsible; but the tender itself was surely an act of the Crown.

Lord ERSKINGTON pledged himself to persevere in the motion for to-morrow. On any other occasion he should readily adopt the suggestion of his noble Friend, but on the present he thought that the public interest imperiously demanded the discussion he proposed. The people ought to know what was the opinion of that House, and whether hon. members would repeat the declaration which they had last year made of their firm attachment to the principles of the Reform Bill. He should also persevere in insisting on a call of the house, not with a view of enforcing the attendance of members who were at a great distance, but in order to secure the attendance of all those who were now in or near London, that their opinions might be known to their constituents.

THE GERMAN FROWS.

A CORRESPONDENT calls upon me to inquire, why these nasty, freckled, rough-hided, half-masculine devils are suffered to carry on their *puddling traffic* in England, and to such an extent as they do it. They are, as he truly says, *everywhere*; for, last summer, I saw a couple of the filthy beasts lying under a hedge *lousing one another*, near Swallowfield, in *Berkshire*; and last winter I saw several of them tramping about in their skull-caps and kelts, in the towns in *Yorkshire*. These wretches cannot have *licenses*; agreeably to *the law*, they *cannot* have them. And, why are these nasty devils to be suffered to set the law at defiance? If an *English* woman were to *hawk* without a license, she would be *instantly* fined, or *imprisoned*. Why, then, are these German devils exempted from the effects of law? What *claim* have *they* to this special indulgence? What the bad-favoured devils rake together, they send away, I dare say, to their beggarly homes. How long, how long, O Lord! are we to endure the injury and the disgrace which these nasty impudent devils are inflicting upon us? The people ought, everywhere, to seize them, take them before the nearest magistrate, give them a dance upon the tread-mill, and then let them go back to cry "*Py a proom*" in the beggarly holes out of which they have crept.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

ACRES, H. W., Shadwell-market, victualler.
BAKER, R., and J. Harley, Southampton, stone-masons.
BATH, W., Bayswater, victualler.
BIRNIE, J. R., Basingstoke, Hampshire, and Finley, Surrey, wharfinger.
BUTTERWORTH, W., Oldham and Heaton Norris, cotton-spinner.
DENSEM, W., Bath, tailor.
EDMONSON, T., Carlisle, upholsterer.
FIELDING, J., and W. Tebbutt, Manchester, cotton-merchants.
HEATH, J., and S. Powell, Bristol, hatters.
KIFT, A., Bristol and Bedminster, apothecary.
LINES, W., and J. Fisher, Ipswich, maltsters.

LUNGLEY, J., Tottenham-street, Tottenham-court-road, druggist.
MAY, J., Bristol, and Narbeth, Pembrokeshire, corn-merchant.
PARKER, W. B., Bristol, scrivener.
PRESTINARI, F., Leather-lane, Holborn, looking-glass-manufacturer.
RUSSELL, W. & J., Southampton, upholsterers.
SAVAGE, R., Whitechapel, cheesemonger.
TONGE, J. and W. S., Sittingbourne, Kent, linen-drapers.
WARD, J., Manchester, commission-agent.
WARREN, J., Ellingham, Norfolk, currier.

TUESDAY, MAY 8, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

GIBBON, J. jun., City Canal, Poplar, mast and block-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

APPLEYARD, J., Leeds, dyer.
BLACKFORD, J., Devonport, watchmaker.
COCHRANE, J., Waterloo-place, Pall Mall, bookseller.
COOPER, G., Exeter, stationer.
COPE, E., Birmingham, liquor-merchant.
CREAGHE, R. and C., Dublin, merchants.
DILLON, J., and A. Steward, Mincing-lane, wine-brokers.
EVANS, J., Chester, Norfolk, needle-maker and innkeeper.
FAULKNER, W. C., Dublin, merchant.
HEAWARD, J., Rochdale, Lancashire, farmer.
ROGERS, J., Rochdale, Lancashire, draper.
SHEPPARD, G., Almondsbury, Gloucestershire, victualler.
TEMPLE, J., Myton, Kingston-upon-Hull, common-brewer.
WALKER, T., High Holborn, tallow-chandler.
WAREING, W., Hollowell, Northamptonshire, miller.
WHITWORTH, R., and J. Bennett, Horwich, Lacashire, cotton-spinners.
WILLIAMS, T., Newport, Monmouthshire, rope and twine-spinner.
YOUNG, B., Downham-market, Norfolk, common-brewer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 7.—Our supplies have been rather limited since this day se'nnight, as to English wheat, barley, oats, rye, beans, and peas: of Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat, foreign barley, English and Scotch malt, Irish oats, English, Irish, and Scotch flour, the supply was moderately good: of seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended both by London and country buyers; but the trade, owing to advanced prices being stiffly demanded, was very dull, at but little, if any, variation from last week's quotations.

Wheat	53s. to 67s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
—— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
—— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
—— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
—— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 29s.
—— Poland	24s. to 27s.
—— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.
—— Sides, new ... 48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new .... 130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast .... 80s. to 86s. per cwt.
—— Carlow ..... 70s. to 80s.
—— Cork ..... 80s. to 82s.
—— Limerick .. 80s. to 82s.
—— Waterford .. 70s. to —s.
—— Dublin .... 74s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire .... 54s. to 74s.
—— Gloucester, Double .. 52s. to 62s.
—— Gloucester, Single ... 42s. to 56s.
—— Edam ..... 49s. to 54s.
—— Gouda ..... 48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ..... 64s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD.—May 7.

This day's market exhibited throughout a good supply, but the trade was dull; with mutton at a depression of 2*d.*—veal from 2*d.* to 4*d.* per stone; with beef, lamb, and pork, at barely Friday's prices.

Beasts, 2,585; sheep and lambs, 16,390; calves, 133; pigs, 190.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 11.

The supplies this week are good. The market is very dull, and the prices 1*s.* lower than on Monday, with very little business doing.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	84¼	85	85	84⅜	84	83⅞

At No. 149, Leadenhall-Street,

BLACK TEA is sold at 4*s.*; 4*s.* 2*d.*; 4*s.* 4*d.*; 4*s.* 6*d.*; 4*s.* 8*d.*; and 5*s.*

East India Tea Company's Offices for agencies, 9, Great St. Helens, Bishopgate-Street.

Just Published price 5*s.*

MEDICINA SIMPLEX; or, THE PILGRIM'S WAY BOOK: being an Inquiry into the Moral and Physical Conditions of a Healthy Life and Happy Old Age. With Household Prescriptions by a Physician.

London: Keating and Brown.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, May 19th, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

"If you had *resigned at that time* (on the "16th October, 1831), and told the people "the King would not let you make the peers, "*as you must do at last*, the King would have "seen the great and instant impression pro-"duced upon the whole kingdom; and I "have not the smallest doubt, *that a successor "to you would not have been appointed.*"—*Cobbett's Letter to Lord Grey, Register, 19th November*, 1831.

TO LORD GREY.

Kensington, 16th May, 1832.

My Lord,

I BEG you to look at the above MOTTO. It was addressed to you, as you will perhaps remember, in November last. It was then matter of *opinion* with me: it is now matter of *history*. I do not bring it forward in the way of boasting of my sagacity; but with the hope of its tending to induce you to listen to the *advice* that I am about to offer you *now*: a *vain hope*, very likely; for with you, as with all your predecessors, to deem advice fit only to be rejected with scorn, it has been sufficient that that advice *came from me*. In numerous cases, as in this, my advice has been followed *at last*; but in no one case, any more than in this, until enormous mischief had arisen from not following it in time. Will all this experience be a warning to you now? No: pride and your parasites will not let you listen, though you have now escaped by a miracle. I, however, shall proceed in my old way; give my advice, foretell the consequences of its being rejected, and, when the consequences come, *laugh* at those by whom the advice has been despised, just as I *now laugh* at your rival, who has been discomfited, not by you, but by *the people*, and the people alone. I told him, when he came into power, not to rely on his *military fame* (it was always *a cheat on us*) as a cover for any great political sins, which the devil of brass and folly might tempt him to commit; "for," said I, "adopt any measure that shall "extensively affect the community, let "that effect be deeply mischievous, and "at once all the admiration of your "generalship is swept away for ever; "away goes your name from the corners "of the streets, and down comes your "picture from the sign-posts."—*To Duke Wellington, Register, Vol. 65. Feb.* 23, 1828.

Now, my Lord, pray do not join your parasites, when they affect to laugh at the warning that I am about to give you. *To-day* you stand *high*; but, to stand high *to-morrow*, and to continue to stand high, you must act a just and a wise part; and to do this, you must begin by doing what you never yet did, that is, *think highly of the rights and of the power of the people*. The want of this way of thinking has been the bane of your administration, and, indeed, of your political life. Very numerous are the letters which, in print, I have addressed to you; and in hardly any one of them did I ever omit to tell you, that, *without the people at your back*, you never could have any real political power, and never long keep possession of place. Yet you have always acted as if you despised the very thought of relying upon the people for support. When you came into office, you denied that they had *any abstract right* to choose their representatives. You said, that they had a right *to good government*; and of course you were to be the judge of *what was good*. In moving for the second reading of the Reform Bill the last time, you took *great merit* to yourself for having set "*popular clamour*" at nought. This tone and this disposition have been apparent in all your words and actions since you came into office. You wished the reform to take place, but you scorned the thought of

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its being *the work of the people*. You had the ambition to be at once the master of the TORIES and of the PEOPLE; to put down the former by your talents, and the latter by your sword-bearing police; to suffer the former to keep, and to give to the latter, *just what you pleased*, and no more. "Oh, no!" said the TORIES, "you shall not master "us *both* at any rate! If you do tri- "umph over us, you shall, openly be- "fore all the world, owe your triumph "to the people."

And thus it has been. There needs no argument, no narrative of facts to prove it, any more than there requires the use of such means to prove the existence of light and darkness. So great and famous a people cannot make such a movement as this people has made within the last seven days, without the perfect knowledge of its being made known to *the whole world*; and the whole world will now know; we, here, all know already; there is not a hedger, or ploughman, or woodman, living on the skirts of the wildest forest in England, who does not, at this very moment, know, and clearly understand, that you were *defeated* by the LORDS, that you were *abandoned* by the KING, and that only this day week you were as powerless as a baby two hours old, and would have continued as powerless, had it not been for the voluntary exertions of this spirited, virtuous, and sensible people. The history of this one week will for ever serve as an answer to those insolent beasts who talk of *the people as being nothing*; to those audacious plunderers who say that the people have nothing to do with the laws *but to obey them*. It was the people, the common people of France, who put down POLIGNAC, and drove out the tyrant Bourbon; and it is the people of England, and the people *only*, who have put down STRATHFIELDSAY. Our brethren in France have, indeed, thus far, been cheated out of the fruit of their victory; they were too confiding; they were betrayed; we shall not be; we shall keep the power in our own hands, and use it for our own deliverance from a state of oppression which we have, as all people do, too long borne, and with too much patience; but which we shall *bear no longer*.

The history of the week, ending with this 16th day of May, would, to do it anything like justice, demand a bulky volume: to relate it to you would be impertinent; but my advice to you is to keep it *constantly in mind*, and never again to say, or to act as if you said, that you would *rule without the assent of the people*; for, if you again assume this tone and air, you are yet destined to come down. The people put you into power; the people have kept you there; and, if you again attempt to set them at defiance, you will become nothing; and nothing you ought to become. You will not believe it, I know; but you ought to believe, and to be thoroughly convinced of this fact, namely, that you owe, at this moment, a thousand times as much to our hatred of STRATHFIELDSAY as you owe to *our regard for you*. If your rival for power had been any one of several noblemen whom I could mention, and if *he* had expressed *his* readiness to give us as much as you had offered, the result would have been very different; for, observe, he would have stood before us unencumbered with the *Irish-tithe-coercion-law*, and uncharged with many, many other things, that rest on your head. If such a man had presented himself, though exhibiting a strong instance of political inconsistency, amounting, indeed, to something very much like political profligacy, should we, *should I*, for instance, have turned from him, and clung to you? *To you*, with *Hampshire*, and *Wiltshire*, and *Farmer Boyce*, and poor *Cook* of *Micheldever*, never to be effaced from my mind? Should I have called on my readers to force back into place him who had implanted in my mind the recollection of BRISTOL and NOTTINGHAM, where the sufferers had been urged on to acts of violence only such as he himself had represented to be the *natural effect* of the provocation which had been given them? Should I have called on my readers to pray the King to take back him who had, in the midst of profound peace, augmented the army

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to the anti-jacobin-war standard, who had put *swords* into the hands of a Bourbon-like police, who had prosecuted men *for walking the streets* in the most peaceable manner, and who had drawn troops round us in every direction, and had told the Lords, in your reply in the second-reading debate, that *whatever might be their decision*, it was your *determination to keep the peace of the country*? Should I, who had witnessed in you a determination to uphold the tithes and all the rest of the establishment by force; I, who had heard your honest and frank colleague, Lord ALTHORP, promise that the measure for *extinguishing tithes in Ireland* should *accompany the measure* for enforcing the payment of tithes now due, and had seen that promise broken; should I have called on my readers to put you back into power, if a rival had offered, uncharged with what I deem your offences, and ready to yield to us as much as you had offered to yield? Certainly not! and, whatever you may think of the matter, my feelings and my motive of action were those of the whole nation. We forgot none of your language or of your acts; but, when your rival was *Wellington*, it was *drawing the sword upon us*, and we, like the Israelites, *flew to our tents!*

This is the true history of the matter, and, if you be wise, you will so consider it, and will act accordingly; and if you do act accordingly, you will,

1. Drop at once the *haughty tone* which you have held towards us, remembering that true dignity of character never yet was found in that man who was supple towards the powerful (as you have been) and "*vigorous*" towards the feeble.
2. To rely upon the good will of the people for support, and *acknowledge that you do rely upon that.*
3. To cease to be the rigid and severe Minister, and propose and adopt none but mild measures.
4. To take steps for bringing back, and pardoning, the hundreds of country labourers who have been sent into slavery beyond the seas, by the Special Commissions.
5. To put an end to the *Poor-law Commission*, with STURGES BOURNE at the head of it.
6. To hasten the passing of the Reform Bill, and to cause it to be brought into operation without any impediment raised by you, or winked at by you.

These are amongst the things which, if you be wise, you will now do; and then the nation will be *grateful to you*; and, for my own part, I repeat what I have many times said; namely, that it will please me to see you continue to be Prime Minister as long as your life and health will permit it; but, if you do not do these things, and especially the *fourth*, I shall always detest you, shall always rejoice at seeing you humbled, and, as far as I can do it without risk of injury to my country, shall always endeavour to humble you.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER,

On the Events of the last Week.

Bolt Court, May 17, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

IT will be out of my power to give you a full account of the events of *the last seven days*, which exceed in importance all the events that have taken place *in the last hundred years*, because they will decide, not only the fate of *our* liberties, but that of the liberties of *all Europe*. The eyes of the whole world have been upon us for now more than *twenty months*; the despots have been looking at us with dread, and their oppressed subjects with hope: both have been alternately elevated and depressed: the former will now despair and the latter will exult. Famed throughout the world for our wealth, our industry, our integrity, our morality, and wielding power so great, our *example* has always been powerful; and, great God! what must now be the effect of that example! How the good and cheated fellows of Paris will rejoice to hear of our conduct, and of its result!

To give a full account of the pro-

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ceedings of the week, is out of my power, but it is necessary that I put the principal facts upon record, and particularly with regard to the dates. On the 7th of May, as you have already been informed, Lord Grey put a stop to the proceedings of the bill, finding that it must either be lost or taken out of his hands, unless there were a great creation of peers. On Tuesday morning he went to the King and proposed such creation, and, the King having refused to make the peers, Grey and Brougham, who went with him, tendered the resignation of their offices, of which the King accepted on the ninth, in the fore part of the day; and it was soon understood that Wellington was to be Prime Minister, with such a set of colleagues as he might get together. The alarm which this excited in London, it is impossible for any man to describe. The common council of the City instantly met, and petitioned the House of Commons to grant no further supplies until the Reform Bill should be passed. As quickly as the intelligence could fly, this very laudable example was followed all over the country; and, so quick were the movements of the people, that on Friday, the 11th of May, there were deputations in London, bringing up petitions and remonstrances from Birmingham and Manchester, of which latter I shall have to say more by-and-by.

To describe the agitation in London, and the anger of the people against the Lords, the Bishops, Wellington, and particularly against the King, is a task that no tongue or pen can perform. Every man you met seemed to be convulsed with rage: to refuse to pay taxes was amongst the mildest of the measures that were proposed at the several meetings: the language of the newspapers, especially with regard to the King, Queen, and divers members of the Royal family, was such as to make one doubt the evidence of one's senses, and yet it was a very inadequate representation of what was issuing from people's mouths. A cry for a republic was pretty nearly general; and an emigration to Hanover formed the subject of a popular and widely-circulated caricature. Resistance in every shape and form was publicly proposed; and, amongst the means intended to defeat the King and the new Minister, was that most effectual of all means, *a run upon the Bank for gold!* which, on Saturday, the 12th of May, was recommended in a placard, posted up all over London in the following words: "To stop the Duke, go for gold." On Sunday, the 13th, an incident took place at one of the churches, which will show to what an extent the public rage had extended. The Bishop of Lichfield, whose name is Ryder, and who is a brother of that Lord Harrowby who has made himself so conspicuous in his opposition to the Reform Bill, was to preach a charity sermon at the parish church of St. Bride, which is in the very heart of the city of London. The account of his reception there, and of his treatment by the people, I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th of May, in the following words:

We should state, it is always customary for the Lord Mayor to attend in state. The nomination of the Bishop to preach the sermon did not give general satisfaction to the parishioners, and numerous placards of an unpleasant nature were yesterday in circulation, and indeed, several were exhibited containing advice to send the bishop to Coventry, and inviting the parishioners to quit the church as soon as the Bishop ascended the pulpit. Perhaps, however, it would have been prudent, in the present excited state of the public mind, if the authorities had postponed the sermon till a more quiet period. A large crowd assembled in Fleet-street, and the avenues leading to the church, between ten and eleven o'clock, and was subsequently much increased—so much so, that the respectable inhabitants, particularly the females, found much difficulty in entering the church. Upon the arrival of the Lord Mayor, his Lordship was received with loud and continued plaudits. He was accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, but upon the pious Prelate's carriage making its appearance, the most horrid yells were uttered, and some mud was thrown at the carriage. It was with great difficulty the Bishop succeeded in reaching the vestry-room, from whence he was escorted by the parish functionaries, and a large body of police to his seat in the church, which was now filled with a dense mass of persons, while the crowd outside greatly increased. Much alarm was painted in the countenances of many of the fair sex,

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several of whom quitted the church long before the conclusion of the sermon. The Bishop was evidently much agitated when he entered the pulpit. In the course of the sermon he appeared much recovered, until a tremendous shout from the mob outside, and an evident movement from the side aisle within the church, again appeared to affect the Bishop's nerves. At the conclusion of the sermon, after waiting some short time, the Bishop, with some difficulty, owing to the pressure of the crowd, joined the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, and proceeded under their protection and the great activity of the police, down the middle aisle of the church; but as soon as he reached the outer part, the crowd, which was very great, began to applaud the Lord and Lady Mayoress, until perceiving the Bishop made part of the *cortege*, they set up most tremendous groans and shouts, and immediately a rush was made to seize the Bishop, and his life was certainly in no little peril from the angry and vindictive conduct of the mob, both within and without the church. The Lord Mayor, with great quickness and dexterity, and we may add with much humanity, seized the Bishop by the arm, and placed him before him, while Cope, the Marshal, and the City police formed a side guard, by which means the Bishop was enabled to escape into the vestry room. He appeared dreadfully agitated, and, after some time, requested to accompany the Lord Mayor in his state carriage, but the Lady Mayoress being present, and it never being customary for any other person but officers attached to his suite to ride with his lordship, the offer was politely declined. Word being brought that the crowd had somewhat dispersed, the Lord Mayor's carriage was ordered to be drawn up, and the Bishop's to follow quite close. His Lordship and the Lady Mayoress were loudly greeted by the thousands who had now assembled, and considerable apprehension was felt for the safety of the Bishop, but the blinds of the carriage being up, doubts arose if he had left the church, and the coachman using considerable dexterity in forcing the horses through the crowd, and Cope, the City Marshal, being outside the carriage, the Bishop escaped amidst the horrid yells and imprecations of the crowd, who followed the carriage as far as Temple Bar.

In the House of Commons, on the 15th of May, Mr. Alderman WAITHMAN, for some reason, known I dare say to his wise self, but wholly incomprehensible to me, took upon himself to assert, that this treatment of the Bishop *was not the work of the reformers*; and that the reformers had nothing at all to do with it; whereat the sublime Mr. LITTLETON, Member for Staffordshire, expressed his exceeding delight, saying that he knew the Bishop to be as *good a man as ever lived in the world*. If these gentlemen ever eat porridge, they might have kept their breath for the purpose of cooling it, for, while the Alderman has not found a man in the kingdom to believe that any but sincere reformers did this thing, Mr. LITTLETON will have a vast deal to do to prove that as good a man as any in the world was as bitter enemy of parliamentary reform. The fact is, that this narrative of the *Chronicle* is far short of the truth. My house at Bolt-court is within a hundred yards of St. Bride's Church. I know not only that the reformers did the work, but that these reformers are, too, the principal persons of the parish of St. Bride. I was told by a gentleman who was present, that many persons struck the Bishop with the crowns of their hats as he went along the aisle of the church; and that the constables formed a sort of arch over him, to protect him from the blows aimed at his head. The Lord Mayor provided for his *own safety* when he refused the Father-in-God a place in his coach, it being evident, that, if he had admitted him into the coach, the coach, which is glass all around, would have been dashed to pieces, himself and his wife along with it. It was with great difficulty that the Bishop was got with whole bones into his own coach, at the bottom of which he couched down until it had got away out of the reach of the people.

I shall not stop to make reflections on this transaction, having nothing to do but with the facts; but it is quite necessary that they should be known and recorded.

The day before this took place, the King and Queen came to town from Windsor; and of their treatment by the people the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th gives us the following account:

The Court Circular having announced that their Majesties would come to town on Saturday, the popular feeling had an opportunity presented for displaying itself, which was seized with extraordinary avidity. At a quarter-past twelve o'clock, the royal carriage in which their Majesties were seated, without attendants, reached the village of Hounslow, where it was joined by an escort of about

twenty of the 9th Lancers. The postilions passed on at a rapid rate till they entered the town of Brentford; where the people, who had assembled in great numbers, expressed, by *groans, hisses*, and *exclamations*, their *disapprobation of his Majesty's conduct* with respect to the administration. The escort kept close together, and it is probable that they protected their Majesties from insult, as it is alleged that *pieces of mud were flung towards the carriage*. Along the whole of the road to London the people continued to express their feelings of dissatisfaction. When the carriage entered the Park, it proceeded at a very rapid rate towards the Palace, amidst the hisses, mingled with a few occasional cheers, of the crowds assembled to receive it. His Majesty leaned back, but the Queen *sat forward*, with her face towards the right-side window, and appeared to be *wholly unconcerned* at the groaning and hissing which proceeded from the people.

That the people should behave in this manner is not at all surprising, when we look at the language of the newspapers, which have now been at work for several days, attacking the King in as rough a manner as it was possible to attack him by words. As a specimen of these attacks, take the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of this same 14th of May. Talk of libels indeed; talk of the sacred person of a King; talk of an Attorney-General to prosecute libels! here are libels indeed! In one of them, too, my name is inserted, as that of a person who has given his countenance, or rather his assistance, in the putting forth of these intolerable libels. How many a man has groaned out his life in jail for publishing libels not a thousandth part so wicked as these, which, as every one must see, is little short of a direct invitation to the people to drive the King from his throne, and to destroy the kingly government for ever! I will here insert these libels; and when I have so done, you will not wonder that the treasonable cry for a *republic* should have become so general. It will be perceived that my name is introduced into one of these libels, upon which I shall have to remark, and also upon another passage or two, when I have inserted the libels themselves. You will please to observe, that I copy these libels from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th of May.

LIBEL, No. 1.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR,—The shameful parts of monarchy, as that obscene renegade Philpotts would say, ought to be concealed. The *by-blows of a king* ought not to be his body-guard. Can anything be more indecent than the entry of a sovereign into his capital with *one bastard riding before*, and *another by the side of his carriage?* The impudence and rapacity of the FITZJORDANS is unexampled, even in the annals of Versailles and Madrid. The demands made upon the person of their *poor, weak*, and *drivelling begetter* are incessant. On the slightest demur, the insult and reproaches heaped upon his wretched head (by the eldest of the brood especially) are not to be described. In this they are abetted by HER whom *Cobbett calls* "THE NASTY GERMAN FROW."

As long as the machinations of this crew of Harpies only affected the private peace and domestic comfort of their unhappy parent, I cared not to interfere; but when they have the audacity to defile with their unclean touch, *the Charter of our new-born freedom*, and attempt to strangle by their illegitimate hands the lawful expectations of the people of England, their sordid depravity shall be exposed to the world. Are the destinies of this great country, indeed, to be at the mercy of *these vagabonds, male and female?* The reports of these intrigues are quite sickening. Their instruments, too, in effecting their object—a *bankrupt, unprincipled adventurer*, who has long *lived on*, and *connived* at the . . . . . *to a madman!* an ignorant, hard-hearted soldier, whose occupation even now, when his hollow cheeks, wasted form, and vacant grin of superannuated idiotcy, ought to warn him of the inutility, as well as folly of such attempts, is to be *Sultan of his Dowager Seraglio;* who is as fitted to be minister in point of intellect, as the most uneducated of those brave troops, who, by their valour, won for him his reputation, his title, and his inordidate pensions, and whose lives he ever mercilessly sacrificed with wanton recklessness, in sieges and retreats, *feeding his hounds on their miserable rations*, whilst they were starving, and filling the ditches of fortresses with their bodies, that he might walk safely over the bloody and mangled pile.

These, then, Englishmen, are the creatures that betray you. These are the instruments through whom they would rule you—would plunder you—would reduce you to their own level of moral degradation and infamy, and make you objects of pity and contempt to the lowest scene-shifter on that stage from whence they derived their being and their principles.

Will you submit to this disgraceful yoke? I pause for an answer.

JUNIUS.

LIBEL, No. 2.

Nothing can be more shameless than the tactics of certain left-handed branches of an

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illustrious family, in their systematic and persevering attempts to misrepresent the conduct of the late administration. By whom were they elevated to distinctions, *which were refused them by the Duke of Wellington?* and for what reasons, have they turned upon those, who made themselves responsible for the indulgence of their royal parents' feelings towards them, in *placing them on a level in society with the nobility and gentry of the country?* We have heard it reported, that Lord Munster has always given a hesitating and reluctant vote on the different stages of the Reform Bill—that soon after its first introduction, he quarrelled with his father, to whom he has been only pleased to be reconciled since Lord Grey's removal from office. Was this difference caused by a *refusal to create him Duke of Clarence*, or by the impossibility of complying with insatiable demands for money—or by his enmity to reform? But, to whatever cause it is to be ascribed, we counsel him to be circumspect in his conversations and conduct. The eyes of the public are upon the whole family, and the people will not brook their interference in the affairs of this nation. Upon what grounds and authority does he venture to assert in society that *no promise was made by his Majesty* to his late Ministers, to create any number of peers which the exigency of the case might require, to carry the Reform Bill? We dare him to the proof of his assertion. He is either ignorant, or he is guilty of gross misrepresentation—we have too much charity to believe the latter; and if his anti-reforming soul on this occasion is prompted by ignorance, he should without delay consult Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, or *his friend* the Duke of Wellington, who has now access to WRITTEN DOCUMENTS on this subject.

Will the public believe that this man, who thus arrays himself against the wishes and hopes of the people, aspires, through his connexion with the Crown and the protection of a *Polignac* administration, *to the government of India?* We tell him he has chosen the wrong path to such an object. What House of Commons—we would rather say, what House of the representatives of the people—would permit such an insult to their feelings, or sanction such a reward for ingratitude, targiversation, and perfidy? The times for such jobs are, thank God, gone by.

LIBEL, No. 3.

The contest of the House of Lords with regard to the Reform Bill ought to be placed in a clear light. Nothing, in fact can equal the baseness displayed by a number of peers, and the bishops in general. Mr. HUME was in the right when he said, from what he knew of the House of Lords, it would not have been necessary to create ten peers, had it been believed by them that the King would certainly create peers. *It was the treacherous disclosure by some of the Fitzclarences that the King would not create peers that led to the discomfiture of the bill.* Without that treacherous disclosure, it is thought, by those who are good judges, that the bill might have been passed, unimpaired and unmutilated, without the creation of more than half a dozen peers. *We ask whether a letter was not shown to the bishops a few hours before the division on Lord Lyndhurst's motion*, which convinced *them that peers would not be created* in such numbers as to overcome the resistance of evil-disposed peers? The bishops have a quick scent. It is, however, but justice to the bishops of London, Chester, Chichester, and St. David's, to proclaim to the world, that though such a document was shown to them as well as to the rest of their brethren, *they refused to* bow the knee to Baal, but adhered to their pledges.

Upon the first of these monstrous libels, I shall only remark, that I never called the Queen, or any person known to the court, "*a nasty German frow.*" I never called anybody a *German frow*, except the nasty, freckled, rough-hided, devils that go about the country in skull-caps and kilts, crying "*Py a proom;*" and whom this emigration Ministry suffer to swarm all over the country, while they tax us to get away the English working people, upon the pretended ground that they are too numerous. I never made even an allusion to the Queen, or to any lady belonging to the court; and I desire you, my friends, to join me in reprobating this villanous species of misrepresentation.

With regard to libel No. 2, the libeller, being a *Whig*, is, I think, indiscreet as well as libellous; for he tells us that the Duke of Wellington *refused* to elevate the Fitzjordans to distinction. Indeed! I would not have told this if I had been a partisan of Lord Grey. Libel No. 3. relates to a curious matter; the truth with regard to which will probably come out in the end. But I cannot dismiss these libels without bestowing upon them that reprobation which they deserve, and without observing that this is the language of that which, in the slang of the House of Commons, has been called the "*respectable part of the press.*" I can remember, when Messrs. LEIGH and JOHN HUNT were imprisoned two years, and fined 500*l.* each, for what was called a libel on the Prince Regent, not

a ten thousandth part so virulent as any one of these. The bloody old *Times* newspaper, which is the most infamous piece of printing that ever disgraced ink and paper, has, if possible, poured forth libels still more infamous than these; the libels of this bloody paper I have had to endure for a great many years. But I must cease to complain, now that it attacks the King himself, even in a more villanous manner than ever it attacked me. Let it see a prospect of gain arising from it, and it would attack with equal virulence the King of kings.

From newspapers, let us now turn to Bank paper. Amongst the means which were put into motion on Monday, the 14th of May, was a run upon the Bank for gold, agreeably to the placard before-mentioned, which was put out on Saturday evening, the 12th of May. The run began on Monday morning, and continued with great spirit, until it was known that Lord Grey was to return to power. On Monday evening, the 14th of May, there took place in the House of Commons that debate which you will find inserted at full length in another part of this *Register*, which debate I call the *reconciliation* debate, and which you will find it impossible to read through without repeating to yourself a well-known passage of the poet:

"Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong!"

Upon this debate I shall hereafter have plenty of opportunities of remarking, especially upon the speeches of BARING, which you will find worthy of the greatest attention; for this loan-monger was, it seems, to have been Strathfieldsay's Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, as connected with the present subject, this debate clearly proved that the people had triumphed; and I am satisfied that that triumph was very much hastened by *the run upon the Bank*. The people were working in all sorts of ways; but this was certainly the most effectual of their movements.

On Tuesday evening, the 15th of May, Lord Grey announced to the House of Lords that he had received a *communication from the King*; and that for that reason he moved an adjournment of the House to Thursday, the 17th of May. It is now the middle of that day: and I expect to be able, before I conclude this letter, to announce to you that the Whig-Ministers are re-instated in their offices; and that, somehow or other, the passing of the bill by the Lords is to be made sure; and that every lover of freedom upon the face of the earth will have to be grateful to the people of this kingdom for their wonderful exertions during this wonderful week.

All have behaved in so admirable a manner; all have been so prompt, have shown so much spirit and so much wisdom, that it would be difficult to select any portion of the people entitled to pre-eminence in public virtue: but, if one were compelled to cite an instance of promptitude and spirit perfectly prodigious, it gives me particular pleasure to observe, that justice would compel the pen of the eulogist to write down the name of MANCHESTER! In that town, the name of which is known throughout the world, and throughout the world is synonimous with all the qualities and virtues connected with the most wonderful creative industry; in that town, two hundred miles distant from the court, the news of the King's refusal and of Lord Grey's resignation did not arrive until the morning of Thursday, the 10th of May. Before the evening of that day, a petition signed by between 20 and 30 thousand persons, praying the House of Commons to stop all supplies, was sent off to London, where it actually arrived the next day; so that, though Manchester was at two hundred miles distance, there were but about *seventy* hours between the refusal of the King and the arrival of the petition in London, signed by twenty-five thousand persons at the least. To their honour I record, that JOHN SHUTTLEWORTH, RICHARD POTTER, and JOHN FIELDEN, were the bearers of this petition.

And, now, my friends, is there, after this, any bloated boroughmonger impu-

dent enough to entertain the hope of subduing the people of England, or of cajoling them out of their resolution to have *cheap government*? How often did I endeavour to impress upon your minds the important truths, that our deliverance depended upon ourselves; that we had no hope but in our own exertions; and that to induce us to make those exertions, we must clearly understand beforehand the good which would arise to us from a reform of the Parliament. Often was I told, that the promulgation of my *propositions* would frighten the Lords, and would induce them to refuse to pass the bill. Often was I told this; and as often did I answer, They will never pass it unless compelled by the popular voice, and by resolute conduct on the part of the people; and, to produce that resolute conduct in the people, you must first make the people clearly see that the bill would be a great benefit to them. Men do not bestir themselves without a motive; and the motive must be strong in proportion as the risk or the inconvenience is great. It has, therefore, been the object of my strenuous exertions, to furnish this strong motive; and whatever share will be my due in effecting this great national object, will have to be ascribed to those LECTURES, which were delivered to you last winter, and whatever degree of merit those lectures may possess, will be to be chiefly ascribed to the ambition which I had to stand high in your esteem.

I am, your faithful friend,
And most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

FRIDAY MORNING, SEVEN O'CLOCK.—I have room for very little. The following debate is long; but the matter, and *every word of it*, we shall want to refer to almost incessantly for some time to come. It contains the unravelling of the plot of the most interesting drama that we ever beheld. It was produced by the *resolution of the people*, and especially by the *run upon the old she devil of Threadneedle-street*, who was all in a cold sweat, when she shut her doors on the evening of this debate. CAERNARVON (Oh, that *Herbert!*) had just told them, in *'tother place*, that "*the ministry was formed.*" Do, pray, read BARING'S speeches in this debate, and, at the same time, remember how many times he has asserted, that this reform was *a revolution*, and that it must *destroy the monarchy*; for they have now the impudence to call it "a *monarchy*," as glibly as they talk of the "*imperial* bushel," or of *selling the dead bodies of the poor*. Look at BARING *in this debate!* See what a figure he makes! mark his *fright*.

The proceedings, in the two houses last night, show, that nothing was *settled as to the means of passing the bill*. Lord GREY having been asked, whether the king had, at last, accepted his advice, gave, as the report says, the following answer: "Earl GREY repeated, that the "communication which he had received "from his Majesty *had not yet led to* "*any conclusive result*. More than that "he did not feel himself called upon to "say. In fact, he had on Tuesday "stated all that he could now state. A "charge had that evening been made "against him by a noble Lord, as if he "had been guilty, as a Minister, of "most improper conduct in respectfully "tendering his resignation to his Sove-"reign. He was not aware, however, "that in so doing he had done more "than many other Ministers before him. "But it was asserted that he had taken "this step when *he was aware that no* "*other administration could be formed.* "What reason, however, was there for "supposing that *no other administra-*"*tion* could be formed; their Lordships "having been told over and over again "by noble Lords opposite, *that they* "*were the most fit persons to form a Mi-*"*nistry*. If his Majesty were left alone "on this occasion, it was in conse-"quence of *the advice of the noble Lords* "*opposite*, and not *in consequence* of "his (Lord Grey's) advice, or that of his "friends. This, however, he would "distinctly state to the noble Marquess, "*that unless he* (Lord Grey) *could be* "*assured of the means of carrying the* "*Reform Bill in a perfectly efficient* "*state, he would not remain in office.*"

That's good. But I have now only time to add, that I believe, that I firmly

believe, that if this state of things continue another week, *a handful of paper money will not purchase a pot of beer.* The run upon the Bank continued yesterday as great as it was on Saturday. No tradespeople in London will now change a five-pound note. Several have notified by bills stuck in their windows, that they will not take bank-notes in payment: every one is providing himself with gold as far as he is able. Many a time have I cautioned my readers to be prepared for this state of things. I repeat the warning now; for, and let them well observe it, that, *if the Bank stop now*, five pounds in paper-money may not be worth one single shilling, if the run continue for only a few days longer, there must be, what was called a *Bank restriction*; because, without that, all must be instant confusion; and, if that measure be adopted, Bank-notes must be made a legal tender: then there will be two prices in the market; the taxes will be paid in paper; *the dividends will be paid in paper*; and, what is called a hundred pounds stock will perhaps soon be worth less than twenty shillings.

Once more I beseech all my readers to pay attention to this. *Land* and *goods* are things that will not lose their value; but a state of things is now likely to come, when no *paper representative of money* (be that paper of what sort it may) will be worth one single straw.

I hope, my friends, that you will proceed as you have done; that you will by no means slacken in your efforts, until the reform be actually accomplished.

I remain your faithful friend,
And most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

14th May, 1832.

Debate on the projects of the Duke of Wellington, and on his being again Prime Minister—which debate arose on the presenting of a petition from the Livery of London, by the hands of Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD.

Mr. Alderman Wood presented a petition from the City of London, agreed to at a full meeting of the Livery in Common Hall assembled. He wondered whether the hon. Member for Thetford, if he was in the House, would say that this was a foolish petition; but perhaps he would, for he had asserted the same thing of the petition of the Court of Common Council, who were not usually accustomed to send up foolish petitions to that House, or to any other body. Some of the gentlemen who had voted this petition, though not quite so rich as the hon. Member for Thetford, were possessed of property varying from 100,000*l.* to one million. That circumstance alone, he admitted, would not prevent them from sending up a foolish petition (a laugh); they were perhaps quite as likely to do it as men of less property; but he did not think they had done so in the present instance. They had carefully considered the petition they had agreed to, and they felt strongly the same desire with the country at large, that the Reform Bill introduced by the late Ministry was absolutely required to be passed. Though the effect of that bill would be to limit the franchise possessed by some of them as Liverymen of London, still they were willing to sacrifice that private and personal advantage, in order to obtain a measure which they thought would be beneficial to the country at large. The petitioners prayed the House to refuse any further supplies to the executive till the Reform Bill was passed into a law,—and with that prayer he most fully concurred. He could only say for himself, that he agreed with every word of the petition, and that he should certainly vote against all supplies till the Reform Bill had become law. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. Alderman THOMPSON wished to say a few words upon this petition. It was one which had been passed at a full meeting of the Livery in Common Hall assembled, and was therefore entitled to every consideration. He was convinced it was impossible for any Government to carry on the affairs of this country unless they adopted the principles of the Reform Bill (hear, hear), because there was a vast majority of ever class of the people who were in favour of it, and were most anxious that its enactments should become law. He should say but a very few words on the other part of the prayer of the petition, namely, with respect to the stopping of the supplies. It was undoubtedly *within the power* of the House of Commons to refuse the supplies, but it was a power which ought to be exercised with the greatest care and caution; as, whenever such a circumstance took place, *it must disarrange all the transactions of commercial life*, and be productive of the most *dreadful consequences*—of such consequences as it was *the object of the Reform Bill to avert.* Whenever *circumstances* arose that were supposed to call for resorting to such a measure, he should endeavour to act with all the discretion that it was possible could be used under the particular circumstances of the case, but he *trusted it never would arise.* With

the other part of the petition he most cordially concurred.

Lord EBRINGTON (who sat on the right, or Ministerial side of the House) said—Sir, Upon the subject to which this petition relates I have a few words to address to the House—I allude to the reports which have this morning gained general publicity, and which have produced a degree of general excitement superior to any that we have yet seen connected with the passing of the Reform Bill, and which, I think I may add, have also excited general consternation. I allude to the reports of his Grace the Duke of Wellington having received his Majesty's commands to form an Administration (hear, hear); and if there be here any gentleman who has information that can satisfy the House of Commons upon this matter, I implore him to give us that information. It, as every gentleman well knows, is further said that the Duke of Wellington has accepted office on condition of *bringing in the Reform Bill*—I was going to say—but of carrying on the Reform Bill—that bill, the heads of which were propounded by Lord Ellenborough, after the vote of the other House, which led to the retirement of the late Administration. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I stated on a former occasion that it was not my wish to throw any unnecessary embarrassments in the way of forming a Ministry; and I can truly declare, that if the materials could be found from any parties in this country, whereby the Crown could form a Government that should not involve the departure from every principle that has been expressed by them throughout the discussions upon this question, though I should not have had that confidence in such a Government that I should desire to have in any Government that undertook to carry the Reform Bill; yet, if such a Government was formed on the principle of carrying the Reform Bill, I for one would not withhold from them my humble support. (Hear, hear.) But I must say that it is impossible for me (cheers)—actually impossible for me—to give any support to any Government that, under present circumstances, could be formed by the Duke of Wellington (cheers), because there is no pledge that he could give, of his intentions in favour of a measure of reform, which can be stronger than those which stand recorded (loud cheering)—than those which stand recorded by repeated votes, by speeches, and by solemn protests (immense cheering) of an uncompromising hostility to that measure. Is it possible, Sir, that the Duke of Wellington can come down to the House of Lords with that bill in one hand, and with his protest in the other (renewed cheering), and call upon that House to pass that measure, or to pass anything amounting to any portion of that measure (cheering), that can give the slightest satisfaction to this House or the people? Is it possible, too, for any of those noble Lords, who signed that protest (cheering), to become his associates? Is it possible, especially, that he who denounced the vengeance of Heaven on the principles of this bill (tremendous cheering), that he can come round to support this bill, or any bill that is founded on the same principle? (Cheering.) I hope, I trust, I know him better, than to believe him capable of adopting such a course. (Cheers.) I hope, if political principle still continues to have any sway whatever over men (hear, hear, hear)—if anything like *public morality* (cheers) still exists, that neither in this nor the other House of Parliament will one Gentleman be found, who denounced this measure as nothing less than *spoliation and robbery*, to support it, merely because it is proposed under a new Administration; that none will be found who, at the bidding of any one man, can thus turn their backs on all that they have before so solemnly asserted. (Hear, hear, hear.) If, however, that should be the case, I shall console myself with feeling that the course which I have pursued, and which my honourable friends around me have pursued, has not been so inconsistent; and that, though others may desert their principles, we have never betrayed ours. (Loud cheering.) If the bill, as propounded by Lord Ellenborough, should be brought into the House of Peers, and after being carried there, should be brought into this House, to that bill, unless, in the interval, he should again change his mind (hear, hear, hear), and depart from the principle of the bill, to the principle of that bill, so far as it effects an extensive disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs, at least as extensive as schedule A, if not more extensive than that schedule (hear, hear)—so far, too, as it effects the enfranchisement of the large towns, *and adopts the* 10*l. qualification*, I shall give, and I have no doubt that my friends around me will do the same, my cordial and zealous support. However others may change, the principles of our action will be the same for ever. But I must here be permitted to say, that when the Reform Bill was proposed, it was well known that I gave up my opinion upon some further reform, which I then thought necessary, on the condition of gaining for the country all that was proposed by that bill. (Hear.) To gain everything that is proposed in that bill we are all anxious now, and should anything short of that now be proposed to us, though we should be ready to take that, yet I trust that we should never rest satisfied till we had gained the full extent of what we require. (Cheers.) But it is in vain to hope that the satisfaction which would be derived to the country from the passing of this bill, when received from the hands of the old and tried friends of reform, will be equalled by the satisfaction with which they will receive it when passed *by the other party*. What, Sir, will be the reflections of the country upon this extraordinary change, if, indeed, it is possible to think such a change has taken place; for till I hear of that change in a manner that leaves not the possibility of doubt, I shall not yield it any belief, in however various shapes it may appear. What is the consequence, I

ask, that will be produced by such a change? I know not; but I trust that whatever may happen, the people of the whole country will have the opportunity of expressing their opinions firmly and decided, but, at the same time, I hope that they will express them moderately and temperately, that they will bear in mind that the worst blow that can be given to the Reform Bill, the greatest injury that can be inflicted on the cause of reform, would be the consequence of any attempt to carry the measure by any means but those which are strictly constitutional. (Hear, hear.) I beg to apologise to the House for the length at which I have troubled them; and again I implore any gentleman who may be acquainted with the matter, to satisfy us on the point to which I have alluded. (The noble Lord sat down amidst much cheering.)

Sir H. HARDINGE—I should be the last person to intrude myself upon the notice of the House, if I thought I should be injuring the interests of the Duke of Wellington, but I stand here in that situation that enables me, without impropriety, to make a few observations in answer to the noble Lord. I have received no proposal from his Majesty to take office, and therefore, when the Duke of Wellington is spoken of *as guilty of a want of public morality* (a solemn hear, hear, from the left of the Speaker, answered by loud and continued cheering on the other side), I, as a friend of the Duke of Wellington, feel called upon to state, that there is no act of his life that justifies any hon. Member in applying to him that imputation. (Cheering and counter cheering.) The use of such terms and such expressions has alone caused me, humble as I am, to rise and protest against them, not in anger or irritation, but because I think they are not justified. If his Majesty is, in consequence of the advice tendered to him by his late Ministers, in that predicament that he has been obliged to call on the Duke of Wellington for advice, I am persuaded that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will be, as it always has been, that of a loyal and devoted subject. (Cheers from the left of the Speaker.) With regard to any consistency or inconsistency on the part of the Duke of Wellington, I am aware that he has expressed in strong terms his opposition to the bill, and that he has entered a protest against it. I have myself, in this House, used expressions equally strong in declaring my opinion of the dangerous consequences of *that revolutionary measure*. I still retain those sentiments, that the bill is *a dangerous and revolutionary measure*, and that it will be so still if it be only a little mitigated, while its essential qualities are retained; and if enfranchisement and disfranchisement, and a larger constituency—if such a bill can be brought down to this House, and shall give those essential requisites which this House and the country will expect, it will not be for me to state who will bring down that bill, or whether it will be passed through the House of Lords by the Duke of Wellington, for of that I am ignorant. I know nothing of such a proceeding being about to take place. I say I have not accepted office from his Majesty—I am not aware of the details which are going forward; but when I hear the noble Lord opposite state what he has done, I cannot remain silent, but must be allowed to assert, that the Duke of Wellington is incapable of doing anything in private or public that can subject him to the charge of being guilty of an act of *public immorality*. (Cheers from the left side.)

Lord MILTON—The House, Sir, must have heard with great satisfaction from the gallant officer opposite, that the Duke of Wellington is incapable of an act of public immorality (cheers); because the gallant officer is a person who, more than any other individual, is capable of forming an opinion on the conduct which the noble Duke will most probably pursue. (Hear.) But he has made some little mistake in the answer he has given to the observations of my noble Friend, for he has assumed that my noble Friend has *accused* the Duke of Wellington of an act of *public immorality*. (Hear, hear.) He did no such thing. What he stated was, that if the Duke of Wellington, having been the author of that protest which has found its way upon the Journals of the House of Lords, is at the same time *the author* of a bill which he had already described *as revolutionary*, and which the gallant General still describes as revolutionary; if, I say, the Duke of Wellington, having been the author of that protest, did form an Administration on the principle of passing that bill, that then the Duke of Wellington will have been guilty of an act of *public immorality*. (Loud cheering.) On the question put by my noble Friend, as connected with the subject of this petition, the gallant Officer has given no answer. I trust, however, that before the observations which have arisen on this petition shall have passed away, that some other person, who, though not equally in the confidence of the Duke of Wellington with the gallant Officer, will yet be able to make some communication to this House that shall satisfy the public that the imputation on the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will not arise, and that if his Grace does accept office, he will do it untainted with such conduct, which, if adopted, would most certainly be an act of *public immorality*. (Cheers.) The gallant Officer says that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will be that of a loyal and devoted subject. I hope by that expression that he means nothing but that his Grace will show loyalty and devotion to the interests of the country, and not to the *caprice of any man*. (Cheers.) If the gallant Officer means by that that there stands in these realms any human being before whom loyalty and devotion could call on any man to sacrifice his frequently declared and solemnly recorded opinions, the gallant Officer must entertain an opinion inconsistent with the safety and well-being of the country—an opinion that will put an

end to the responsibility of Ministers, and by so doing will endanger the Monarchy itself, which it has always been the policy of the constitution to guard by relieving the chief magistrate from all responsibility, and throwing that responsibility on the Ministers. (Hear, hear, hear.) I am sure, Sir, that it could not be the gallant Officer's meaning, when he used those words, that devotion and loyalty were compatible with a dereliction of principles so distinctly, frequently, and solemnly recorded (loud cheering), or that true devotion and loyalty could exist in connexion with that conduct which my noble Friend has described; and which, if the Duke of Wellington were guilty of it, would justly render him liable to the accusation of having acted inconsistently with public morality.

Sir H. HARDINGE was understood to say that the inference drawn by the noble Lord was unfair, and that he should not have risen but for the observations of the noble Member for Devonshire.

Mr. BARING began by some observation, not distinctly heard, on the manner in which he viewed the question; he then proceeded as follows:—It is not to be denied that the country stands at present on the brink of a great crisis, but I rise simply to call the calm attention of the House (if, at such a time, and on such a subject, it can give me its calm attention) to the position in which we are placed. I do not attribute to hon. Members their eagerness or anxiety as a fault, but in proportion to the importance of the topics which engage us is the necessity to give a calm consideration to the posture in which we stand. I say this, too, notwithstanding the sneer of the hon. Gentleman opposite (we believe Mr. T. Duncombe); and the question really is, whether that posture has been the fault of his Majesty or the Ministers? In perhaps more constitutional language, I may inquire, has what has occurred been produced by the King's fault, or by the fault of some phantom adviser who had operated upon the Royal mind? (Cheers) All I wish is, that honourable Gentlemen should consider whether it is generous towards the Crown, whether it is common fairness towards the Crown, to irritate the public mind from one end of the kingdom to the other, before the Crown is in a condition to make an answer. (Hear, hear.) Although I venture to address the House on behalf of the Crown, I beg to say that I am not empowered by the Crown. I have not had the honour to meet his Majesty; but I am entitled, like others, to state what I think is due, from a mere sense of justice. The good sense of Ministers has, it is true, led them to abstain from any reflections; but I put it to their more immediate friends, viz. the two noble Lords who have addressed the House, whether it is not consistent with honour, good faith, and common decency (much cheering), to wait at least until the King has the means of being constitutionally heard, before he is handled, from one end of the kingdom to the other, as a faithless person. (Cries of No, no, and cheers reiterated.) The King was put forward as the advocate of a great measure, which was received with great favour by the great mass of the people; and now it is asserted that he *has turned round to disappoint them*. (Much cheering.) I do not say that this has been imputed by the two noble Lords; but the language has been held at public meetings. (Cheers and *laughter*, and cries of "No.") I trust honourable Gentlemen will give me leave to speak; and if they will so far conform to the rules of debate, I shall be most happy to listen to them in return. I assert that no person can have read all *the libels* that have been published from one end of kingdom to the other, without seeing that such is the sum and substance of the accusation against the Crown. It was *very properly* stated by the *honourable Member for Preston*, the other night, that although here and elsewhere there may be a great many persons anxious about the state of parties and individuals, the question with the country is, what is to become of the great measure of reform? At least it is for the country to wait, and I hope it will wait without being agitated and excited by any observations, but especially by such as are made here. (Much cheering and *confusion*.) The country will be disposed to wait to see whether, in fact, *the King has so broken faith* (cheers); because I admit, whatever may be the opinions of others, or of the humble individual now addressing the House, that *the Crown* has undoubtedly given a pledge to *the country of an extensive measure of reform*, (hear, hear,) and *no person could approach his Majesty with the advice, by forfeiting that pledge*, to sacrifice his own character and to sacrifice the Monarchy of the country. (Great confusion on all sides, and much cheering from the right of the Speaker.) I repeat, that no man could advise the King deliberately to break faith with his people. No man could approach the throne, under existing circumstances, with any other than this language:—"My own opinion is, that the Reform Bill will not promote the good of the country; the constitution to arise out of it will not be so beneficial as that we are about to abandon; but dangers may arise—an emergency may occur—circumstances may present themselves requiring this concession. (Cheers and *laughter*.) After what has proceeded from the Crown, nobody, whatever might be their private views, could give advice different from that, and the case must be governed by the peculiar difficulties attending it. I know not what the sentiments of the Monarch may be, but only such advice could for a moment be listened to: the determination once taken to grant reform—the pledge for that purpose once given, it must be substantially redeemed and made good. (Cheers.) At the same time, let not the House suppose that I am implicating any other, or that I am detailing anything that actually passed between his Majesty and others, I speak merely my own

opinion—I have no right to speak for others; and the Duke of Wellington is perfectly competent to explain and justify his own conduct. (Cheers and *laughter*.) With my right honourable and gallant Friend near me (Sir H. Hardinge), I am confident that the great mass of the people will feel that, after the great services of that distinguished individual, it is not upon light grounds that confidence should be refused. (Cheers.) Such being the case, I come to the question—Has this Ministry been broken up because the King has turned short round and refused to make the Reform Bill law?—I deny it. The situation is undoubtedly very serious and lamentable, but the Crown must be advised in some way by somebody. (Continued *laughter*.) The Ministers retire—they refuse to perform their duties—and I admit that to recommend the King not to pass a Reform Bill would be advice of a most pernicious kind, and the individual who gave it would be justly exposed to the reprobation both of the House and the country. (Cheers.) As far as I can understand (and my information is little beyond that of any other honourable Member, being mainly derived from what the noble Lord had said on a former occasion), the Administration was broken up on this simple ground—that the King had to deal not only with the House of Commons but with the House of Lords; and in reference to the latter, he was required to establish a most dangerous and atrocious principle. (Cheers and *confusion*.) That principle being, that every time the two Houses of Parliament differ on a question of legislation, the Minister of the Crown is entitled to force the House of Lords by sending an immense number of peers into it; on the refusal of the King to accord in this plan, the Ministers may throw up their commissions in his face, and the country is to be told, because his Majesty has conscientious scruples in so dealing with a branch of the legislature, that he is false and perfidious. (Cheers from all sides.) As far as my information goes, that is a fair view of the case; but I do not pretend even to say that my intelligence is correct, and still less do I call upon the House to pronounce any opinion. All this House and the country is expected to do is, to wait until the Crown is in a condition to tell its own story—to allow that justice to the King which *every criminal has a right to when placed at the bar for trial*. (Hear, hear.) Whatever may be the feelings of the House, or whatever may be the popularity of the question out of doors, I think that the good sense of the country will revolt against any other mode of dealing with its Sovereign. (Cheers.) Angry speeches and angry proceedings are at least ill-timed until the Crown has the means of stating its own case. I have no intention of going farther into the subject: I merely state what is my impression, and I have no wish to enter into the particular merits of this or of any other Reform Bill; but this I will say in reference to the charge of immorality so freely dealt out—that although I have voted and spoken against the general principle of the bill, and although I still maintain those opinions, yet for no sinister purpose. I did (as the hon. Member for Midhurst and others may remember) at a public meeting at the London Tavern, state, that however objectionable, there was such a feeling in the country in favour of the bill that *there would be no permanent peace until the measure was conceded*. (Hear, hear.) I used that expression twelve months ago—not in a corner, but at a public meeting, and of course without reference to what has now occurred. I have mentioned it in order to show that a man may be perfectly justified in adopting a measure he does not approve for the purpose of averting dangers of a worse and more threatening description. This may be called *public immorality*; but I admit that I was guilty of it, and at a public meeting twelve months ago. Whether this may also be the opinion of the Duke of Wellington I know not, and I have no authority to state; but when it is imputed as an act of immorality, I feel bound to take my share of it; and for one I contend that, instead of being immoral, it is an honest and defensible proceeding. I repeat that we ought to wait until the Crown has the means of explaining to the House and to the country what were the reasons which induced it to reject the advice of its Ministers, in consequence of which they refused longer to continue in its service. When the time comes the country will hear and judge; and however well disposed, as I am myself, to give right hon. Gentlemen opposite credit for the best intentions, it will then also respect the scruples of the Monarch in following advice of a description which an honest English king might justly hesitate to adopt. (Cheers.)

Lord ALTHORP—I do not rise for the purpose of entering at all at large into this discussion; but the hon. Gentleman has attributed to my noble Friends sentiments and opinions which were neither uttered by them, nor, to my knowledge, uttered by any Member of the House. (Much cheering.) I did not hear anybody make the sort of observations regarding his Majesty attributed by the hon. Gentleman; and he calls upon the House to suspend its judgment until his Majesty's constitutional advisers are in a condition to explain. I hope and trust that the House will do so, and that it will not run away with any mistaken feeling regarding his Majesty's conduct, *where it was possible to give it a fair interpretation*. What my noble Friends alluded to was—not the conduct of his Majesty—they alluded to what might have been the conduct—I say, what might have been the conduct of any individuals who, having opposed the Reform Bill in its principle and in its details, were nevertheless ready to accept office with a view to carry the very measure they had so strenuously resisted. (Loud and long cheering.) To that state of things their observations applied; that was the public immorality to which they

alluded; and I cannot think that the expressions they used were stronger than were merited by the occasion. (Cheers from all sides.) With respect to the Reform Bill, whatever may be my feelings with regard to such a line of conduct, I may truly say that I have heard with considerable gratification the hon. Member admit, in the strong terms in which he did admit it, first, that the general feeling of the country is in favour of the measure (hear, hear); and, secondly, however I may differ from him in the inference he draws from the circumstance, that a large *measure of reform is necessary* to the peace and welfare of the kingdom. I rejoice that an hon. Gentleman of his influence should at length have arrived at that conclusion; and although it may not be our lot to be the Ministers who carry the Reform Bill, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing, by the consent of all parties, that we have done a public service in introducing it. (Very vehement cheering, especially from the right of the chair.) By our exertions a Reform Bill—and a large Reform Bill—will have been adopted. (Cheers.) The hon. Gentleman says, and says most truly, at least from hearsay I can confirm him, that many months ago he was of opinion it would be necessary to grant a measure of reform. I know also, that although he was of that opinion, undoubtedly *in this house he did not express it.* (Much cheering.) I saw none of the effects of that conviction either in the hon. Gentleman's votes or speeches. (Cheers and *laughter.*) Nevertheless I am glad to hear, that although he always spoke against the Reform Bill, he always wished it well, and that however he might denounce it, he did not really think it unjust, revolutionary, or inconsistent with good government. (Hear, hear.) He tells us, indeed, that he still thinks it will not be an improvement—but what he says regarding his future intentions is, undoubtedly, a great improvement. (Cheers and *laughter on all sides.*) We may hope, therefore, as he has begun improving, that he will go on in the same course, and that, ere long, we shall see our Reform Bill carried to the great satisfaction of the people, and, as we think, to the amelioration of the constitution. (Cheers from all sides.)

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—Within these few minutes, I have heard that a declaration has been just made in another place, by Lord Carnarvon, that the new Administration is for accepting some of the minor parts of the Reform Bill, and that it has been postponed until Thursday, in order that it may then be taken into consideration by the other House of Parliament. (Cheers and loud laughter.) We know that the Duke of Wellington was appointed on Saturday last. We know also what was his first act. His first act was to insult the people of Birmingham. (Confusion, and mingled cheers, and cries of "No, no.") He sent back their petition, and refused to lay it at the foot of the Throne, on the idle pretext that he knew of no such body as that from which it emanated. (Cheers.) We are now to understand that the Administration has been formed, and as the bill is to be taken into consideration on Thursday, I suppose that the next we shall hear will be that public principles, like public meetings, are "*a farce!*" (Cheers and laughter in all quarters.) If the Duke of Wellington did not mean to pursue the Reform Bill, instead of postponing it until Thursday, the motion would have been to discharge the order for taking it into consideration. Where he has found Ministers to fill his Cabinet, I know not; but we all know who was the noble and learned Individual first employed to compound the Administration, and we now find that that Administration is about to adopt the very bill which it denounced only a few hours ago as revolutionary. (Cheers and laughter.) I cannot say that the measure has fallen into hands more worthy of it, or more worthy of the task of passing it. I do not deny the noble Lord's learning or talents, but his whole life has been *one scene of political prostitution and apostacy.* Again I say of what materials the Administration will be formed it is impossible yet to guess; but if it is to be composed of the opponents of the Reform Bill, their principles must be, like certain vehicles set upon crane-necked carriages, the advantage of which is, that they turn round in the smallest possible space. (Laughter from all sides.) In such a vehicle must the Duke of Wellington go down to the House of Lords. (Laughter.) What will be the beasts that draw him—who the charioteer that drives him, or who the pensioned lacquies that stand behind him, I know not (much cheering); but this I know, that, under such circumstances, I would rather be the tailor that turns his coat than the Duke of Wellington with all his glories. (Much cheering.) But if the temporal Lords have no consciences to be consulted, what is to become of the spiritual Peers? Are the bishops to be hung upon crane-necked carriages too? Are they of a sudden to fling up their mitres and hallo for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill?" (Reiterated cheers and bursts of laughter.) One of these right rev. Prelates made a most solemn appeal to the House upon the subject, and as it has since been published from authority in the shape of a pamphlet, I may be excused for quoting a passage from it: it was a speech delivered on the question, that the Reform Bill be read a second time. "My Lords (said the Bishop) but one thing is right and one thing only—to walk uprightly; that is in your own power. As for the consequences, they are in the power of God. Will you distrust that power? My Lords, you will not." I say to the House of Peers—"My Lords, you will distrust that power, unless the Duke of Wellington and place are your God." (Vehement cheers.) The hon. Member for Thetford has talked about the creation of Peers—forsooth that it would degrade the House of Lords; but this base violation of public principle—this base violation of public protest, will do more to

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degrade the House of Lords than the creation of a hundred Peers. (Cheers for some minutes, during which the hon. Member sat down.)

Sir H. HARDINGE rose. Before he noticed the harshness of the expressions of the hon. Member for Hertford, he wished to know whether he meant to say that the Duke of Wellington has—(cries of "Order, and spoke.")

The SPEAKER remarked that he did not consider it a question of order, nor did he require to be made alive to points of order when they occurred.

Sir H. HARDINGE was again about to speak, but he was again interrupted by the impatience of the House.

Lord MILTON said it appeared to him that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was himself out of order in the interruption he had occasioned.

Sir H. HARDINGE again rose; but the disturbance was so great that he could not be heard, and after standing for a few moments he resumed his seat.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE proceeded. I repeat that if the House of Lords be guilty of the base violation of public principle and recorded protest, it will do more to lower them in the estimation of the people of England than the creation of a hundred peers. I agree also with the right rev. Prelate I have already quoted in another sentiment contained in his speech where he says of the Lords, and let that House look to it:—My Lords, if this House shall ever fall from its palmy state, it will fall by corruption from within. (Cheers.) It will fall by folly or by guilt—by the cowardice or treachery of some—if there shall be any such—of its own degenerate members. (Cheers.) I say that they cannot be so degenerate; I do not believe that there are any such; that they will not so grossly violate the pledges they have given in the face of God and their country. But we are told, by the hon. Member for Thetford, that the Duke of Wellington has, at last, heard the imperious call of the people for reform; that the voices raised at those "*farces*"—public meetings—have at length reached him; and that the Duke of Wellington means to give us reform. Reform from the Duke of Wellington! Reform from the Tories! We are to be taught reform by these honourable and right honourable apostates! The people are to learn the value of reform, as Dean Swift tells us the ancients learnt how to prune their vines; they found that when asses had browsed upon them, they throve more vigorously, and produced better fruit; so in this case, because the Tories have at last nibbled at reform, it is to thrive more vigorously and to produce better fruit. (Loud cheers and laughter.) I say that what comes from so polluted a source must be corrupt, and that we ought never to distrust the Tories more than when they affect to be liberal. (Cheers.) But if this Administration be formed, what, I want to know, are they to do with this House? Will they dissolve the Parliament which the King called in order that it might speak the sense of the people? (Continued cheers.) It has been said that we have connected the King's name with reform. Let me ask the hon. Member for Thetford this:—*Will dissolving the Parliament separate the King's name from reform?* (Cheers) Will dissolving the Parliament separate the names of *other members of the royal family from reform?* (Cheers.) I will give the House the titles of some of those members—the illustrious Cumberland and the sapient Gloucester. (Many cheers from all parts of the House, mixed with cries of "order.")

Sir H. HARDINGE rose.

The SPEAKER called the hon. Member to order. It was irregular to mention any names, and not less those of the royal dukes.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE apologised. If the new Ministry should venture (he added) to dissolve this Parliament, they may depend upon it they will not better their situation, and the inevitable result will be their defeat, disgrace, and dishonour. You may reject the petitions of Political Unions, but it will be in vain: the people will and ought to be heard. On Saturday I heard that the petition of the Birmingham Union had been sent back. I have never yet belonged to any of those bodies; but the moment I heard that fact I enrolled my name. (Cheers) You may talk as you please about putting down Political Unions. I should like to see the question tried whether Political Unions can be put down. I maintain that you cannot put them down but by granting reform. A Political Union is quite as legal and constitutional a body as that political union known by the name of the Cumberland or Conservative Club. (Repeated cheers.) I shall trouble the House at present no farther; but in sitting down I think it right to say that I shall oppose and defeat the new Administration by all the means the forms of this House allow. Out of doors I shall adopt every possible constitutional measure to resist and embarrass them—by agitation, if you like to call it so, or in any other way, until I see those who have been the prime movers of this base outrage upon the nation's feelings hurled from their lofty station and biting the very dust of reform, amid the curses of an insulted people and the execration of an indignant Parliament. (Immense cheering.)

Mr. BEAUMONT was not very distinctly heard, as the House was far from tranquil while he was speaking. He referred to the recorded protest of the Duke of Wellington, and remarked, that if a tree were to be known by its fruits, little reliance could be placed upon the disposition of the author of that protest in favour of reform. He also noticed the surrounding of the metropolis by military, and the rejection of the Birmingham petition, as the first acts of the new Government, and called upon the House of Commons to stand forward as the conservative body of the state. It was his most anxious desire to remove the enemies of the people from the councils of the King, and he threatened to do every thing that

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was legal and constitutional in the way of agitation and resistance. From this moment he considered that there were only two parties in the kingdom—the party of Reform and the party of the Duke, and those who were not avowedly for reform, were, of course, to be reckoned in the number of its worst opponents.

Mr. MACAULAY only wished to say a few words; and complained, in the first place, that the hon. Member for Thetford had himself improperly introduced the royal name, for the sake of influencing the decision of the House. With all respect for the services and talents of his hon. and gallant friend (Sir H. Hardinge) he must fairly and frankly, in the language of Parliament and of gentlemen, and without the slightest admixture of personality, express what he thought of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington. Two evils grew out of the present state of affairs, one the danger of losing the Reform Bill, and the other, the deep *injury inflicted upon the characters of public men*. (Cheers.) Above all, of one public man, for whom he had entertained feelings of such high veneration, that he would almost rather the disgrace should have fallen upon *any other individual, however near or dear to him*. He could not contemplate, without the most *acute pain*, the possible degradation of perhaps *the most illustrious name in British history*. On the 16th April, the Duke of Wellington, with the utmost formality, had declared that the disfranchising clauses of the Reform Bill were shocking to all notions of justice; that the principles of the measure were *destructive of the Monarchy*; and yet, before the 16th of May, he had jumped to the conclusion, that all he before resisted was right, and all that he had declared needless was necessary. (Cheers.) The Duke was now, it seemed, alive to the perils of the State—to the agitation of the public mind—to the earnest wishes of the vast body of the King's subjects; but did not all these exist before the 16th of April, or were his Grace's eyes only opened when he saw an opportunity of again obtaining office? If the recent division against the Reform Bill were the cause of the change in the public mind, if the Duke thought that it had produced it, it had been in his power to prevent it; and not having prevented it, he ought not to be allowed to take advantage of his own wrong. In signing the protest, when he knew the state of excitement out of doors, *the Duke had been guilty of one act of public immorality*; and he was guilty of a second act of public immorality, if, having signed the protest, he now at once abandoned its principles. What difference was there in the state of the question between the 16th April and the 16th May, excepting that at the first date the Duke of Wellington was in opposition, and at the last date in place? (Hear, hear.) If the characters of such eminent public men were to sustain this disgrace, it became the representatives of the people to let their constituents see that the stain did not belong to them—that somebody might yet be trusted—that all were not ready to sacrifice principle to place. If those who had so repeatedly and so unanimously declared against Reform now called themselves its advocates, it became doubly the duty of the House of Commons to take care of the bill, and of its most minute details. If, when it was returned from the Lords, he saw that it still contained any important public good, he should readily support it. He thought that no pledge could be stronger than that which the Duke of Wellington made in his protest against the Reform Bill, and if that pledge should have been violated within one month, no other pledge of an administration formed of those who subscribed to the protest could hold out long. (Cheers.) Therefore he would say, that he should give no confidence to such a Ministry, coming into power upon principles directly contrary to those to which, in the protest, they had pledged themselves. (Hear, hear.) He should, indeed, always support the Reform Bill, through whatever hands it might be carried; but on the day after the passing of the bill, he should take such measures as might be the best calculated to show that the House would give no confidence or support to such an Administration. To state at once that he would take that course, was a duty which he owed to himself; for the present was a time when the character of public men required, above all things, to be carefully looked to; and he believed that the time was not distant when character and power would be synonymous. Therefore, if others would have *infamy and place*, let the House of Commons, at least, have *honour and reform*. (Great cheers.)

Sir H. HARDINGE attempted to address the House, but what he said was rendered inaudible by the cries of "Spoke, spoke," He was understood to address himself to the Chair.

The SPEAKER said that, although the hon. and gallant Gentleman had already spoken upon the question before the House, yet, if he had anything to explain, or if he conceived that anything had been said which was contrary to the order and usage of the House, the House would hear him.

Mr. MACAULAY said, that he believed he should be able to put an end to the discussion if the House would allow him to say a few words. (Spoke, spoke.) He would assure the hon. and gallant Baronet, that in anything which he had said he had no intention *to swagger*, as the gallant Baronet supposed. The gallant Baronet himself was not more aware than he (Mr. Macaulay) that it was absurd to use swaggering language in that House. (Hear, hear, hear.) But in what he (Mr. Macaulay) had said, there was nothing like menace or swaggering. All he said was, that if others—and he did not particularly point at any person—consented to have infamy and place, he hoped that the House of Commons would preserve its honour, and adhere to the Reform Bill. (Cheers.)

Sir GEORGE MURRAY said, that the hon.

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Gentleman had used strong expressions, which he (Sir G. Murray) had no wish to imitate. For his part he (Sir G. Murray) was always desirous to avoid the use of language which might give offence; and he thought that if at all times it was desirable for the Members of that House to proceed with temper and moderation, the present times especially required that they should do so. The hon. Member for Calne had spoken of infamy being incurred by persons accepting places; but surely the hon. Gentleman must be aware that in the present circumstances of the country place could not be very desirable. (Hear, hear.) But there might be an emergency which should induce men of honour and principle to take office, notwithstanding the difficulties with which they should have to contend. (Hear.) As to the course which the new Administration were supposed to intend, he must say, that surely it was the duty of public men to follow at any time the course which the public good, according to the circumstances of the times, required. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was too much to accuse statesmen of inconsistency because they adopted that course. But if the persons who were to constitute the new Administration were accused of inconsistency, he would take leave to ask, was there no inconsistency upon the other side? (Hear.) Had there been no inconsistency on the part of the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces? (Hear, hear.) It was always unpleasant to him (Sir G. Murray) to make charges against any one; but he now felt justified in asserting that the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, had, both in his speeches in that House, and in pamphlets published under his name, expressed himself hostile to those very principles upon which he had since framed his Reform Bill. (Hear, hear, hear.) Besides, several colleagues of the noble Lord had frequently expressed themselves hostile to the principles of reform altogether. When the noble Lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whom he did not then see in his place, was on one occasion defending some of those gentlemen from a charge of inconsistency, he said that it was most improper and unjust to accuse statesmen of inconsistency when they were induced to alter their policy, foreign or domestic, with the altered circumstances of the country. (Hear, hear.) He recollected that on that occasion, his right hon. Friend beside him (Sir R. Peel) joined with the noble Lord in repelling the charge of inconsistency which was cast upon public men for having altered their policy upon a particular question. (The noise in the House of members talking and moving about was such, that for a great part of the hon. Gentleman's speech he was heard imperfectly.) It was, evidently, the wish of some persons in that House, and it was expressly the object of some who spoke to-night, to cramp the Sovereign in the choice of Ministers. He was very glad to observe that the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp) had assumed a tone different from that adopted by the persons to whom he alluded. That noble Lord had said, that if any measure was brought forward by the new Ministry, be they whom they may, which should seem to him to be beneficial to the country, he would give them so far his assistance and support. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Hertford, who gave an illustration respecting the vine, he could not help smiling, for the Tories were not the persons who had browsed in the spot to which the hon. Gentleman alluded. The noble Lord, the Member for Northamptonshire, had drawn a distinction between loyalty and that sort of attachment which induced men to bend to all the caprices of the Sovereign, but there was yet no reason to accuse any persons of that sort of blind devotion. Without the fullest information, the House ought not to be persuaded that the King had acted with caprice. There had been no proof that his Majesty had abandoned the principles to which, in his speech from the throne, he had before pledged himself; or that he did not still entertain the sentiments which he was known to have expressed. (Hear, hear.) All they knew was, that his Ministers made to him a proposition with which he did not think it right to comply. But they did not know what were the circumstances which induced his Majesty to think that he ought not, at the time, to do what his Ministers advised him to. Under these circumstances (and he spoke there only as an individual, and without authority from any quarter whatever)—it appeared to him, that the only line which it became the House to follow was, to support the Crown. (Cheers.)

An hon. MEMBER (whose name we could not learn) said, that heretofore he had always doubted that it would be a wise or expedient course to create new peers, for the purpose of carrying a particular measure. But now all his doubts were removed. The occurrences of the last week had convinced him that new peers ought to have been created. (Cheers.) As that had not been done, it remained for the House of Commons to send up to the Lords a Bill of Supply in company with a Reform Bill. He did not think that, in such a case, the House of Lords would venture to separate what the Commons had joined. (Cheers, and a laugh.) The speech of the hon. Member for Thetford had been alluded to already by several speakers, and he also would advert to one topic introduced by that Gentleman. Coming into town that morning, he saw several detachments of the army on their march. Now, certainly it might be that they were merely changing quarters; but the appearance of troops moving from place to place at the present conjuncture was enough to "fright the isle from its propriety." (Cheers.) He agreed with the observations of the hon. Member for Calne, and would join with that Gentleman in taking measures to show that they had no confidence in the men whom it was understood the King had taken to his councils; and

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he was sure that the country would also show that it reposed no confidence in those persons. (Cheers.)

Lord J. RUSSELL felt himself called upon, on an occasion like the present, to show that the conduct which was said to be borne out by his example was in every respect dissimilar to everything that he had ever done. (Hear, hear.) He thought it to be his duty, in such a case, to lay before the House his own conduct and that of the gentlemen, whoever they might be, who were about to take office as Cabinet Ministers. It had been said that he had changed his opinions on the subject of reform. His opinions had at all times been expressed just as he entertained them at the time; and yet all that could be brought home to him on the subject of change of opinion was, that from having been a reformer twelve years ago, and that not of the most moderate class of reformers—from being a reformer who proposed to take one hundred members from places now represented in that House, and to give them to the great towns—from being such a reformer, he had come to be the advocate of that reform which for a long time he had endeavoured to rendered unnecessary—that was the total disfranchisement of nomination boroughs. But that change in his conduct and the necessity of the case had been brought about, first, by the obstinate resistance which had been made by the Government now coming into office to the most moderate reform; (cheers;) secondly, by the altered condition of the country; and thirdly, by the opinions of many persons of the highest authority, differing from each other on the question of reform. He would mention two of those persons by whose opinions he had been influenced, and it would be admitted that they had few opinions in common upon the general question of reform—Lord Grey and the late Mr. Canning. It was the opinion of those gentlemen, that if any measure of reform was to be carried, it ought to be founded on such principles as would render it final, (cheers,) so far as it was possible for the legislature to make it so. On these three considerations it was that he had come to the opinion, that if a reform were effected, however extensive it might be in other respects, but which should leave seats in that House avowedly at the disposal of individuals, the question would still be left open to discussion, and there would still be a call for further reform. (Cheers.) Such was the nature of the inconsistency which could be charged upon him. But it could not be said, that, like some, he had changed from a reformer to an anti-reformer (cheers,) nor had he, like others, changed suddenly determined hostility to all reform to the advocacy of such a measure as that House had passed. (Cheers.) He had changed only from moderate to extensive reform, that change being effected in him by the necessity, as he had said, brought on by gentlemen opposite—by the change in the condition of the country—by the opinion of the great men to whom he had alluded—and, above all things, by the effect produced in the country by the declaration of the Duke of Wellington, that no reform was necessary—that the system of representation was as perfect as the wit of man could devise, and that he (the noble Duke) would never consent to any reform of any kind whatever. (Cheers.) Such were his reasons for agreeing with his noble Friend (Earl Grey), in the interviews which he had with him in the commencement of his ministry, that any reform which they should determine to produce ought to be of the most decided character, and therefore they adopted the measure to which that House had since given its sanction. (Cheers.) But he would put it to the candour of Gentlemen opposite, and of the honourable Baronet who had appealed to him (Sir G. Murray), whether that change which had taken place in his opinions in the course of twelve years, was equal in danger to the change which had taken place in the opinions of some gentlemen within the last twelve days. (Vehement cheering.) In twelve days, those gentlemen had changed, from opposition to all reform as revolutionary, to the support of that reform which they denominated as the most revolutionary that could be devised. (Cheers.) It was now a matter of boast with their friends, that those persons who signed twelve days ago a declaration that they opposed the Reform Bill as revolutionary, subversive of the constitution, and dangerous to the Crown, were now taking office pledged to carry that same measure. (Cheers.) He trusted that, after the appeal which had been made to him, the House would indulge him whilst he said a few words respecting the crisis in which the country was placed at present. In doing so, he should not be induced by the artful threat of the hon. Member for Thetford to drag the King's name into the discussion. (Cheers.) He should not be provoked by that hon. Member's taunt to lift the veil from before the throne, and bring the King's personal character into the debate. (Hear, hear.) According to the constitution, there was no doubt that the King had the prerogative to reject any advice which his Ministers might offer to him, at the same time that he was bound to accept the resignation of any man who felt in his conscience that his services could no longer be performed for the good of the country. But it was no less undoubtedly the right of that House to withhold its confidence from any Ministry which his Majesty might be advised to call to his councils. (Cheers.) At the present moment there were two great questions in which the country was deeply interested. The first was reform; the second was the character of the Administration by which the country is about to be governed. (Cheers.) In that question the character of public men was deeply involved. (Cheers.) Now, as to reform, he would say, with his honourable Friends who had spoken before him, that he was prepared to give it his utmost support, whoever might be the persons

that should conduct it through that House, provided only that they carry it through untouched in all its principles. (Hear, hear.) But he would own that he felt a difficulty in trusting much to the future prospects of the bill, and that difficulty was not diminished by what had fallen from the hon. Member for Thetford. He could not see what the reason was wherefore that honourable Gentleman had not professed the same sentiments a week ago, and declared himself ready to support the bill. (Hear, hear.) Was the sentiment with which honourable Gentlemen had acted to be expressed in these words: —"We will not object to the bill if you give us your places; give us your offices and we shall carry your bill." (Vehement cheering.) Well, if they had plainly and honestly avowed that sentiment, or if they had given an intelligible intimation that they entered with such views, Lord Grey would have willingly given up his office and the bill together into their hands. (Cheers.) He would have said that the measure was to him an occasion of pain and thorns, and that he would give up the bill to them if they would carry it as it was; that is to say, if they would revoke every pledge which they had ever given—if they would retract every sentiment that they had ever uttered. (Repeated cheers.) But if the sentiments of those gentlemen had not undergone the change which was supposed to have taken place in them—if they were determined to mutilate the bill, or to introduce clauses into it which would deprive the people of the power to control their representatives, in that case the Reform Bill would be essentially different from that which it was when sent up from that House, and it would be such as might account for those gentlemen's support. He was, indeed, very doubtful that they would carry the bill without making alterations to suit it to their opinions, unless they should be induced to keep it as it was, for the sake of retaining their places, which really seemed to be to them the object of their whole ambition. (Cheers.) But if they should not mutilate the bill—if they should send it back to that House with alterations only in some minor points not affecting the principles, or the more important of its provisions, he would make no objection to such alterations. (Hear, hear.) Now there was another question—no less important than the question of reform, respecting the character of public men. (Cheers.) When he attached so much importance to that question, he was only uttering the sentiments which the Duke of Wellington had expressed in stronger terms, on the occasion when there was some question respecting the retirement of Mr. Huskisson from office, and when that gentleman made it the condition of his remaining in the Administration that the Duke of Wellington should solicit him to remain. But the Duke, thinking it below the dignity of his station to make such a solicitation, said that, however valuable the services of Mr. Huskisson might be to the state, yet that was a time when the character of public men was of so much importance, that "*any loss was better than the loss of character*" (prolonged cheering); because the character of public men was *the foundation of public confidence*. (Repeated cheering.) Such being the sentiments of the noble Duke, he (Lord J. Russell) could not believe that he (Lord Wellington) would place himself in a situation in which the people would be able to say to him that he had violated his pledges and falsified his opinions, and that in future, with whatever solemnity he might pledge himself to any line of conduct—with whatever earnestness he might state his opinions, the public could never have confidence in the man who could sweep away in one day the most solemn protestations of his whole life. (Great cheering.) The hon. Member for Thetford had come down to the House with an intimation that the change of opinion had taken place, and he seemed to suppose that such a change was no more than a summer cloud, which would pass away without exciting wonder or alarm. But he would assure the hon. Gentleman that the people attached more importance than he (Mr. Baring) did to the character of the persons to whom the affairs of the country might be entrusted (hear, hear): and the Duke of Wellington himself was no ordinary person. (Hear.) He was one in whose character the whole country was interested. (Hear, hear.) Having said thus much in reply to the hon. Member for Thetford, he would beg leave to say a few words in reference to the right hon. member for Tamworth, who had been alluded to in connexion with the present subject, and respecting certain reports which were in circulation. It was said that the right hon. Gentleman was not now about to take place in the new Administration. (Hear.) To that rumour, he (Lord J. Russell) did not hesitate to give credence. He had ever spoken of the right hon. Gentleman with respect; and, indeed, on one occasion he regretted, for the sake of his (Sir R. Peel's) character, that he had consented to remain in office whilst another great question, to which the hon. Baronet was known to be opposed, was carried. (Hear, hear.) But he (Lord J. Russell) understood that the right hon. Gentleman was so entangled that he could not escape, and that his conduct was influenced by the purest motives. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, and for all that he had seen of that Gentleman, he readily gave credence to the statement that he would not take office in the present conjuncture, and he was sure that the right hon. Baronet would not follow any course which honour did not sanction. (Hear, hear.) But, perhaps, as had been suggested, the right hon. Gentleman might yet think himself placed in a situation in which he ought to give his support to the Administration, although he would not consent to take part in it. But the right hon. Baronet had often before expressed his sentiments on the question of reform, and it appeared to him (Lord

John Russell) that those sentiments were such as must prevent him (Sir Robert Peel) from giving his aid to such an Administration, and from bringing to its support that eloquence which, strengthened by his high character, had so often gained the support of the House to the measures which he advocated. The right hon. Baronet's sentiments on this subject had been recorded on a very late occasion. He (Lord John Russell) would venture to read the terms in which those sentiments were recorded. But he would first premise that, last year, very much to his regret, the right honourable Baronet stated that he could agree to some measure of enfranchisement, as that was altogether a matter of expediency, but that to disfranchisement he never could assent, as that involved a question of justice, and to an act of injustice nothing should force him to be a party. (Hear, hear.) On the third reading of the Reform Bill, the right hon. Baronet having enumerated all the evils which he believed the measure would produce, and having supposed some liberal and enlightened individual in future times sighing after the blessings which the nation had enjoyed under the present constitution, and breathing forth bitter reproaches against those who had forfeited for him his bright and precious inheritance, concluded with these words:—"That I may not be called to *the bar of posterity*,—that I may not be visited with that censure which will naturally arise from the evils, public and private, which I foresee this bill must create,—that I may carry with me to the last the satisfaction of having struggled in this conflict with perseverance, although without effect, and the consolation of having *surrendered without dishonour, my last vote shall be given as my first—in opposition to this bill.*" Such were the sentiments of the right hon. Baronet at the time when last he gave a vote upon this question. Now he (Lord J. Russell) presumed that having given that vote, and upon those grounds, the right hon. Baronet could not be induced by anything that had since occurred to vote in another way under another administration. (Hear, hear.) But he understood that there were others who, on the same occasion, gave their last vote on the same question, and who were now ready *to give another last vote.* (Cheers and laughter.) It was not for him to regret that they should do so. On the contrary, let the bill be passed, and he should rejoice. He should gladly accept the boon, by whatever hands it might be conveyed. (Hear, hear.) The bill would be a great and permanent benefit to the country. It would secure peace and good government; and such a measure was not to be rejected on account of the party from whom it might come. But he would say now, once and for ever, that after that measure should have been passed, *he could give no support or confidence* to those who, in carrying that measure, would stand in the face of the country *publicly dishonoured.* (Vehement cheering for some minutes.)

Sir E. SUGDEN said, that it might be very well for Gentlemen to speak of infamy and dishonour attaching to those who accepted office. But Gentlemen must be aware, that he for one could not accept office without incurring loss and inconvenience, and could therefore be influenced only by a feeling of public duty. (Cheers, mingled with laughter, and cries of Oh, oh!) He had not come down prepared for the present discussion. He had not brought with him, like the noble Lord, carefully selected quotations to enable him to cast imputations upon others. (Cries of spoke.) He was sure that nobody would deprecate more than hon. Gentlemen opposite the reading of partial extracts from one of their speeches without giving them with the context. (A laugh.) He would ask the noble Lord opposite, if he did not, upon one occasion, say, that he would look upon the disfranchisement of Gatton and Old Sarum to be as great an infraction of the constitution as anything that had been done by King James the Second?

Lord J. RUSSELL explained that what he had said upon the occasion referred to was, that the franchise of Gatton or of Old Sarum was a trust, as the Crown was a trust, and that when the Legislature deprived those places of a trust, that ought not to be done except upon as good grounds as those upon which King James had been expelled. (Cheers.)

Sir E. SUGDEN would not then go into the question as to whether Gatton and Old Sarum ought to be disfranchised. But when the noble Lord thought proper to attack Gentlemen upon his side of the House for having changed their opinions, he thought it right to remind the noble Lord that he himself was liable to the same charge. (Hear, hear, hear.) He never was more surprised than when he came into that House, and heard it complained of that Gentlemen upon that (the Tory) side of the House had mixed up the King's name with this discussion. He would ask the House whether it was not by the Gentlemen opposite the name of the King was first brought forward in this question? They united it with the name of the people; and he would desire nothing more earnestly than that the King's name should always be united with the name of the people, only that from that union the aristocracy should not be omitted. (Cheers.) The noble Lord had said that the present was a question of character. Well, in what way was the character of the Duke of Wellington compromised by the course which he had adopted? (Hear, hear.) He was sure that his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) could not be pleased to hear himself *lauded at the expense of the noble Duke.* He was sure that his right hon. Friend placed confidence in the noble Duke, as did also a great portion of the people. (*A laugh*, and cries of *Oh, oh!* replied to by cheers.) So far as the character of public men was concerned, he thought that the reproach was to be cast on others, not upon the Duke of Wellington. During the debate upon the second reading of the bill, he (Sir E.

Sugden) had paid particular attention to the speech of the noble Duke, and to the reply; and the only thing which he at that moment had in his pocket was an extract from that reply. The noble Earl (Lord Grey) said to the House of Lords, "Pass the second reading of the bill, and then the *bill will be in your hands.* and *not in mine.* If you interfere with its principle, I will oppose such interference, but still it will be *for you to decide* whether or not you will make the alterations." He (Sir E. Sugden) declared solemnly, that when he heard the noble Earl use these words, his full conviction was, that Lord Grey meant to convey that there would be *no creation of peers;* and that after the second reading the bill would be altogether in the hands and at the discretion of the Lords. For what other sense could be given to the words of the noble Earl, than that it was his intention not to interfere with the House, but leave the bill *entirely to their Lordships' discretion?* (Hear.) But now his firm conviction was, that the Ministers had determined that neither the House of Lords nor that House (the Commons) should in any way modify the bill, otherwise than as they (the Ministers) should think best suited to their own purposes. Did not the country know that the principles of the bill had been altered by the Ministers, without any good reason having been assigned? The qualification had been altered. An alteration had been made in the schedules, both of disfranchisement and of enfranchisement; and in other repects the original bill had been departed from in its most important principles. But these changes were made by the Ministers themselves, and yet they refused to both Houses of Parliament the right to interfere with the bill in any respect. What was the advice which was understood to have been given to the King on the present state of the Reform Bill? Nothing less than to deluge the House of Lords by the creation of sixty or seventy new peers. Was there any man acquainted with the past history, or the present political state of the country, who could for a moment doubt that the adoption of such a course would give to the constitution a fatal stab? What! seventy peers to be brought into that House, pledged to a particular measure? He believed there was not a man of sane mind throughout England, or he might add throughout Europe, who would for a moment hesitate to admit that such a measure would have the instant effect of degrading the House of Lords far below anything which even its worst enemies could devise. He was at a loss to imagine anything more calculated to degrade the House of Peers than the sudden introduction of seventy peers to the House of Lords—introduced, as it was intended they should be, for the purpose of drowning the opinion of the House of Peers. If he were right on the point to which he had just before been alluding, the matter that they had then under their consideration just resolved itself into this,—the late Ministers must have carried their point, or have been defeated; they had been defeated, and they said to their political adversaries, "You must pass the bill, as we left it to you, and so destroy your own characters for consistency, or you must reject and incur the utmost possible hazard to the country from the state of excitement in which we have left men's minds." He had no difficulty, then, in saying that being in possession of the Government at such a crisis, the noble Lords and right hon. Gentlemen opposite were not justified in abandoning the guidance of public affairs, and leaving the King, the country, and the Legislature in the position in which they had just been placed; they should not have abandoned the Government for the sake of destroying the party opposed to them in politics; neither should they have endeavoured to swamp the House of Lords for any such unworthy purpose. With respect to the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, which had that night been made the subject of so much animadversion, it did, he confessed, appear to him, that the Duke of Wellington was perfectly justified in the course which he had taken—with the prospect before him of seeing the House of Lords swamped, he could scarcely have taken any other—and in the exercise of a sound discretion, and under the influence of an exalted patriotism, he took the commands of his Majesty to form an Administration, and thus at least avoided the evil of destroying the House of Lords. There was one truth, however, established beyond any possibility of dispute, namely, that the present Government of the King found nothing but a choice between two evils. If hon. Members believed, as he did, that the Duke of Wellington *was not influenced* by any desire of place—(*a laugh*)—he knew how difficult it was to reconcile all opinions and unite all voices—but believing as he did that the Duke of Wellington, as a public man, stood far above all mercenary consideration—above all motives out of a mere desire of place—they must feel that, in accepting office at the present moment, he was making one of the greatest sacrifices which it was in the power of any public man to make for the good of his country. (Cheers from the Tories; *laughter among the Whigs.*) Yes, he would repeat, that the sacrifices which that noble person made admitted of no limitation or qualification. That which he had done, or was about to do, constituted one of the basest acts of which any man was ever guilty, or an act of the greatest magnanimity and public virtue—an act which, as it would surpass anything that our past history afforded, so it would *eclipse the glories of future ages.* (*Cheers from one side of the House, and great laughter at the other.*) He would repeat the expression, and appeal to all impartial men and *to posterity* for the truth and justice of the sentiments which he thus conscientiously expressed, that the noblest act of his long and distinguished life was the acceptance of office at the present crisis—a crisis so dangerous to the

constitution, and one which carried with it enough of difficulty, delicacy, and hazard, to deter all ordinary minds from grappling with it. Such were his sentiments of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and if they were well founded, and the noble Duke *could not be proud* to have been guilty of the basest and most disgraceful conduct a public man had ever fallen into, *then he should deserve* and receive the universal approbation of all mankind—and more for that than for any act of his public life. (Cheers.)

Lord PALMERSTON—I should certainly not have risen on the present occasion to take any part in the present debate, had I not been personally alluded to by the right hon. and gallant Member for Perthshire. I have been charged with changes of opinion upon great public questions. Against such charges I do feel that no defence is necessary in this House. (Cheers.) I have no difficulty in saying, that I have changed my sentiments, and that I have done so from having become wiser. (Cheers.) With respect to my own public conduct, I should greatly regret being compelled to defend it upon any grounds that might involve an accusation upon others—accusations which it would be no less painful to me to utter than it would be to the right hon. and gallant Member himself to hear. It is known both to the House and the public, that now, for the second time, I have refused office for the sake of preserving the free expression of my opinions, and freedom of action on political questions upon which I felt deeply interested—(cheers);—and that is a fact which might have been known to the right hon. and gallant Member. It might also have been known to him, that it has happened to me, when out of office, to decline the service of the Crown, when I felt that in accepting that service at the particular juncture I incurred the hazard of not being at liberty to assert my own sentiments, as I felt I ought. With respect to the concluding part of the speech of the right hon. and gallant Member, in which he blames the late Administration for having abandoned office at a moment when it was peculiarly their duty to have remained in the service of the Monarch, there was, he believed, not a man in the country who thought that they could, with anything like honour, have remained in power—no man of honour could have done so under the circumstances. We are told that we have been guilty of a violation of the constitution, in the advice given to his Majesty to create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Reform Bill—advice in which I fully participated. Now, I deny altogether that the advice referred to was any violation whatever of the constitution; though, at the same time, I am perfectly ready to admit, that it was advice which should only be given in extreme cases; but what I contend for is, that that extreme case had arrived; and I have no doubt that the whole country, as well as posterity, will ratify that decision. The majority in the House of Lords against the bill was so large, that it was obviously impossible that we could have remained masters of the measure. The right hon. and gallant Member opposite had stated a declaration made by my noble Friend at the head of his Majesty's Government as to the course which he intended to pursue in the event of the bill having been read a second time in the House of Lords. His declaration was, after the second reading of the first bill had been lost, that he would remain in office so long as there remained a rational prospect of carrying the measure—that pledge he certainly redeemed, for he did not retire from office till all prospect of that sort had totally disappeared. For the purposes of the argument which has been carried on upon the other side, it was said that the division in the House of Lords, which drove the late Administration from office, was a division upon a subject of no real importance; certainly, if it were no matter of moment, there might be something of force in the argument—if it depended upon a mere trifle of legislative pedantry respecting the precedence of one clause over another, then I confess I should not have been the man to complain of any matter of indifference; but I believe that it will be now universally acknowledged by all candid and impartial men, that the division in question was really one of importance, and of the highest importance; for here was a measure upon which the existence of the Government as a Government was staked; and suddenly we find ourselves in such a situation that we lose all command or control over the measure, and we are outvoted by a very large majority of the House of Lords. It is almost instructing the House upon first principles, to tell them that no Government could carry on the business of the country, if it do not possess the confidence of both Houses of Parliament, and yet, in order to answer the arguments from the other side, I am compelled to remind the House of that fact. Really, it is almost too absurd to say that the question upon which the House of Lords divided the other night was not one involving an essential principle. They told us that they would proceed with enfranchisement first, and why?—because we think it may be possible that the necessity for disfranchisement may be greatly diminished or altogether removed; that at all events, a less amount of disfranchisement will suffice. Surely that involved the very principle of the bill—to alter the detailed arrangement for such a purpose, and in such a manner, was to alter its most important principle, for the very essence of the bill was the disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs; failing to carry the principle of disfranchisement, nothing remained for us but resignation. We must have either abandoned the bill or resigned our offices. We had no choice between these two. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Sir G. MURRAY said a few words in explanation, which, owing to the noise that prevailed both in the House and the gallery, it was impossible distinctly to hear; but he was under-

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stood to say that the noble Lord opposite had quite misconceived him—that he meant to convey no imputation whatever upon the conduct of the noble Lord.

Sir THOMAS DENMAN was sure that every one would be ready to bear testimony to the able and manly manner in which his hon. and learned Friend opposite had declared his objections to the bill when it was under discussion in that House; and he was also perfectly ready to give his hon. and learned friend full credit for the statement, that he himself in taking office was making a sacrifice—certainly a large sacrifice of income; but he confessed it did not appear to him that similar sacrifices were to be made by others taking office, though the contrary was announced by one who in some sort appeared to represent the phantom Administration existing, or now supposed to exist—who came amongst them like the White Lady of Avenel, to make oracular and mysterious announcements.

Mr. A. BARING said, that he had not spoken from authority—that he had had no communication with an illustrious personage whatever upon the subject of the negotiations now pending.

Sir THOMAS DENMAN certainly so understood the hon. Gentleman. He certainly conveyed to the House that he had had no communication whatever with his Majesty, but that he had had some with the Duke of Wellington. Now that he certainly had considered as pretty high authority. He seemed, however, but little inclined, then, to abide by the statements that he had previously made; and he (Sir T. Denman) could not help congratulating the House upon the candid and conciliating manager which they were likely to have under the new Administration—one likely to put such a charitable and benignant construction upon the conduct of the members of that House. (Loud cheers.) He had been informed but a short time since, that an hon. Friend had described the hon. Gentleman opposite as having spoken of him (Sir T. Denman) as a *mob-courting Attorney-General*; but, oh! said the hon. Gentleman opposite, that happened a long while ago, and he might have said something of the sort, but it was really too hard to call him to account for it, after such a lapse of time; but that was not the only attack made upon him by the hon. Member. He complained of that hon. Member's making it a matter of accusation against the Attorney-General, that he did *not prosecute some atrocious libel upon somebody*, though the alleged libel appeared in a public paper for the first time on the morning of the day upon which he had given in his resignation. (Loud and continued cheering.) Now, he would not ask whether that was generous or handsome; but he would ask was it just? (Hear, hear.) When the proper time came, if come it ever should, when he should be called upon to enter on a defence of his conduct in that House, he should be prepared to demonstrate that it would have been most foolish to have engaged in such prosecutions as the hon. Member recommended; and that if they had been entered upon and proceeded with, they would have redounded nothing to the credit of those concerned, or to the benefit of the country. There was no one conversant with the administration of justice who did not feel perfectly convinced *that prosecutions were useless, unless when they happened to be in accordance with the state of public opinion*. He believed that, upon the fullest review of his conduct, it would be found *that he had prosecuted in every instance in which prosecution was expedient or safe*; and he referred to the *Special Commissions* issued while he was in the service of the Crown as evidence of the principles by which his official conduct had been governed. It really seemed as if the hon. Member thought that a libel and an Attorney-General ought not to exist at the same moment. (A laugh.) Much had been said on the subject of the new Government, but he really thought that had as little to do with the topics which the hon. Gentleman opposite introduced—that he might say much of the debating had as little to do with the real matter in hand as had the debates that might at present be going on in the French Chamber of Deputies. (Hear, hear.) In departing from the matter properly under consideration, he regretted to think that some very indiscreet observations had been made—he regretted to think that anything likely to produce irritation should at any time have been uttered—he regretted that any person should have been found *too ready to exhibit the sword*; but of this he felt perfectly assured, that there was not a member of the late Government who would not willingly forego all chance of ever again being employed in the service of the public for the sake of seeing the great measure of reform quietly and peaceably carried. (Hear, hear.) It had been made matter of accusation against the late Government, that they had used the King's name—yes, they had hoped that the King's name would have proved the means of union—would have proved "a tower of strength;" but they had not found it so, *though clothed with full authority for its use*. Without, however, entering any further into personal feelings, he should, were that the last moment of his life, pray that men might take care of themselves, but that the House of Commons might take care of the country and pass the bill. If the bill were sent down to them from the House of Lords unmutilated, the change of the Government was a matter of secondary consideration. The great object was to have the bill passed with the shortest possible delay; and were that object but once accomplished, we could not fail to be one of the most *prosperous, great, happy, and powerful people upon which the sun ever shone*.

Mr. A. BARING—The observation to which the hon. and learned Gentleman alludes was quoted by an hon. Member as having been uttered by me more than twelve months ago. The hon. and learned Gentleman also says,

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that I have imputed blame to him for not prosecuting those persons who have been libelling the Queen. Now, I brought no charge against the hon. and learned Gentleman. What I said was, that there was a general tendency to vilify and degrade persons in power; and amongst the rest the royal family, who formerly used to be under the especial protection of the law, but who now seem to have no one to defend them. Whether the Attorney-General ought to prosecute under such circumstances I will not say; but I chiefly quoted it as a specimen of the altered state of the times.

Mr. Alderman WAITHMAN thought, that if the Duke of Wellington had accepted office for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill, it was impossible to quote a stronger instance of *political apostacy*. (Cheers.) The House of Commons, however, he trusted, would be on the alert to protect the people, and to baffle the wretched intrigues that were going on behind the curtain. (Cheers.)

Sir R. INGLIS was nearly inaudible in the gallery. He was understood to say, that to public men character was of the first importance; and as long as the character of public men stood high, the country to which they belonged had great and favourable resources in their integrity; for which reason, to a certain extent, he agreed in the principles which had been laid down by the two noble Lords on the opposite side. For himself, humble as he was, he trusted that he had always borne that in mind; and he was sure that he could confidently state, that, though he had opposed the Reform Bill, he had done so entirely from principle, and not at all from any enmity towards the authors of that measure. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry that so much allusion had been made to the King; and he thought that the House would do well to remember that the Sovereign could only be known through the acts of his Ministers; and it was therefore very unjust to undertake to pronounce upon the opinions of the Crown, when it was not even known who at this moment were its responsible advisers. With respect to the Duke of Wellington, he certainly must say, that if that noble Duke *accepted place with the intention of giving his sanction to reform*, he was doing that which *was wrong*, and *vastly out of keeping* with all his former declarations on the subject. (Cheers.) He would not take upon himself to say what might be the motive—whether it was *ambition*, or whether it was *anything else*—but be it what it might, he thought that there were *no considerations* which, under such circumstances, *could justify the noble Duke in taking office* (cheers); for it was impossible that there could be any doubt as to his sentiments after the protest and the speeches which he had made upon this subject. (Loud cheers.) But still he thought that the House was somewhat prejudging the question, for it was still left untouched and *unknown whether the noble Duke had conceded this point or not.* (Hear, hear.) The hon. Baronet concluded by making some comments on Lord Milton's expression relative to loyalty and devotion, requiring no one to yield to the caprice of any man, however high his station; but it was impossible to catch the tenor of the hon. Baronet's observations.

Lord MILTON—The hon. Baronet does not seem exactly to have understood what I said. My expressions were these: I hoped that there was in these realms no human being so high as to induce another to sacrifice to him, through loyalty or devotion, his own solemnly recorded opinion. (Cheers.) And I must say, that I think the hon. Baronet has himself sanctioned by his speech every tittle of that sentiment. (Cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL—I must say, that I have a strong feeling that the House has this evening engaged in a discussion which, for many reasons, is injudicious. (Hear, hear.) We are not in possession of that information which is essential for the purpose of forming a correct judgment on many subjects which have in consequence been argued hypothetically. Now, Sir, I take the liberty of suggesting to the House to consider the position in which the King of this country is placed. His Majesty has recently accepted the resignation of those who were his confidential servants. I can undertake to pronounce no opinion as to the course which they have assumed, because no explanation has been given in detail of the circumstances under which their advice was offered, so as to enable me to form a satisfactory judgment on the course which they have pursued. I certainly infer that the case is this:—that in order to carry a certain measure through the other House of Parliament, the Ministers advised his Majesty to create a number of peers. What that number was I know not. Some say, to an indefinite extent; others have named thirty, forty, sixty, or seventy; but at all events, to such an extent as would have proved fatal to the authority of the House of Lords. (Cheers.) His Majesty declined to accede to that advice; and the consequence is, that the King is now attempting to form another Administration. Now it appears, in the course of these debates on this very day, that there is no one who has authority in this House to speak on the part of that Administration. The hon. Member for Hertford, referring irregularly, but perhaps necessarily, to what has taken place in another house, has told us that there a declaration was made to the effect that another Administration was formed. If the hon. Member himself heard that statement, it is of course unlikely that there can be any mistake on the subject: but it certainly does seem strange that an Administration should be formed, and that there should be no one in this house to give any explanation on the subject. (Hear, hear.) If, therefore, the hon. Member has only spoken from report, I should be inclined to think that that report must be erroneous. If the declaration alluded to was only to the effect that the King was occupied in attempt-

ing to form another Administration, without any explanation as to the principles on which that Administration was to be formed, I put it to the House, whether declarations of determined hostility to a hypothetical Administration are not somewhat premature. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DUNCOMBE—In what I said relative to what has taken place this evening in the House of Lords, I referred to what one of the reporters had taken down. The passage that was read to me was to this effect—that Lord Carnarvon had risen in his place to say that an Administration was formed, except in some of its minor details; after which he went on to move that the order of the day for the Committee on the Reform Bill should be postponed till Thursday, thereby evincing that that bill had now got into other hands.

Sir R. PEEL—The noble Paymaster of the Forces thought proper to refer to me with respect to the course I might pursue at this juncture. Now I will tell the noble Lord fairly, that I do not think that prudence or respect to the House requires me to make any answer to his observations on the present occasion. I think that the noble Lord's reference to me was entirely unnecessary; and I will tell the noble Lord further, that some time ago, when office was not within my reach, I stated that it was no object to me: now that it is within my reach, I will again repeat that observation; so that it will be seen that I claim no credit for any supposed sacrifice. (Hear, hear.) If the noble Lord's inference is correct—that I feel unable to enter into the service of the Crown—I will at all events add this to it—*that I bitterly regret that, in the situation in which his Majesty is now placed, I am not able to accept office;* and that the greatest regret that attends my refusal of office is the *possibility of its affording an opportunity for sarcasm being pointed by contrast against those who feel themselves able to join the new Administration.* (Cheers from the Ministerial side.) Whatever course my noble Friend (the Duke of Wellington) may pursue—whether or no I may be able to pursue that course too—this I will say, that I never felt a more perfect confidence of anything in my life than that course (be it what it may) will be dictated by the *highest courage and the purest sense of honour that ever influenced the actions of any public man, either in accepting or in retiring from office.* (Hear, hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL—I can assure the right hon. Baronet that in what I said I had no intention of casting any imputation on him whatever. On the contrary, it was my sincere belief, when addressing the House, that the right hon. Baronet was not going to accept office; and, therefore, the words that I used could not be intended as any reproach to him. I conceive that the right hon. Baronet is much too careful of his public fame to accept office under present circumstances. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HUME—Sir, I wish to put a question to you, which seems to me of no little importance. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the address of this House has been presented to the King; and if any answer whatever to that address has been made? Four days have now elapsed since that address was voted. The House, it appears, knows nothing of the matter; and it will be extremely satisfactory if you, Sir, are able to give us any information of any answer that may be expected.

The SPEAKER—The only explanation that I am able to offer is, that the address was transmitted, and that it has come to the hands of the King's establishment, into whose hands such addresses are usually delivered, for the purpose of being presented. The reason for there not being any answer to that address at the present moment I can only guess at like the hon. Member, or any other gentleman. It may be that the King feels that, *not having responsible Ministers,* it is better to delay his answer. For any certain reason, however, the hon. Member must not ask me; for I do not know more about the matter than any other Member of this House. I only know that the address was *sent to his Majesty's household*—that it is in the hands of the King—or that at least he is apprised of it.

Mr. HUME—Am I to understand that the address of the 10th of May *is not yet in the hands of the King.*

The SPEAKER—The hon. Member must be aware that I am utterly unable to answer that question; and if he draws the inference that I mean so and so, I beg to inform him that I meant nothing but to assure him and the House that the address was regularly conveyed in the usual manner—that I have no doubt that it is in the proper channel—and that I presumed the reason for there being no answer yet, was the difficulty that there is as to the channel through which that answer is to be conveyed.

The Earl of BELFAST said a few words, which were very indistinctly heard. His Lordship was understood to confirm the statement of the Speaker.

The question was then put, "that the petition be brought up."—Motion agreed to.

The next question was, "that the petition be read." On which

Lord EBRINGTON rose. After the allusion that has been made to me personally in the course of this discussion, I trust that I may be permitted to trouble the House with a very few words. The right honourable and gallant officer who spoke early in the debate, and who I am sorry not now to see in his place. (Here Sir H. Hardinge, to whom the noble Lord was alluding, resumed his seat.) The right honourable and gallant officer has charged me with having made an attack on the Duke of Wellington for a breach of public morality. I beg, however, to say, that I only put an hypothetical case: and upon that case I stated, as I now state, that if it is true and correct, I can apply no milder term to the Duke's conduct. The noble Duke's friends are under a mistake if they suppose that there is anything

in his great name, in his high situation, or even in his eminent service—which no one is more ready gratefully to acknowledge than myself—I say the noble Duke's friends are much mistaken if they suppose that there is anything in these circumstances which can screen his character, as a public man, from undergoing the same investigation, from being subject to the same discussion, from being judged on the same principles, and from being decided upon on the same grounds with those of every other public man in this country. (Cheers.) Sir, it is with this freedom and in this manner that I shall always assert my right as an independent Member of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I trust that I shall always do so with the respect that is due to this House, and in language belonging to myself as a gentleman; and, indeed, I trust that I am not in the habit of bringing any charge against my political opponents in any other language, notwithstanding what the honourable Member for Thetford has been pleased to lay to my charge. That honourable Gentleman has thought proper to read me a lesson with respect to my supposed want of common decency, for such, I think, were the words that he presumed to apply to me. (Cheers.) Sir, I will not bandy such terms backwards and forwards with the honourable Gentleman, but he must allow me to say, that if there is any one in this House to whom I should be disposed to apply such language, it would be to him (hear, hear,)—rising this night, as he has done, to make a tardy defence of political inconsistency, (cheers,) on the part of himself or others, when I have heard him, time after time, in this House, raking up speeches made ten or twenty years ago, together with extracts from pamphlets; and, on the strength of these, applying to my noble Friend terms of vituperation—(loud cheering), —which, until this Reform Bill was introduced, I never heard applied by anybody, in the greatest heat of political party, to any Minister of the Crown. Gentlemen seem this evening to have argued as if there was no alternative to be adopted by the noble Duke, except either admitting a forced creation of peers by the King, or accepting the government of the country and dragging the Lords to the passing of the bill. But, Sir, is there no third course? (Loud cheering.) Is it absolutely necessary that those who have so deeply pledged themselves against the bill, should now be compelled to eat their words? (Hear, hear.) I wish that the right hon. Bart., or any person not liable to any imputations, would show how it can be settled. If the noble Duke himself could stand up and say that the impossibility he finds to conduct the affairs of the country would make him use all his influence among his friends to pass the measure, he would succeed, no doubt, in putting an end to further discussion. (Hear, hear.) I will not say when that should be done, or when it would come too late. If a course of that description had been adopted within the last few days, even within the last forty-eight hours, much peril would have been avoided to the country. The character of the noble Duke would have stood a great deal higher, and he would have entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the country. At the same time the character and conduct of the House of Lords would not be subject, as under other circumstances they would, to *lasting execration*. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BARING—I hope the House will excuse me for again obtruding myself upon its notice, after what has fallen from the noble Lord. I can assure the noble Lord and the hon. Attorney-General that the look and tone which it has pleased them to assume—the taunts they have thrown out (cheers), shall not make me swerve from my opinion, or prevent me from fearlessly discharging my duty in this House. (Hear, hear.) The noble Lord—but he said so many things that I hardly recollect what I should first reply to, (some hon. Member whispered Mr. Baring) —yes, if the noble Lord, getting up with a high hand, using expressions in the course of the discussion implying that I am disentitled to the ordinary courtesy of the House—if the noble Lord chooses to make me the butt to that sort of expressions, I can only tell the noble Lord that I hold them in utter contempt. (Cheers.) From the time I have been in the House, I am sure that my reputation will not suffer from any such personal observations on account of a difference of opinion. (Cheers.) With the leave of the House, I will say a little on the question notwithstanding. The objections I made to the course lately adopted, is the same as that stated by my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel), viz. that the subject is not yet ripe for discussion. (Hear.) Respecting the conduct of the late Government, I avow that my opinions are made up; but the House has no evidence; it cannot know whom the Crown has employed to defend it. It is premature then to entertain the subject at present; but whatever situation I may stand in towards the House, when it can be fairly discussed, I shall fearlessly state my opinion. As to what the hon. Gentleman said about my inconsistency, or the inconsistency of a much greater man—for the Duke of Wellington, how ever much *some people might now scoff at him*, had a great debt of gratitude owing to him by the country—I must say that neither he nor I have altered our opinions. We do not now say that the Reform Bill, which we described as a bad bill, *is a good bill*. I do not hold any such opinion, and we (*a laugh*) have not changed. I am confident that we cannot be accused of *inconsistency*. The case stands thus:—In the opinion of the King, the Crown feels itself forced to feel certain scruples, and these scruples will not allow him to do what is desired of him. It will not be said that these scruples, at least, are not *reasonable scruples*. The noble Lord at the head of the Ministry stated himself repeatedly that the measure, about

which the Crown has scruples, he should take with reluctant—no, that was a weak term—but with the greatest repugnance. If that were felt by the noble Earl—and no man doubted his integrity—surely the scruples of the Crown were entitled to some respect. (Hear, hear.) I know, that under whatever circumstances, the name of the Crown and of the King is introduced in this House, it is unconstitutional; but, at present, it was impossible to do otherwise. The Crown had no confidential advisers in the House to make known its resolutions. A conflict had taken place between the Crown and its confidential advisers, and therefore at present the King had no confidential advisers. The King did not choose to comply with the advice his servants had given, and the Ministers had resigned. I ask the House to consider what is the situation of the King when his Ministers have resigned. These scruples deserve some respect, and when the House recollected the persecution which those were exposed to out of doors and in that House who entertained these scruples, it was extraordinary that anybody should be found to give advice to the Crown. The act was not done under ordinary circumstances, for every man must be aware of the excessive excitement which pervades the country. It might be fairly supposed that no man would go to the Sovereign, but that the Sovereign would call upon some person to give him advice in the dilemma in which he is placed. I suppose I do not know what passed, but I suppose that the King might have called for some person, and might have said to him, "Since I found that the Government could not be otherwise carried on, I made a pledge to my people, which I will not give up, but at the same time, I am so placed, that I cannot admit, according to the constitution, that the other branch of the legislature should be forced to agree with the Commons unless some very strong case should arise, and I do not see that any case has yet arisen in which I can fairly be called on to interfere." Suppose the Duke of Wellington was the person so called upon—he says, "I cannot help myself, I do not admit the principles of this bill, but am I therefore, as a consequence of that, to treat the King's commands with neglect, and refuse to pass the bill; or am I to advise him to pass the bill, and support the King, in advising what all admit to be the greatest violence to the constitution?" I doubt not but the noble Duke might have come to some such conclusion; and what man can doubt the honesty and integrity of the noble Duke, or throw any suspicions on his consistency? I do not, any more than I doubt that the noble Duke possesses much of that courage which enables a man to resist taunts, and sneers, and sarcasms. (Cheers and laughter.) Against such sneers and sarcasms I shall support my opinion; and I have no doubt that the noble Duke would have courage to meet such sarcasms, and support the King in that conflict in which he is involved, because he does not choose to endanger the constitution by committing a fatal violence on one part of it. That is, I take it, an honest view; and I shall say sincerely, that the noble Duke, without changing his mind—not seeing anything in the bill to approve of, but seeing the state of excitement in the country—seeing the danger to which it might lead, supposing nothing else would end it—might resolve to stand by the King in this dilemma, and expose himself to all the difficulties of the situation, for the purpose of protecting his Sovereign. That appears to me to have been the course, and that the noble Duke would not interfere to give his advice to the King till the King sent for him. I will say one word as to the necessity of such a resolution as was come to by his Majesty's Ministers. If the Ministers of the Crown had waited, they might have ascertained, in 48 hours after the peers had given their vote, whether it was the intention of the peers by that vote to defeat the bill, or whether they meant to vote for the whole disfranchisement of schedule A. Upwards of one half of the peers who voted against the Ministers stated their intention of voting for schedule A. Now schedule A was the key-stone of the bill; and when that was the case, could the King not say, "The time is not arrived when I can be called on to exercise my prerogative: do not come to me with a vague report of what the peers may do; put their intentions to the test—wait 48 hours, and see if they will vote for schedule A." It should be recollected that the bill was safe in the Ministers' hands after the vote of the peers. It could always be reinstated if injured, and it was the same as if the bill were actually in danger. I shall state fairly that I have had many opportunities of knowing the opinions of the opposition peers, and I shall mention what I know of their opinions of schedule A. One of those peers, who had a principal hand in managing the opposition to the bill, told me, that he had no doubt that the peers would pass the whole of schedule A. "My opinion is (said he), after making my calculation—I will mention no names—my opinion is, that there will not be twenty votes against schedule A." (Hear.) That was before the question between the King and his Ministers had become the subject of public notice; and it was told me by one of the noble Lords who was undertaking the opposition to the bill. The measure then proposed by the Ministers was only to be resorted to in extreme cases; but there were no circumstances to justify such a measure, and the Ministers would not wait 48 hours to put to the test the opinions of the peers. The noble Lord said, he feared that there was no hope of accommodating these differences. I have had long experience in this House, and I never once saw a case in which the constitution was exposed to hazard, when the whole body of the landed gentlemen did not interfere as mediators, and bring out some understanding on the matter.

The noble Lord says, or at least his words, I think, bear that construction, that he should be glad if anything could be done to give an approach even to such a proposal; and that if the peers would vote schedule A, that might induce the Ministers of the Crown to relax in their determination, and not to advise that which they only thought a less evil than not risking the measure. I should think myself, that if Lord Grey goes back to the King, and stating his unwillingness to employ those means which he had already admitted he entertained a great repugnance to perform, and stating that he expected, with great probability, that the Lords would not differ from him, except as to the details of the bill—if Lord Grey would so state to the King, I see no difficulty of the Ministers again taking their places. (Hear, hear.) I do not see any objection to this. (Hear, and laughter.) It is with entire sincerity that I state this. I say that I wish not to interfere in any administration, and particularly in an administration formed under the very difficult circumstances in which the country is now placed. To me, who never wished for public life, it would be a fatal thing, and nothing but the most urgent necessity should ever tempt me to take office in any shape. The hon. Gentlemen whom I followed for twenty-five years, know that I never asked them for any place whatever. (Hear, hear.) I shall not, therefore, be thought a person ready to do anything rash or base for the purpose of obtaining place. (Hear, hear.) I shall state, that it would be with the very greatest reluctance that I should undertake any office, and that reluctance, great at any time, must be doubly great at undertaking it when I know, instead of having the house of Commons at my command, what opposition I should meet with, making it a place of the greatest difficulty. At the same time, feeling the strength of my cause—feeling, in fact, that I ought not to abandon the King—there is no peril, no danger, no difficulty, I would not encounter, and nothing I would not undertake, which I thought conscientiously it was my duty, as an honest man, to undertake. (Cheers.) But, as I said before, it would be much for the good of the country if the present administration were not dissolved. That they should quit office would be one of the greatest calamities possible. When the bill should be passed (cheers), which has excited so many expectations in the country (hear, hear), it was expected, as the result, as he learned from the canvas going on for the county of Kent, that it would lead to some great blessings. It would be very unfortunate for the Government which should be in office, when the expectations of the great advantages raised by this bill—the extreme anticipations—shall be disappointed. (Hear, hear.) The public will then say, that if the reform Government had remained in something more would have been given to us. (Hear, hear, from Mr. Hunt.) If I were looking to public life—and I am looking only to retirement—but if I were looking to public life, the best thing I should desire would be, to form part of an administration to succeed the present Ministers. (Hear, hear.) We have heard much of the blessings to be derived from this bill. But when the disappointment comes, that will give any succeeding administration which may want it an easy triumph; if any man—for example, my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel)—who finds it as difficult to keep out of office as ordinary persons find it to thrust themselves in, were ever so desirous of power, and possessed even of a grain of common sense, he could not wish to get into place at this crisis. I shall state, that individuals might with advantage try to diminish the breach between the Crown and its Ministers; and I am not without hopes, from what fell from the noble Lord, that some communication would be made to his Majesty, that his Majesty might be relieved from that which he so much deprecated, and which was known by one word—swamping the Peers. It is not possible to deny that the bill may pass, that schedule A may receive the assent of the peers; and if the peers do not refuse to pass schedule A, there is nothing to justify the Ministers in giving up. I find myself in a peculiar situation, and I make this statement to the house with perfect sincerity; and if I could assist in bringing about a settlement without any injury to the constitution, I can assure the house that it would be one of the happiest moments of my life. (Cheers.)

Lord ERRINGTON said a few words, which were not audible in the gallery.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT had heard with great satisfaction what had fallen from the honourable Gentleman. He acknowledged that the hon. Gentleman had given an opinion to which he attached great weight, and that what he said was the usual mode of proceeding under ordinary circumstances. Nobody felt more strongly than he did those unpleasant circumstances; but that they had arrived was not the fault in the least of his Majesty's Ministers. They were placed in a situation in which he must say they could do no otherwise. Of all the duties of public men, none was more imperative than that of preserving their character and honour, for, without preserving them, they could not be of service to the public. He did not doubt his Majesty's good intentions nor the candour of the royal mind, neither did he doubt that his Majesty was placed in circumstances of exceeding difficulty; and not doubting either the candour of the royal mind nor the difficulty of the Royal situation, he was sure, if his Majesty found it difficult to decide, he must also be sensible of the difficult circumstances of his Ministers; and he could not be astonished that they should have resigned, nor could be find in their having done so any cause of complaint. Under these circumstances, he trusted and hoped that means would be found of procuring the success of that bill, without any useless discussion, when, under the circumstances of the country, its final success was inevitable.

He could not see anything which should destroy his hopes. The Royal mind was open to reason. The King had no private views; he never had any. He had always said to his Ministers, Do what you think right, without considering me; do what is for the good of the country, and let that be your only guide. The King wished nothing but the prosperity of the people; and only thought how their benefit might be promoted. He was sorry to see such a Sovereign deprived, by a misapprehension, of the affections of his people, to which he was altogether entitled. The hon. Gentleman, who had just sat down, said that the Duke of Wellington considered himself called upon, at the sacrifice of some part of his high character, in the dilemma in which the country was placed, to give some advice required by his regard for the public safety, which he otherwise did not approve of. That noble Duke was solicitous for the public good. If, then, there were other persons of a different disposition, low and factious intriguers, who had interfered between the nation and the Crown, the nation would know how to treat them. They were not answerable for the consequences, for they were unknown. Men owed their first allegiance to themselves, and it was impossible for Lord Grey to submit to have his bill taken out of his hands by the House of Lords without resigning, and preserve that high sense of honour which was due to himself. Whatever might be said of the factious band of the House of Lords (order, and cheers), they, it must be allowed, if they were not factious, were the most short-sighted men that ever existed, to risk the tranquillity of the country, and everything that ought to be dear to them, in order to preserve their own peculiar privileges, which were hostile to the welfare of the people. (Hear, hear, hear.) The honourable Gentleman said, that there was no doubt that the Lords would have adopted schedule A; and the honourable Gentleman said, very properly, that it was one of the principles of the bill. The right honourable Baronet, too (Sir Robert Peel), had admitted that it was one of the principles of the bill; and if the Lords would have consented to that, as was stated, how easily might all these difficulties have been avoided! Let it, however, be remembered that the Duke of Wellington concurred in the vote for postponing schedule A; and if he were now convinced that the bill must be passed, he had shown, at least, such a want of foresight, as did not entitle him to claim to direct the councils of the country, under the present difficult circumstances. If the Duke of Wellington were Prime Minister, it would not be sufficient to say that he would pass the bill—an investigation must take place into all the circumstances which had occurred. He looked upon the Duke of Wellington as answerable from his accession to office, and responsible for all the consequences which might follow. (No, no! laughter.) His Majesty could take no step by himself and unadvised. His Majesty did nothing without the advice of his Ministers. The Sovereign was not responsible, but his public servants were responsible for the consequences of every change. The noble Lord (Ebrington) had justly said that the conduct of the Lords in not passing the bill had caused great inconvenience—in his opinion they had risked the safety and tranquillity of the country. These were the sentiments of the whole nation; there was hardly one who was not satisfied that the Lords had by their conduct stopped the progress of all public business, and interrupted the whole course of legislation. He had always maintained the propriety of that old portion of the prerogative, which gave his Majesty the power of issuing writs to some places which were increasing in importance, and of not issuing writs to places which had fallen into decay. He believed that portion of the prerogative to have been highly necessary; and if it had been continued in exercise, he was confident the two Houses of Parliament would not have got into that state in which they now found themselves. That power was, however, now denied to the Crown; and he saw much to regret in the denial. He was not aware that it would be an illegal exercise of the prerogative. He knew not the act or the statute in which the interdiction was to be found; but supposing the general feeling, from one cause or another, to be against its exercise, then he would ask in what way were they to escape from a difficulty such as that in which they found themselves, unless by having recourse to the old prerogative of creating peers. If no other way could be found, then he would maintain that the prerogative would be justly and properly exercised in the creation of new peers, rather than run the risk of throwing the country into confusion. (Hear.) There was one thing connected with the present position of affairs to which he wished shortly to allude. A judge, one of the highest in the land, a criminal judge of the most eminent station, had appeared on all occasions as a violent politician. (Hear.) He would contend that a judge, and still more a criminal judge, should hold himself utterly cut off from politics, and from the conflicts of party. He would suppose this noble person sitting on the bench, administering justice; he would suppose that a stranger entered the noble Lord's court in the morning, and that he saw much reason to admire the calm dignity and self-possession with which the noble Baron dispensed justice to the suitors. What, he would ask, would that same stranger have said, had he seen the noble Baron in the evening? (Hear.) How much surprised would he not have been to see the noble Baron turned into a political partisan, and heading in the House of Lords a violent and virulent faction? (Hear.)

Lord STORMONT rose, amid some confusion and cries of "Order," and "Bar," to

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remind the hon. Bart. that he was outstepping the ordinary rules of debate. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman in the chair whether the mention of the members of the other House had not, in all cases, been held sacred. He would put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether such a use of the word faction was not unparliamentary in that House, and whether it had not always been the wish, as well as the practice, of its members to avoid applying to the members of the other House expressions which they would regard as a violation of privilege, if applied to the members of the Commons.

The SPEAKER, thus called on, said, that if the hon. Bart. was putting a case hypothetically, and adhered to his hypothesis, he could not be pronounced out of order; but it certainly would be disorderly to draw a picture of what the hon. Bart. believed to have occurred. The hon. Bart. was out of order, in his opinion, if he applied to the members of the other House expressions which would not have been consistent with the courtesies of the House if applied to the members of the House of Commons.

Sir F. BURDETT said he was not aware of having said anything disorderly. He was merely talking of a disease, to which, he believed, the members of both Houses were equally liable (cheers); and, he repeated, he was not aware that he had violated the order of the House by alluding to it.

The SPEAKER interrupted the hon. Baronet, and observed that he had permitted the expressions originally to pass unnoticed, because he believed them to have been uttered in the warmth of debate; but it by no means followed that because he had allowed the disorderly expressions to pass unnoticed once, that he was to continue to do so ever after. (Hear, hear.) To ascribe motives, was, at all times, disorderly; and nothing could be more so than to speak of a member of the other House as the leader of a faction. Called on as he had been, he could not avoid interfering, and if he had not done so before, it was because he believed the words to have been spoken inadvertently, in the heat of debate, and he wished to let them pass, lest, like many other things of the same description, they should derive an importance from being noticed, which would not otherwise attach to them. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Sir F. BURDETT resumed, and observed, that he had been anxious to avoid all appearance of warmth on the occasion. He was merely speaking of that which he thought he had a right, say that it was his duty, to mention—the conduct of a judge. (Hear, hear.) He was speaking, as it was his duty to do, of the effect of intrigues, he knew not by whom carried on; and among the other misfortunes of their situation, he had alluded to a judge. He did not call him the leader of a faction, but the leader of a party—the maker and unmaker of administrations—(hear, hear)—a man who was seen everywhere—(hear, hear, and a laugh)—who seemed to have under his legal robes the motley dress of a harlequin—(hear, hear, and a laugh)—a man, in short, who was everything and every person—who seemed to be all mankind's epitome—(a laugh)—and who was in expectance, by his manœuvres, of reaching the very highest office in the state. This is what he had been speaking of as an event to be deplored. (Hear, hear.) There seemed, however, to be a rumour, a sort of miscreated rumour (hear, and a laugh), that an administration under such circumstances and auspices could not be formed, and if anything was to happen in the present state of the country, such was the condition to which they were reduced, that it was hard to know to whom, in such a case, the King was to apply. This, then, was the situation to which they were reduced by the unfortunate opposition to the bill. Those who had been thus far so successful seemed, however, to be frightened at their own work. He might say, in the language of the Poet—

"For 'tis the sport to have the engineer
Hoist with his own petar"—

(cheers); and it should rejoice all those who were friendly to reform to see its opponents undone by the fulfilment of their wishes. (Hear, hear.)

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

WHEELER, G., late of Acre-lane, Clapham, livery-stable-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

AGLIO, A., Smedley, dealer and chapman.
BEARD, J., Pool Quay, Montgomeryshire, wharfinger.
BENNETT, W., Lostock, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
CORRICK, A. S., Bristol, timber-merchant.
DEAN, G., Maidstone, tallow-chandler.
DE LLANO, P., and P. Rull, Liverpool, merchants.
FRANCIS, T., late of Liverpool, builder.
FORD, J., Bath, bookseller.
GOWLAND, E., late of Great Dover-street, Southwark, apothecary.
GROUTAGE, J., Strand, fishmonger.
HALSEY, W. H., Bermondsey-street, Southwark, tea-dealer.
HENSON, W., Worcester, lace-manufacturer.
HIRST, W., J., and W. jun., Gomersal, Yorkshire, merchants.
JACKSON, T., Old George-street, Southwark, fruit-salesman.
KENTON, J., High-st., Poplar, linen-draper.
POWELL, J., Newent, Gloucestershire, grocer.

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STEWARD, J. M., Cornhill, master mariner.
WILMINGTON, W. jun., Millborne Port, Somersetshire, glove-manufacturer.
WOOD, J., Horsham, Sussex, dealer in earthenware.
WORTHY, J. G., Alphington, Devon, corn-factor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

FORREST, J., Baldarrach, distiller.

TUESDAY, MAY 15, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CLARKE, G., Blackburn, Lancashire, shop-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, J., Cockermouth, Cumberland, slate-manufacturers.
BURGESS, D., Old Cavendish-st., jeweller.
BURGIN, F., Stafford, tanner.
COLBORNE, B., Walcot, Somersetshire, carver and gilder.
COPLAND, S., Cornhill, baker.
FULLER, T. sen., T. jun., and W., Lewes, curriers.
HALSEY, W. H., Bermondsey-st., Tooley-street, tea-dealer.
HULME, E., Piccadilly, hatter.
MANN, J. H, Charles-street, St. James's-square, Westminster, scrivener.
MILLER, T., Croydon, grocer.
PARKER, C., Bredon, Worcestershire, horse-dealer.
PEARSON, J., Wigginton, Yorkshire, tanner.
PHILLIPS, T. J., Newport, Monmouthshire, scrivener.
SALMON, H. T., Oxford-st., tallow-chandler.
SHIRLEY, S., Basinghall-street, Blackwell-hall-factor.
VICKERY, J., Bristol, corn-dealer.
WARREN, S., Burton-upon-Trent, chemist.
WYER, S., Kidderminster, plumber.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ARNOTT, W., Perth, merchant.
FLEMING, J., Glasgow, baker.
GRAY, J., Edinburgh, spirit-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 14.—We have had good supplies of English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat: of English, Scotch, and Irish oats and flour, as also English and Scotch malt, barley, beans, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, our supplies have been but limited.

This day's market was well attended both by London and country buyers; but, as the drooping state of both our provincial and the continental markets, together with the abundance of the supply, had induced most of these to press for abatements that were not submitted to, the trade was throughout very dull; with fine wheat, beans, and peas, as also malt and flour, at fully—with barley, oats, middling and inferior wheat, seeds, rye, and barley, at barely—last Monday's quotations.

Wheat	53s. to 67s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
——— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
——— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
——— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 29s.
——— Poland	24s. to 27s.
——— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	70s. to 80s.
——— Cork	80s. to 82s.
——— Limerick	80s. to —s.
——— Waterford	70s. to —s.
——— Dublin	66s. to 68s.
Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
——— Edam	49s. to 54s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	64s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD.—May 14.

This day's supply of beasts was good, both as to numbers and quality; of each kind of small stock but limited. The trade, with prime small mutton, lamb, and veal, was somewhat brisk, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone, with beef and pork dull, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,701; sheep and lambs, 16,050; calves, 130; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 18.

The arrivals this week are large. The market very dull, and 1s. per quarter cheaper than on Monday, with very little business doing.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83¾	83⅞	83⅞	84¼	84⅛	84¼

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 8.] LONDON, SATURDAY, May 26th, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER,

On the Conduct of all the Parties in the recent Attempt to cheuse the People out of any real Reform.

Godalming, Surrey, 22d May, 1832.

My Friends,

I am come down here to this little quiet town of cleanly hearths, and of the best bread that ever went into human lips, in order to get clear out of the hubbub of the noisy Wen, that I may calmly and impartially look back over the public transactions of the last five or six weeks, and that we may have, in this our immortal book, a *clear*, as well as *a true*, account of them. In cases like this, we almost always have, very soon after the events have taken place, to lament that we have *no record* of them, and that we do not know *where to find* the proof of the conduct of the different parties engaged in the transactions. I shall, in this the most important affair that ever took place in the world in my time, do my best to provide against this inconvenience; and, with this object in view, I shall go back to the time when the Reform Bill *was last introduced into the House of Lords*. I have, in the last *Register*, inserted a most important debate *entire*; but I cannot do this any more upon this subject. I will, however, take care to preserve the *dates* of the several debates, which are, indeed, so many *famous exposures*, and which we can (having the dates) refer to whenever we like. For the *last thirty years*, the history of *my life* is the history of the Government, and particularly the history of *the cause of reform*. I have not only been an actor, but a principal actor, in this cause, for at least *twenty-five* years; and it is, therefore, quite proper that I should take particular pains to make this part of its history perfect. In relating the facts, I will follow the chronological order, and will offer my remarks as they present themselves.

23. March. I was at Birmingham, with a promise to go to Dudley a second time, before my return to London. But, finding that the Reform Bill was, at last, actually passed in the Commons (on the 22d March), and was, of course, going to the Lords, I had to apologize to the excellent people at Dudley, and to set off for London.

27. March. It was brought into the Lords, and, on the motion of Lord Grey, was then read the *first time*, and was appointed to be read a second time on the 5th March. Now, however, as in every former case, there appeared in both parties a disposition to *procrastinate*. From the 5th the second reading was, *at the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington*, put off till the 9th April, without any reason assigned. This complaisance in the Minister towards his opponent and rival was perfectly unaccountable to the public, and it tended strongly to strengthen the *grounds of suspicion* which afterwards appeared.

9. April. Grey moved the Second Reading of the bill, a motion which he finally carried by a majority of nine votes, including proxies, and by a majority of two of peers who were present. Upon this occasion Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe (Dudley Ryder and Stuart Wortley) spoke in favour of the motion, though they had been amongst the *loudest* and the *bitterest* of its opponents, when it was rejected last autumn. But they had had *interviews* and *negotiations* with Grey, for some time before, and it was thought by some weak people that they had become *converts to the cause of*

reform!" Too great a miracle to believe in; but still "nothing is impossible with Omnipotence." Alas! Omnipotence had not thought proper to interpose in this case; and it was very soon seen that there had been no conversion here, but that these two lords and a body who acted with them, had quite other views than those necessary to insure the passing of the bill.

14. APRIL (Saturday morning). The debate on the second reading was closed with the division before mentioned. Every one saw that this second reading was nothing, for not only did HARROWBY and WHARNCLIFFE, but several others who voted for the second reading, declare that *very great alterations must be made in the committee before they would give their assent to it.* So that there was no hope of carrying the bill without rendering it useless to the people, unless new peers were made in sufficient number to overpower the opponents of the bill. This was manifest to every soul in the kingdom; and everybody understood that Lord GREY had the King's written promise to authorise him to make as many peers as were necessary to insure the passing of the bill; the people grew extremely impatient that the making of the new peers was so long postponed, and men could hardly imagine the Minister to be sincere when they saw him about to go into committee without first making the new peers; and indeed he was manifestly going into the committee with a certainty that all those parts of the bill would be rejected upon which the people set the most value. To add to this ground of suspicion, GREY himself had, at the close of the debate on the second reading, made use of expressions which clearly meant that he would not abandon the measure and his place if the *metropolitan members* and the *ten-pound clause* were flung out in the committee! His words will be found fairly to bear this interpretation according to all the reports in the newspapers, and also according to the interpretation put upon those reports in every part of the country. This passage of his speech will be found at full length in the *Register* of 21st of April, and at page 132. There was another circumstance that very naturally tended to strengthen this suspicion. It has been the general practice for the Parliament to pay respect to the festival of EASTER by adjourning during the EASTER week, beginning the adjournment on the Thursday preceding Good Friday. But, in this instance, the Houses adjourned at the beginning of the week, and until fifteen days after Easter Sunday: that is to say, until the 7th of May; when, according to usual custom, they ought to have met on the 30 of April at the latest. What could this be for; and that, too, at a time when the country was suffering so exceedingly from the delay in passing this bill?

All these circumstances put together, and especially the speech of GREY at the close of the debate on the second reading, convinced me that it was not intended to make new peers; that it was intended to pass the bill, cutting out the metropolitan members and the ten-pound suffrage; that there was a sufficient number of peers to agree with GREY that he should keep his place upon these conditions; that GREY had agreed to this; that this was the result of the negotiations with RYDER and WORTLEY; that thus the working people would be left without any voice at all in choosing members of Parliament; that we should be governed by a new set of rotten boroughs instead of the old set; and that, unless the great towns bestirred themselves quickly, the whole thing would thus end in a fraud more villanous than ever had been before practised upon a nation. This being my conviction, the moment I read the speech of GREY, I hastened to communicate this conviction to as many persons as I could. It was Saturday, the 14th of April; my *Register* was out, and I had no other channel of that sort. I wrote a letter stating my suspicions, the grounds of my suspicions, and also stating what I deemed it to be the duty for the people to do in this emergency. I had the letter printed, and sent it by post that same night to *every considerable town in England*, particularly requesting my correspondents to

look well at the report of the speech of Lord Grey; not to rely upon my interpretation, but to take their own.

In the next *Register*, I mean that of the 21st of April, I published my suspicions in full detail; I dwelt with particular earnestness on the speech of Grey; and amongst other things *I warned the Political Unions against being seduced into silence by the Government*, having perceived, with great sorrow, that the *Political Union* of Birmingham had remained in profound silence, though all Scotland, and several English towns in the north, had been put in full motion by suspicions exactly similar to those which I entertained. The publication of these remarks of mine, in the *Register* of the 21st of April, awakened great attention, and particularly these remarks relative to the danger of Political Unions being seduced into silence by the Government. In a few hours after the publication of that *Register*, a friend called upon me at *Bolt-court*, and related to me, that he had accidentally heard Mr. Parkes of Birmingham, utter words, amounting, in his opinion (as they did in my opinion) to an *acquiescence in what appeared to us to be the intention of Lord Grey*. I knew that Mr. Parkes was one of the principal persons connected with the *Political Union* of Birmingham; I knew that he was in the habit of having interviews with one, two, or more of the Ministers; and I knew he was a person not likely to utter words thoughtlessly. I could impute no bad motive to Mr. Parkes, whose character placed him above all suspicion in that respect; but I was convinced, and I am still convinced, that, though my anxiety for the success of the cause, and my anger against those whom I suspected of a readiness to betray it, may have led me, and has led me, to make use of expressions towards this gentleman and the Birmingham *Union*, more censorious than could have been justified, if I had written under circumstances less calculated to expose me to passionate expressions; though I allow this, and apologize with all my heart to persons who have rendered so much service to the cause; still my conviction now is, as it then was, that the Birmingham Union had been kept silent by the craft and cunning of the Government.

The moment my friend told me of the expression of Mr. Parkes, I was convinced that that gentleman had, at the suggestion of the Government, written to Birmingham, and had kept the Union quiet. I impute no bad motive; I impute not even weakness, either to Mr. Parkes or to the Union; but I repeat my belief that the former was prevailed upon by the Government to keep the latter quiet; and while I am ready to join my voice to the man who will go farthest in praising the general conduct of this Birmingham Union, the members of it are not infallible any more than the rest of us; and I must say, that I do not think it would be beneath their character to tell the public frankly whether they were kept quiet by the means that I have described; whether, in short, and to speak plainly, they did or did not receive, through Mr. Parkes, the suggestions of the Ministers, to keep quiet. There is no fault in receiving such letters, and no fault in writing them; but there would be fault, and great fault, too, in withholding a knowledge of the facts from the public; because, in the curiously-contrived machine that was at work at that time, this was a capital wheel. If such influence were used by the Ministers, it then becomes manifest that my suspicions were correct as to their designs: if such influence were not used, it would go far to show that my suspicions were perfectly groundless.

The words of Mr. Parkes were related to me, on the 21st of April, in the manner that I have before observed. My informant put his information in the shape of a letter. I printed it, and, in another circular, sent off an hundred copies that very night to the most popular places in England. This drew forth an answer from Mr. Parkes, which I published in the *Register* of the 5th of May, to which I subjoined some remarks. In those remarks, page 269, I dwelt with some earnestness on the

length of time Mr. PARKES suffered to elapse before he gave his answer. The cause of that delay on the part of Mr. PARKES, was, last Saturday, fully explained to me; and I am now satisfied that he answered my circular as soon as he possibly could after he had seen it. But here is the great and important circumstance that, at LEEDS, the people had met on the 18th of April. Even at GLASGOW on the 18th of April; at NEWCASTLE on the 18th of April; at MORPETH on the 23rd of April, even at DUDLEY close by BIRMINGHAM on the 23rd of April; and everywhere expressing violent suspicions of the intentions of Ministers; and, all this time, the *Political Council* of BIRMINGHAM were silent, though they had Lord Grey's speech (before referred to) in their possession, on the *fifteenth of April*; a whole day before it could possibly reach NEWCASTLE, and two days before it could possibly reach the sensible and public-spirited people of GLASGOW. How comes it, then, that the council of Birmingham remained totally silent, until the *twenty-seventh of April*? It is impossible for a sincere man to say, that he does not believe that it was kept silent by the influence of the Ministers. I impute no *fault*, observe, to Mr. PARKES or the COUNCIL; I impute not even *weakness*; for who amongst us all has been so lucky as *never* to have been deceived by the devil? I desire to be considered as amongst the foremost in feelings of gratitude towards the BIRMINGHAM *Union*. But observe this, that in the proportion that that Union, *in its state of perfect independence*, can do the country *good*, it can, if once it listen to the cajolery of the THING, do the country *mischief*: it is under the names and forms and professions of liberty, that Englishmen have been made slaves. For my part, so great is my detestation of the THING, and of all engaged in carrying the THING on, that I not only shun the THING's people, but am impatient in the company of any one that has ever spoken to any of those people. I cannot be too explicit on this head; and I must say, that I have heard with great sorrow, that a deputation from the BIRMINGHAM Union has come up to London with an address to Lord GREY! An address to *him!* and for *what*? For his having augmented the army, I suppose, and having put swords in the hands of his Bourbon-like police! An address to him, above all men living! Because, I suppose, he has passed an Irish tithe-coercion bill through the House of Commons; because his *humanity* has been so remarkable; because he so readily listened to the BIRMINGHAM petition to spare the men of BRISTOL and of NOTTINGHAM; because he has been so sparing of our purses as to expend only thirty or forty thousand pounds on special commissions; and because he has got a poor-law commission, with STURGES BOURNE at the head of it! I should be sorry to think this BIRMINGHAM Union a tool in the hands of the Ministers; but I am resolved that *my* readers shall not be deceived; and *if it be true* that a deputation of it has actually come up to *address* GREY, after the unaccountable silence of the Council for nine days after the town of GLASGOW had met to remonstrate with GREY; if this really be so, I must desire my readers to be on their guard, and not to take all for gospel that comes from that quarter. Nor do I like what the papers of to-day tell me is going on between the BIRMINGHAM Council and our "City of London Parliament." It seems, that a deputation of the Council is come up to plaster our little Parliament, and to be plastered in return of course; and we read, that *Charley* PEARSON has been deputed by *Charley's* own Lord Mayor, to invite the deputation to a dinner. If any man worth saving should happen to be there, I hope he will take care how he loads his stomach; for what stomach is to be proof against the nauseous interchange of compliments which will follow this meal? I should not wonder if they were to vote the *freedom of the City* to the Council, as they did to GREY and ALTHORP the other day, and who might have had it at a much cheaper rate than that of writing silly letters to these jobbers; for I would have sold GREY

my freedom for eighteen-pence. In short, this *smuggling* in with this band of city-jobbers is a bad sign. These are nothing more than a band of jobbers and place-hunters: they are the managers of a THING which is more oppressive to us, the citizens of London, than the THING at St. Stephen's is to the nation at large: their conduct towards us is more audacious and more profligate: they have mortgaged every ounce of property bequeathed us by our ancestors: they have plunged us into a DEBT that never can be paid: they have their pension-list, their sinecure-list, retired-allowance list, and dead weight; and now at last, that they might want nothing to make the little THING a perfect imitation of the great THING, they have *just established a Bourbon-like police;* boldly setting at defiance all the ancient laws and usages, and all the feelings of the city. And this is the band, is it, whom the BIRMINGHAM Council come up to London to embrace! *Reform!* Why, the prodigious zeal which we have, in this case, shown in the city of London, has arisen from the assurance that Reform *will rid us* of the greedy and plundering band whom the BIRMINGHAM Council are come up to London to applaud! However, this proceeding will deceive nobody in London; and I will take care that it shall not deceive the country. This little THING is, at this time, the tool of the Whig Ministry; and, indeed, it must be the tool of every Ministry; because any Ministry can put an end to its jobbing, and to the oppressive burdens which this little THING imposes upon us; and, remember the *Spanish* proverb, "*Let "me know your companions, and I will "tell what you are.*" To dismiss this part of my subject, let me, at once, say, that the Birmingham Council have but two ways of cleanly wiping out all the suspicious circumstances that I have mentioned; namely, FIRST, to account *satisfactorily* for not having even called a meeting until the twenty-seventh of April; SECOND, to acknowledge, that *it was kept silent by the influence of the Ministers,* to express sorrow for it, and to promise to pray God, to be protected against the seductions of the devil in future. Nothing short of one of these will induce me to regard the BIRMINGHAM Union as *not acting under the influence of the Ministers.* I am well aware, that many men, and even some good men, will say, that these observations of mine tend to do harm, tend to *prevent unanimity.* They do indeed: they directly tend to prevent us from becoming ALL dupes together. Oh, no! This is the old cant of exposed cheats. I am for unanimity, when it means unanimity on the side of *truth and justice*; but if I cannot have that, let me have *a part* of the people uncheated at any rate.

I have not dwelt so long and so painfully upon this matter for nothing: a very great deal depends upon it; for, whoever believes that it was THE MINISTERS THAT KEPT THE BIRMINGHAM UNION QUIET, must believe that the Ministers *had the intention to sacrifice the metropolitan members and the ten-pound franchise*, and thus to keep their places by the consent of the Tories. This, therefore, is a point of the greatest importance; and must never be left out of view, either as applicable to the present state of things or the future probable state of things. Be the facts, however, what they may, it is certain that all the nation, *except the Birmingham Union*, entertained those suspicions which I have before described: everywhere their petitions and addresses were, in effect, a censorious commentary on the speech of GREY. Before the Houses met again on the 7th of May, he had had time to see the storm gathering, and to see torrents of execration preparing to be poured upon his head; therefore, in moving for the House to go into committee on the 7th of May, he took care to make an explicit declaration, that *he would stand by the ten-pound suffrage!* The storm had not been gathering and the torrents of execration preparing, without the Tories perceiving them as well as he. They knew that he must make and stand by this declaration; and, seeing that the nation was roused, and that the

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thing must be done, *they resolved on doing it themselves*, and not to be marked out to the end as the enemy of the people, while their opponent was regarded as their friend.

MAY 7. On this day GREY made his motion for going into committee, and LYNDHURST moved the postponement of the disfranchising clauses. This, which was merely intended as a trial of strength, produced a debate, in which the Ministers were beaten by a majority of thirty-five. It was very clear that the object was not to throw out the bill, but to drive Lord GREY from power. The Tories would have liked better to have seen him dragged through the dirt of keeping his place with the demolition of the ten-pound clause; to have made him detested first, and then to have turned him out when it suited them; but, as they had not been able to effect that; as the explosion of public opinion had prevented that, they resolved to take the work out of his hands at once, and to do it themselves. Seeing their design; and, in short, knowing the intrigue that had been going on for some time, he here made his stand; moved an adjournment until the *10th of May*; went to the King at Windsor on the 8th; proposed to the King to make new peers to enable him to carry the bill, which the King having refused, he tendered his resignation, which the King accepted on the 9th of May. The House of Lords met on the 9th, when GREY announced his resignation; and at the same time he moved to discharge the order for going into committee on the Reform Bill, and Lord CARNARVON moved for going into the committee on it on Monday, the 14th. There was a great deal of angry discussion this day, an account of which will be found in the *Register* of the 12th; and in the same *Register* an account of the debate on Lord LYNDHURST's motion. There were no proceedings in the House of Lords on the 10th; but in the House of Commons a very long and most interesting discussion took place on a motion of Lord EBRINGTON for an address to the King on the subject of the change of Ministers, a copy of which address will be found in the *Register* of May 12, page 330.

In the mean while WELLINGTON had been appointed minister, and the town was all in an uproar, as described in the last *Register*; publications, pictures, ballads, every thing that could be brought into play pouring forth abuse on Wellington, the King, and especially the Queen. But, on Monday morning the fourteenth, *that run upon the Bank*, which had begun during the latter end of the preceding week, became truly alarming. This is the peaceable way of resisting a Government which is fool enough to have a paper-money. Paper-money, that most complete of all the instruments of tyranny, becomes, in time, the sure and easy means of resisting that tyranny. Amongst the numerous wise and profound sayings that PAINE has left behind him, is this:—"*Paper-money is strength to a Government in the beginning and weakness in the end.*" It was strength to the Whigs at the revolution; it was strength to the SEPTENNIAL villains; it was strength to PITT and DUNDAS, and old *Ben tinker*, and SPENCER and FITZWILLIAM in their war against the people of France; it has been strength to the THING, until PEEL'S BILL made it weakness. It is now complete weakness: it now furnishes the means of our taking back those rights which it enabled the boroughmongers to take from us. It and boroughmongering are twin devils; they were born together, and together they will die; but the devil of paper-money will serve to kill the other devil, and then it will expire in the other devil's arms. This paper-money has been the means of taking the clothes from the working man's back, and the dinner from his table: it is only wanted as an instrument of pillaging the people; but without it they cannot be pillaged as long as the forms of law exist in the country. Some one will say—"What fools the Boroughmongers were for not getting rid of the paper-money!" We now know, that the little placard, "To STOP THE DUKE, GO FOR GOLD,"—we all know, that this did stop

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the Duke. "What fools, then," some one will say, "the boroughmongers were for not getting rid of this paper!" Oh, no! to get rid of it, would be to get rid of themselves; for, if *they* get rid of it, they must get rid of it suddenly; and then the fulfilment of GUY FAWKES's design would have been child's play to what they would have had to endure. Oh, no! *They cannot get rid of it:* it is become our best friend, our fast ally. Those who have long been readers of the *Register*, will recollect the lofty eulogium I pronounced upon the DEBT in the year 1816. Oh! How prophetic was that *Register*; if I had then witnessed the events which I have beheld within these fifteen days, I could not have written otherwise than I then did. A base bookseller of BIRMINGHAM had stuck up in his window papers grossly insulting the REFORMERS. Some man went in and tore the insulting papers out of his window. Instantly troops were called in, and the vagabond was protected, and he instantly commenced his revilings against the REFORMERS, putting forth, amongst other things, the abusive words of the vagabond CANNING, representing the REFORMERS as a *low, degraded, and despicable* crew, and predicting that they would always be easily kept in subjection. I told the vagabond that it would not always be thus; that the REFORMERS, however destitute of help they might then appear, had ONE ALLY that would never forsake them; and then I proceeded thus:

"To abuse and act maliciously towards those who would have prevented those calamities, *has been* and *yet is*, a profitable trade. But that trade may very soon fall off; and I very believe, that many will live to repent of having carried it on so long. You, and men like you, can hardly be made to believe, that any such change will ever take place. It is now *twenty-five years* since there was any real freedom of the press. During that long period corruption has had all the channel of thought in her power. So many thousands have fallen under her grasp, she has inflicted such and so many terrible blows, that men like you worship her as the American savages are said to worship the Devil. But a change is at hand. The reformers have yet many and powerful foes; we have to contend against a host, such as never existed before in the world. Nine-tenths of the press; all the channels of speedy communication of sentiment; all the pulpits; all the associations of rich people; all the taxing people; all the military and naval establishments; all the yeomanry cavalry tribes. Your allies are endless in number and mighty in influence. But we have *one ally* worth the whole of them put together; namely, the DEBT. This is an ally whom no honours or rewards can seduce from us. She is a steady, unrelaxing, persevering, incorruptible ally. An ally that is proof against all blandishments, all intrigues, all temptations, and all open attacks. She sets at defiance all '*military*,' all '*yeomanry cavalry*.' They may as well fire at a ghost. She cares no more for the sabres of the yeomanry or the life guards, than Milton's angels did for the swords of Satan's myrmidons. This ally cares not a straw about *spies* and *informers*. She laughs at the employment of *secret-service-money*. She is always erect, day and night, and is always firmly moving on in our cause, in spite of all the terrors of jails, dungeons, halters, and axes. Therefore, Mr. JABET, be not so pert. The combat is not so unequal as you imagine; and, confident and insolent as you now are, the day of your humiliation may not be far distant. Already do many of your friends, seeing the strength of our ally and the tendency of her march, begin to propose measures for *weakening* her; for diminishing her power by degrees; for drawing off detachments from her under the name of *reduction*. Oh, no! She is not to be taken from our cause in this way! She is one and indivisible. She is as stanch as she is strong. She is to be attacked only by sap and mine. She is to be beaten only by *blowing up*; and the explo-

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" sion *is sure* to bury her and our assail-
" ants in her ruins! If you had *sense*,
" therefore, equal to your greediness
" and low-cunning, you would be more
" cautious how you insulted the feelings
" of your townsmen."—*Register*, *vol.* 31, *page* 477.

How true was this description! How it will gladden your hearts, my friends, now to read this description! She has been true to us. She has now given us a peaceable, a bloodless victory. She has other victories in store for us, however. She will abolish tithes, and repeal hop-tax, and malt-tax, and corn-bill for us; she is at once disease and cure; curse and blessing: like Hercules, when she has extirpated all other monsters, she will destroy herself: and, in her last will and testament, she will bequeath a halter to the villain that shall again propose to make funds and paper-money.

Of her power in producing "*weakness*" and fright, we have a fine specimen in the thing, called a debate in the House of Commons, of Monday, 14th of May, which surpasses every thing of the sort that I ever read. In my last *Register*, I called it the "*reconciliation debate*." I wished to insert the whole of it in my last *Register*; but I had not room. The remainder of it will be found in the next *Register*. I do beseech you, my friends, to read the whole of the debate; I do beseech you to read the speeches of BARING, who was to have been their Chancellor of the Exchequer. This fellow made no less than three speeches. I beseech you to read this fellow's speeches: I beseech you to read his defence of STRATHFIELDSAY and the King; and I beseech you to recollect that the Bank had had to pay *nearly half a million in gold on that very day!* Mr. REEVES once wrote a pamphlet, addressed to the quiet good sense of the people of England; for which he was prosecuted *by order of the House of Commons*, and to which prosecution PITT had the baseness to give his consent, the thing having been moved for by that low fellow SHERIDAN, and supported by that still more low fellow WILBERFORCE. Mr. REEVES very acutely observed upon the effects of this quiet good sense. I wish he had been alive now, to have witnessed the fine illustration of his doctrines in the sensible appeal which the people made to the dugs of the old she-devil in Threadneedle-street, the old sow with many pigs, which I represented some years ago as all flying at her at once to draw the blood out of her body, and which idea my good old friend, WM. MARSDEN, of SHEFFIELD, portrayed upon the blade of a most elegant pruning-knife, which he had the goodness, some years ago, to send me as a present, and which I gave to my eldest son for him to keep as a specimen of the industry and ingenuity and public spirit of those working people of England, who, in their several callings, have always been so much admired by his father, and whose well-being had so constantly been the principal object of his exertions. "*To stop the Duke*," we should have stopped the old devil of a sow in about three days more; and this was prevented, and I think luckily, by this "*reconciliation debate*," of which I have been speaking.

17. May. The "*reconciliation debate*," and particularly the pressure upon the old sow, had induced the King to send for GREY again, until this reconciliation-debate had taken place; or, as some people call it, the PEACHUM and LOCKIT-debate; until this had taken place the Whigs were in a very low condition: the Duke had "*kissed hands*," they said: what else he might have kissed was not stated; but this work of kissing would appear to be a very important matter; for it cut down the Whigs to such a degree, that a friend of mine who had just taken the wall of little HOBHOUSE, observed that the face of this husband of our Lady JULIANA resembled, in point of colour, one of those implements of the nursery which cleanly mothers remove as often as the occasion arises. The Whig newspapers, too, began to appear to have a touch of the *cholera*. My dignitary, Dr. BLACK, was not only firm but desperate; but the base COURIER began to moralize; and the BLOODY TIMES, like MOTHER COLE, began to

give "symptoms of fitness for nothing but the kingdom of heaven!" On the morning of Monday the fourteenth, this bloody old MOTHER COLE of the press observed, "WE are like the people; "we want the reform bill, and if the "Duke of Wellington will pass it, we "will hail its passing as a boon, and we "think it is measures *more than men* we "ought to look to." Whoever has been on board a ship, has frequently heard the word of command, "*Prepare for the tack*!" Such were these words: the Whigs understood them well: they felt the hand of death upon them: their knees knocked together, and their teeth chattered in their heads. God be praised, I never see them; but I am told that they looked just like BURDETT and HOBHOUSE when they were escaping into the church of St. PAUL COVENT GARDEN to avoid the turnips and cabbages that their loving constituents were sending at their heads. The PEACHUM and LOCKIT-debate brought things about again. The bloody old TIMES, which, only that very morning, had given the word of command for to *prepare for the tack*, and had said, *that it would take the bill from the Duke of* WELLINGTON *as a boon*, the next morning said, that it anticipated "the overthrow of the entire "conspiracy, and the submission of the "Duke of WELLINGTON *to moral supe-"riority, with which his nature and his "experience had equally unfitted him "to contend.*"

The Whigs now began to look bluff again: it was observed that little HOBHOUSE made the pavement rattle as he strutted down WHITEHALL in his high-heeled and iron-shod boots. In the evening of the seventeenth GREY announced to the House of Lords, *that he had received a communication from the King; but that it had not been attended as yet with any conclusive result.* On the same evening STRATHFIELDSAY explained his conduct in the House of Lords, in a speech of which the following is the report given in the MORNING CHRONICLE of the 18th of May. I think it right to lay the whole of this speech before my readers; and indeed to put it upon record. The reader will please to observe that it is absolutely necessary for him to read this speech through with the greatest attention; for here is this famous commander's justification of himself. Here is all he can say in his justification. What BARING had to say in justification of the Duke, and also in justification of himself *who was to have been his Chancellor of the Exchequer*, we have seen in his speeches, which were inserted in the last *Register*. Let us now hear what the DUKE had to say for himself. I now insert the speech, again requesting that it may be read all through with the greatest attention, the reader bearing in mind that it was delivered on the 17th of May.

The Duke of WELLINGTON, after presenting a petition from Cambridge against reform, proceeded to say—My Lords, this is the first occasion on which I have risen to address you since his Majesty confided a most important duty to my charge, and your Lordships, or at least some noble lords here present, are, I am sure, desirous that I should avail myself of this, or some other early opportunity to explain the nature of the transactions in which I have been engaged. I confess too, my Lords, that, exposed as I have been to the extreme of misrepresentations (hear, hear), and vilified as I have been in another place by persons of high condition, and otherwise respectable, I was anxious to take the first opportunity of explaining the nature of the transactions in which I have been engaged, and the grounds on which I acted. Your Lordships will recollect, that in the course of the last week—I believe on Wednesday last—his Majesty's Ministers informed your Lordships, that in consequence of their having tendered advice upon an important subject to his Majesty, and his Majesty's not having thought proper to avail himself of that advice, they considered it their duty to tender their resignations to his Majesty, which he was pleased to accept. Now, my Lords, his Majesty was graciously pleased on that very day, when he was left entirely alone by his Ministers, to send for a noble Friend of mine, who had held a high place as well in the service as in the confidence of his Majesty, to inquire, if in his opinion there were any means, and if so, what means, of forming a Government for his Majesty on the principle of carrying an extensive reform in the representation of the people. His Majesty, when he had the misfortune of disagreeing with his servants respecting the advice which had been tendered to him, happened to have so little communication with other men, and was so little acquainted with other opinions on public affairs, that he felt it necessary to send for my noble and learned Friend, who was out of the immediate line of politics, and seek for information at his hands. My noble and learned

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Friend informed me of his Majesty's situation, and I considered it my duty to inquire from others, for I was equally unprepared with his Majesty for the consideration of such a question. (Hear, hear.) I then found that a large number of friends of mine were not unwilling to give their support to a Government formed upon such a principle, and with the positive view of resistance to that advice which was tendered to his Majesty. (Cheers.) Under these circumstances I waited on his Majesty on Saturday, and submitted to him my advice. That was, not to reappoint his late Ministry (cheers); nor was it to appoint myself. I did not look to any objects of ambition. (Cheers.) I advised him to seek the assistance of other persons to fill the high situations in the state, expressing myself willing to give his Majesty all assistance, whether in office or out of office, to enable his Majesty to form an administration to resist the advice which had been given to him. (Cheers.) My Lords, these were the first steps of the transaction; and if ever there was an instance in which the Sovereign acted *most honestly by his former servants—if ever there was an instance in which public men kept themselves most completely apart from all intrigues, and from all indirect influence—using only those direct and honourable means of opposition of which no man had reason to be other than proud, this is that instance.* (Loud cheers.) And when I came to give my advice to his Majesty, instead of advising him with a view to objects of personal ambition—as I have been accused upon high authority (loud cheers)—I gave him that advice which I thought would best lead to another arrangement, and I stated that I was ready to serve his Majesty in any, or in no capacity, so as best to assist him in carrying on a Government to resist the advice which had been given him by his late Ministers. (Continued cheering.) And what was that advice which was tendered to his Majesty by them? I wish your Lordships to examine it. What was the advice which his Majesty did not deem it proper to follow, and which I considered it my duty to enable his Majesty to resist? (Loud cheers.) I do not ask any man to seek any farther explanation of this advice than that which was given by the Ministers themselves. (Cheers.) It was neither more nor less than this:—The Government, feeling some *difficulty* in carrying the Reform Bill through this House, were induced to advise his Majesty to do—what?—to create a sufficient number of peers to enable them to carry their measure through the House—to force it through the House. (Cheers.) Now, my Lords, before I go further, let me beg you to consider what is the nature of that proposition. Ministers found, in the course of last session, that there was a large majority in this House against the principle of the bill. Now, my Lords, what is the ordinary course for a Minister, under such circumstances, to pursue? My Lords, it is to alter the measure—to endeavour to make it more palatable to that branch of the legislature which was opposed to it. But, in this case, the Minister says no, I will next session bring in a bill as efficient as that which has been just rejected. (Cheers.) And what did he do? My Lords, I have no hesitation in saying that, notwithstanding the opposition of this House, he brought in a measure stronger and worse than any one of the measures before introduced (loud cheers); and this measure he wished to force upon the House by a large creation of peers. (Continued cheers.) How many peers it is not necessary to state; it is enough to say a sufficient number to force it through the House. (Continued cheers.) It is only necessary for me to state the proposition. If this be a legal and constitutional course of conduct—if such projects can be carried into execution by a Minister of the Crown with impunity (loud cheers), there is no doubt that the constitution of this House and of this country is at an end. (Great cheering.) I ask, my Lords, is there any-body blind enough not to see that if a Minister can, with impunity, advise his Sovereign to such an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative as to thereby decide all questions in this House, there is absolutely an end put to the power and objects of deliberation in this House (great cheering)—an end to all means of decision. (Cheers.) I say then, my Lords, thinking as I do, it was my duty to counsel his Majesty to resist this advice. (Cheers.) *And, my Lords, my opinion is, that the threat of carrying this measure of creation into execution, if it should have the effect of inducing noble Lords to absent themselves from the House, or to adopt any particular line of conduct, is just as bad as its execution.* (Cheers.) *For, my Lords, it does by violence force a decision on this House* (hear, hear), *and on a subject, my Lords, on which this House is not disposed to give such a decision. It is true, my Lords, men may be led to adopt such a course, by reflecting, that if they do not adopt it, some 50 or 100 peers will be introduced, and thus deliberation and decision in this House be rendered impracticable; or men may be led to adopt it with the view of saving the Sovereign from the indignity of having so gross an action imposed upon him.* (Loud cheers.) But I say, my Lords, that the effect of any body of men agreeing publicly to such a course, will be to make themselves parties in this very proceeding, of which I say we have so much reason to complain. (Loud cheers.) The only course of proceeding at this eventful crisis worthy of the men with whom I have the honour to be connected, was to advise his Majesty—was to counsel his Majesty—to resist the advice which had been given him, if he could find means of carrying on the Government of the country without acceding to it. (Cheers.) But this part of the transaction, my Lords, requires particular explanation upon my part. His Majesty insisted that some extensive measure of reform (I use his Majesty's own words) should be carried. *I always was of opinion, and am still of opinion, that this*

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measure of reform is unnecessary, and will prove most injurious to the country. (Cheers.) *But on the last occasion when* I addressed your Lordships—I believe in the committee on Monday se'nnight—I stated my intention to endeavour to amend the bill in committee, and to do it *honestly* and *fairly*. Still, however, I thought that, amend it as we might in committee, it was not a measure which would enable this country to have a Government capable of encountering the critical circumstances to which every man must expect this country to be exposed. This was, my Lords, this is my opinion. (Cheers.) I do not think that, under the influence of this measure, it is possible that any Government can expect to overcome the dangers to which this country must be exposed. (Cheers.) But, my Lords, this was not the question before me; I was called on to assist my Sovereign in resisting a measure which would lead to the immediate overthrow of one branch of the legislature (great cheering)—a measure which would enable the Ministry to carry through this House the whole bill, unmodified, unimproved, and unmitigated. (Continued cheering.) I had, then, my Lords, only the choice of adopting such part of that bill as this House might please to send down to the House of Commons, suffering the Government hereafter to depend upon the operation of that part of the bill rather than upon the whole bill, or else of suffering the whole bill to be carried and the House of Lords to be destroyed. (Hear, hear.) My Lords, my opinion is not altered; no part of the bill is safe; but, undoubtedly, *a part of the bill is better, that is to say, less injurious than the whole bill;* and certainly it must at least be admitted that it is better than the destruction of the constitution of the country by the destruction of the independence of that House. (Cheers.) Under these circumstances, my Lords, I gave my consent to assist his Majesty in forming an Administration. I know many may be of opinion that I should have acted a more prudent part if I had looked to anterior circumstances, and if I had regarded the opinions and pledges I had given, and if, placing my attention exclusively upon the desire of acting a consistent part in public life, I had pursued a different course, and refused my assistance to his Majesty, I should have done better and more wisely. I do not mean to detract from the merits of those who thought proper to pursue a course contrary to mine upon the occasion. I am grieved that it should have been my misfortune to differ with some right honourable Friends of mine with whom I have been for many years in habits of cordial union, co-operation, and friendship, and from whom I hope this momentary separation will not disever me. Nay, my Lords, their position was different from mine. (Hear, hear, hear.) I was situated in a position very different from that in which they felt themselves to stand. They regretted that they could not take the same course with me; but for myself, my Lords, I cannot help feeling, that if I were capable of refusing my assistance to his Majesty—if I were capable of saying to his Majesty, "I cannot assist you in this affair," I do not think I could have shown my face in the streets from shame of having done it (cheering)—for shame of having abandoned my Sovereign under such distressing circumstances. (Continued cheers.) I have, indeed, the misfortune of differing from friends of mine upon this subject, but I cannot regret the steps I have taken. (Cheers.) If I have made a mistake, I regret it; but I am not aware that I have made any mistake. It was impossible that I could shrink from his Majesty under such *distressing circumstances*. (Cheers.) I will not detain your Lordships longer with a detail of the circumstances which led to this dilemma in which we are now placed. But, my Lords, if you will only look back to the commencement of those transactions—if you look to the speech of his Majesty made from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament, in June 1831—if you recollect that his Majesty stated in strong terms that that important question should receive the earliest and most attentive consideration, saying—"Having had recourse to that measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people on the expediency of a reform in the representation, I have now to recommend that important question to your earliest and most attentive consideration; confident that, in any measure which you may propose for its adjustment, you will carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured." (Loud cheers.) Now, my Lords, I ask, could it be believed, at the time his Majesty made this speech, that the rights of this House—the power of deliberating and deciding independently upon such a question as this—would be destroyed by a creation of peers, and by a creation to an extent which could not be much less than one hundred? (Cheers.) If any man at the time foretold this, it would have been said he was dreaming of things that were impossible. (Cheers.) But to this state, my Lords, have we been brought by this measure. When I first heard of this bill being proposed to be carried by a creation of peers, I said it is quite impossible. I could not believe that any Minister of England would be led by any considerations whatsoever to recommend such a measure to his Majesty. (Loud cheers.) The first time, indeed, he heard the matter mentioned with any degree of authority was when a right rev. Prelate thought proper to write upon the subject to some people in a town in Sussex. (Loud cheers.) I could appeal to those sitting near me if this be not the fact—if I did not uniformly declare that the thing was impossible—that the very idea of it ought not to be mentioned. (Cheers.) That it never should be imagined that any Minister could

be found who would recommend such an unconstitutional—such a ruinous exercise of the prerogative of the Crown. (Continued cheering.) For, my Lords, I do maintain, that the just exercise of the prerogative of the Crown does by no means go to the extent of enabling his Majesty to create a body of peers with the view to carry any particular measure. (Cheers.) Under the circumstances, then, I think your Lordships will not think it unnatural, when I considered his Majesty's situation, that I should endeavour to assist his Majesty. (Cheers.) But, my Lords, when I found that in consequence of the discussions on Monday in another place (which by the way proved so clearly that the sentiments of the leading men then were, that peers should not be created for such a purpose)—when I found that from these discussions it was impossible to form a Government from that House of such a nature as would secure the confidence of the country, I felt it my duty to inform his Majesty that I could not fulfil the commission with which he was pleased to honour me, and his Majesty informed me that he would renew his communications with his former Ministry. (Cheers.)

18. MAY. In both Houses it was announced "that his Majesty's Minis-"ters conceived that they had *secured* "*the means* sufficient to enable them to "pass the Reform Bill, and that, *there-*"*fore, they continued in their offices.*" STRATHFIELDSAY'S DUKE *had explained*; the lucky loanmonger, BARING, had *explained*; but there was another gentleman, who had to *explain* yet; namely, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL! They had had to explain why they were willing to be Ministers, and PEEL'S-BILL PEEL had to explain why he was not willing to be a Minister along with the DUKE; and this explanation was a devil of a job! On the 18th of May, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL attempted this in the House of Commons; and a most infernal explanation it was for STRATHFIELDSAY. He who has a relish for boiling hot lead poured down his neck and shoulders, and poured down, too, by a sworn friend, who is praising him to the skies all the while, will be apt to envy Strathfieldsay this explanation on the part of his friend; but, every other man upon earth will exclaim: Cut my throat, if you please; toss me head foremost into a well; fling me into the hottest furnace of a glass-house; let me be torn to pieces by wolves; subject me to all the sufferings that the Whig-Rehoboam can invent; but, let me not, oh, God! be exposed to the explanation of a man, who praises me for having done that which he says it would have been infamy in him to do! Let us now go patiently through this speech of PEEL'S-BILL PEEL.

SIR ROBERT PEEL—The House will, perhaps, permit me, although there is no one who is more averse to trouble them with explanations of a personal nature, unless they are strictly necessary; yet as the crisis is so important, and the part I have taken has been so much discussed, the House will, perhaps, permit me to occupy their attention for a few moments, with the grounds on which the decision I came to was formed. I will make this explanation as briefly as possible; and what I am about to state shall be merely for my own vindication. On Wednesday last a communication was made to me from a noble Friend, for whom, notwithstanding all the calumnies (loud cheers) that have been directed against him, I am bound to avow that I entertain the sincerest admiration for his talents, and esteem for his character. (Cheers, and some cries of No.) I will not shrink, through the fear of the opposition of any majority, from making an avowal of the high opinion I entertain of the talents and the public character of that noble Lord. (Hear, hear, hear.) On Wednesday last, that noble Lord waited on me—not that he had a communication from his Majesty to form an administration, but that he had been selected by his Majesty, as having been once Lord Chancellor, as holding a high judicial situation—and as being, on that account, out of the immediate vortex of political affairs;—that for these reasons he had been selected by his Majesty, for the purpose of conferring with him on the present state of affairs. The noble Lord inquired whether I considered it to be in my power to enter into the King's service at this crisis. He stated the difficulties in which his Majesty had been placed by the resignation of his late servants, on account of his refusal to create peers for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill. I am bound to state, that the only other person who had been consulted was his *Grace the Duke of Wellington, who was determined to assist his Majesty in any way; who wished no office, but who was ready to take office, if his taking office was considered likely to facilitate an arrangement; who would undertake to serve in any way, or to forbear from serving altogether, if that should be thought more satisfactory.* (Hear, hear.) Although no communication had then been made to him by his Majesty, yet, as I see no occasion to maintain any reserve when entering on the subject of an explanation of this kind, I will state that I did understand the question as formally put to me, whether I was willing to accept that office which, in political life, is supposed to be the highest object

of ambition. (Hear, hear.) It was at the same time notified to me, I ought to state in justice to the King, that the acceptance of office must be on the clear understanding that his Majesty's declarations with regard to reform should be fulfilled (cheers), and that office should be undertaken on the condition of introducing an extensive measure of reform. I replied to Lord Lyndhurst, I admit, upon the impulse of the moment, but upon the impulse of feelings which it was impossible for me to avoid, that no authority of any nor any example of any man, or any set of men, could weaken my resolution not to accept office under existing circumstances, and upon such conditions. (Hear, hear.) I answered upon impulse which no reasoning could convince, that it would not be for the honour of myself or the advantage of the country to do so; and that it was, therefore, impossible for me to accept office, on the condition of introducing an extensive measure of reform. I have said before now, that in the present state of affairs I consider an extensive reform to mean the adoption of the leading provisions of the bill. (Hear, hear.) I do not say all the provisions of the bill, but all such as are essential to affect its principle. (Hear, hear.) I said that I must decide for myself on the instant, and on a review of the peculiar situation in which I stood, that I felt the difficulties in which the King was placed; that I had never so great a wish to serve his Majesty as for the purpose of removing those difficulties; but that if I accepted office without an *unreproaching conscience* (hear, hear) *—if I entered upon the duties of office without a light heart, a firm step, and an erect aspect, I would be of no benefit whatever to the service of his Majesty nor of any advantage to the country.* (Hear.) That I have been placed in a situation in which no other man was ever placed, there are few, I think, will deny. That I have discouraged the introduction of another bill of an extensive measure of reform, I am ready to admit. I am bound to state, that I had before declared that I could be no party to resolutions for the purpose of pledging myself to any particular measure of reform, in order to swell the majority against the Ministerial bill. I deprecated the principle of the bill, fraught as I believe it to be, with injustice. I considered it a revolutionary measure calculated to introduce such changes in the practical working of the constitution, as, if not revolutionary in themselves, would lead to revolution; and, therefore, to the principles and details of that bill I have always said that I should, to the last, offer my most decided opposition. Those with whom I have co-operated had early received a declaration of opinion from me, that I should take that course with respect to reform and the Reform Bill, that must preclude me from taking office under circumstances like the present; and having done that, *where is he who thinks, in the peculiar situation in which I stand, that out of the 658 members of this House I was the man who should stand in that place as Minister, in order to recommend the adoption of that bill to which I had declared my decided opposition?* (Hear, hear.) If it were necessary to select one person as a mediator between the hostile parties, was I, who had made one of those hostile parties, to be chosen for that purpose? Is it likely, in proposing modifications to that bill, that I, of all others, could have persuaded that majority to which I had been opposed, to acquiesce in them? I ground, therefore, the vindication of the course I have taken (if vindication is necessary) on the *the peculiar position in which I personally stand.* So far from calling in question the motives of others, who were inclined to take office in order to relieve the King from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, I must say that *I hold their motives in the utmost respect.* (Hear.) *This I do believe, that if any man was willing, at such a crisis, to devote himself to the service of the Crown, he did it not only from the most disinterested motives, but from motives, the highest and purest by which any public man could be actuated.* Their reasons for taking that course were, that they should have lowered themselves in their own esteem if they had not been ready to make that sacrifice; and it was precisely on the same ground on which, as connected with personal honour, I thought that I could not be the man to take office in order to carry the Reform Bill. Some allowance, Sir, must be made for human failings. Other considerations might have been sufficient; but I could not cast out of consideration the conduct I had pursued with respect to the Catholic Bill. (Hear, hear.) I then reviewed my former declarations, and acted directly contrary to what I had before done. But, Sir, the difference was great. I was then the responsible adviser of the Crown, and, looking at the state of the country and of public opinion, and at the condition of Europe, I thought it my duty to say to the King, on a review of then existing circumstances, that, whatever I might think of the future tendency of the removal of the Catholic disabilities, I believed that there was an immediate and pressing evil which must be remedied. I gave that advice to the Crown; but I say now, as I have done before, that I did all that was possible to relieve myself from the necessity of proposing that measure, and I waited for some months in the hope that some other person would be found to bring it forward. But this was not a repetition of the Catholic question—(hear, hear),—even if it were possible that, had it been so, I should have been expected to repeat the conduct I then pursued. I had not advised the King to pass the Reform Bill; I was not a responsible Minister of the Crown; yet, had I gone into office on the conditions I have mentioned, I should have placed myself in that situation, and the duty of introducing the bill would have devolved upon me, for I would not have submitted to the miserable evasion of putting another man into that situation, and I could not even then

have remained in silence. I must, therefore, have accepted office on the condition of proposing that bill to which I had been so long an opponent. I say that in refusing office I spoke upon the impulse of feelings which nothing could control, when I declared that I could not accept office on condition of proposing that bill, because I should have lowered myself in my own esteem, and should have done so without any advantage to the public. With respect to the English bill, there is not, as I conceive, any difference between the proposer and the seconder; but if that were not so, still I should have had not merely to adopt, but to propose the Scotch and Irish bills, which have yet to pass the House. With my known and directly expressed opinion against the principle of these bills, it was utterly impossible that I could undertake with advantage the labour of conducting them through the House. With regard to reform generally, it would have been most difficult for me to effect any alterations in the measures that have already been proposed. From the original authors of those measures some modification might be accepted; and I do trust that they will now feel that they can originate modifications which they may think reasonable and just. But modifications coming from me would not have been received by the country as a final settlement of the question. I believe that the parties who are now about, for the first time, to receive privileges from the provisions of this bill, would conceive themselves under no obligations to me for those privileges, but would receive them with an increased desire to extort in a second bill that which had not been conceded them in the first. These are the reasons that justify me in the conduct I have pursued on this occasion. The impulse on which I stated, when at first applied to, satisfied me at that time, and reason convinced me afterwards, that neither for my own honour, nor for public advantage, could I accept office, if the acceptance of office was to be under the condition of supporting the provisions of the bill, either as it now exists in the House of Lords, or with such modifications as might afterwards be proposed by the Government of which I was to form a part. These opinions separated me from some noble friends of mine who did not feel themselves placed in the same situation. I regret that separation, even though it be temporary, from that man whom I chiefly honour, and I am anxious to declare, that even that separation has only raised him in my esteem. (Hear, hear.) One word more. It has been insinuated, in those channels through which the public generally obtain their informaton, that I have been influenced in the course which I have pursued, by the lurking suspicion that the Government recently about to be established could not be permanent, and that I was a party to the formation of a phantom Government to carry a Reform Bill, in the belief that, when that was done, I could step in and build my authority and power upon the ruins of their administration. If there is any gentleman in this House who thinks my conduct suspicious, or even doubtful, or who thinks it in the least necessary for me to explain it, I will satisfy him that that was not the motive of the course which I pursued. (Hear, hear.) The only opinion I expressed was, if a reconciliation between his Majesty and the members of his Majesty's Government should prove impracticable, in favour of that arrangement which was most likely to be permanent, and which, while it remained in existence, must necessarily exclude me from office, those who know me well know that it was likely I should act in that manner, but I have seen it stated in the public newspapers, that on this subject they defy contradiction, and that I was a party to an understanding such as I have mentioned. Now, Sir, I beg, in as distinct words as one man is capable of using in contradicting another, that it is an infamous falsehood. (Cheers.) The circumstance alluded to by my noble Friend, as to our temporary separation in politics, is a proof that I could be no party to such an understanding. (Hear, hear, hear.) I do look at the circumstances in which the country is placed with much deeper interest than any I can have in my own individual advantage. The sole object I should have in giving advice in an emergency like this, is that which I believe would actuate every Englishman in offering advice to his Sovereign under such circumstances; I should not give it with any view to the interest or welfare of myself, but for the interest and welfare of that country to which our first duties so strongly attach us. (Much cheering.)

It would be to insult the understanding of *my* readers to enter into statement or argument in order to expose the scandalous profligacy of all this, the sum and substance of which is visible to all eyes; that the DUKE was willing to do that, which this man thought it dishonourable in him to do; and that yet, the DUKE *deserved praise* for being willing to do it: that is to say, then, that this man *only wanted the courage to be willing to do a dishonourable thing!*

And this, *honest Lord* ALTHORP says, is "not to depart from that line which an *honourable man ought to pursue.*" Bravo! honest ALTHORP! Here we have you, then, all in a string. As the good, and sensible, and spirited fellows said, at MAIDSTONE, in 1816, "*You are all tarred with the same brush;*" upon saying which, they seized hold of the wagons where the impostors both Whigs and Tories were perched,

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and in two minutes would have had the united crew in the MEDWAY, if they had not got out of the wagons and scampered into the inns. Yes, yes, honest ALTHORP, you are all equally honourable: put into a sack and shaken, it would not signify a pin to us which came tumbling out first.

VYVYAN, the man whom the CORNISH people had the virtue to bundle out at the last election, seems to have been afraid that people would not see quite clearly, how that same act could be *honourable* in the DUKE, which would have been so *infamous* in PEEL'S-BILL PEEL; and, therefore, he endeavoured to explain the difference in their situations. But, stop: we must first hear BARING, who seems to have had similar fears with regard to *himself*. To be sure, he had not entered a *solemn protest* against the bill as the Dukey had; but he had, a hundred times over, declared it to be revolutionary, and tending to the certain destruction of the monarchy. STRATFIELD-SAY, in his protest, which will be found in the *Register* of the 21st of April, had declared the bill "to strike at the principles of the monarchy itself;" but BARING had declared no less than this, and a great deal more than this, over and over again; and as he had been willing now to come in with the DUKE; and as everything said by PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL weighed against him as well as against the Duke, he found it necessary to defend himself, or rather to endeavour to do it after the speech of this PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL; and, according to the report in the *Morning Chronicle*, the following is the defence that he made:

Mr. BARING said, that he had no intention of addressing more than a few observations to the House, and in them he should cautiously abstain from employing any topics or referring to any circumstance which might occasion a debate on the events that had just taken place. But if he should sit entirely silent after the explanation of his right honourable Friend, perhaps the House would think that in some respects he might be open to the *imputation that the right honourable Gentleman's conduct might seem to throw upon those who had pursued a different line of conduct.* He felt all the difficulties of the case which his right honourable Friend had stated. He knew the motives stated were true, because most of them had been communicated to him. He was able, therefore, confidently to state what were the motives assigned at the time; and he was happy to be able to do so, since, though those motives were *so easily understood*, and *were so obvious to any one who judged rightly*, yet there were *few who did judge in that manner*, or who did not willingly receive imputations on the *motives of public men*. At the same time, speaking of the case of the right honourable Gentleman *abstractedly*, he must say *that he differed from the right honourable Gentleman as to the course he had pursued.* He (Mr. B.) had ventured to *press upon him a different line of conduct.* The view he had taken of the matter, and that which he had reason to suppose had been taken by the noble Duke who took the principal part in the affair, was, not that any administration was to be formed to carry the Reform Bill, or to sanction or to support it, so *as to sacrifice the character* of the persons composing that administration—but the simple question was, the King being ready to consent that this bill in substance should pass, yet that there *were circumstances* connected with the passing of this bill to which he could *not adhere*, and *to resist which he had called for assistance.* That was the position of things when Lord Lyndhurst was sent for, and when the Duke of Wellington *undertook to see* whether some arrangements could not be made. Suppose that Gentlemen admitted the King to be right—suppose the King said that the passing of this bill was essential in the state of the country—was that a reason, because Ministers had the country at their back and could not be resisted, that they were to avail themselves of these circumstances to force *other circumstances* to which, as a monarch, the King could not agree? (Hear, hear.) Because he believed that reform was essential and necessary to the peace and tranquillity of the country, and because he had declared that opinion, should he be accused of changing his opinion, merely for not having consented to yield to *other circumstances of a similar nature?* He (Mr. B.) did not wish to argue that view of the question, but that being the view he took of it, then came the question, whether any man in the noble Duke's situation was to say, "No, I have taken such a line of conduct," "that, that whatever difficulties you may la-" "bour under, *whatever calumny may be* "*heaped upon you*, whatever may be your con-" dition, I *can offer you no assistance.*" That was the strict, and, as he considered it, *the honest way of viewing* the subject. No gentleman who had read a line or passed through his mind a thought on the constitution of the country, would say that that was not the proper view of the case. When he saw the Duke of Wellington, his Grace stated that he should be *ashamed to crawl about the metropolis if he did not go to the assistance of the King.* He did not wish to go further into explanation, but he must say, that so far from

what some *miserable minds*, that were themselves actuated by the motives which they imputed to others, being true, the arrangement proposed would have excluded the noble Duke from power, and probably from office. He must say, that great as was his admiration of that great man, he had never seen anything that was a *proof of greater magnanimity than the resolution which he then came to.* By his conduct he had exposed himself to the abuse and scurrility of the lower orders, and particularly of the press; but among all who troubled themselves to understand, no one would hesitate to say, that though he might have acted *more prudently* and *cautiously*, he could not have exhibited a greater *act of heroism.* (Hear, hear.) The object of the King was, if possible, to reform the Commons without destroying the Peers, although Gentlemen on the other side of the House might possibly think, that to have added to the number of the Lords would have greatly improved them. If the Duke of Wellington had failed to answer the call of his Majesty, the necessary consequence must have been, that he would have been thrown back upon his former Ministers. What then would have been the King's situation? He would have been placed in the grasp of an Administration which *compelled him to do acts to which he was entirely adverse.* The King could have no will of his own. The House would recollect, that when insanity unfortunately attacked George III., the utmost care was taken to ascertain whether his Majesty could exercise any degree of volition before a regency was appointed; but with respect to William IV. there would not be an absence of volition, but a presence of an adverse volition. He put it to any man, whether such would be a proper situation in which to place the King of this country according to its constitution. The Duke of Wellington saw his Majesty's extremity, and finding too that nobody would go to assist him, he stepped forward and did his duty. To say the least of it, his conduct had been highly meritorious.

To be sure this is miserable; it does show, that in a state of things like this, millions may be amassed by creatures, totally destitute of everything worthy of the name of talent. Ah, BARING! "Paper money is strength in the beginning and weakness in the end." While paper money is coming out and *increasing*, any silly creature can govern a country; but when paper money is diminishing, to govern a country, demands men, and men, too, with *heads upon their shoulders.*

VYVYAN, whom I mentioned before, seemed to be afraid, as I have just observed, that the people "*out of doors*" would not be able to perceive *clearly* how that was so honourable in the Duke, which would have been so infamous in PEEL, and Baring's lucid harangue does not seem to have satisfied VYVYAN upon this important point. VYVYAN appears, therefore, to have been desirous to make it out that there was a *difference* between the situation of PEEL and that of the DUKE. VYVYAN's speech, as it stands reported in the MORNING CHRONICLE, was a masterpiece in its way, and therefore I insert it entire, especially as it lies in a moderate compass.

Sir R. VYVYAN referred to the axiom that the King was not responsible—that he was only responsible through his Ministers, and protested against the doctrine that he was responsible for his opinions to any by-gone Government. *He entirely approved of the line the Duke of Wellington had taken;* it was his business to do his best to make an administration, and he would stand amply justified *to posterity.* He was willing to do the fullest justice to the motives of the Right hon. Bart. (Sir R. Peel), and it was to be recollected that his situation was *very different* from that of the Duke of Wellington. *He could not fall back upon a high military reputation*, and *his* motives would have been liable to *obvious misconstruction*; he would have had to encounter the *obloquy* of one party, the *hatred* of another, and the *misunderstanding* of a third. (Cheers.) It was clear that the King could do no wrong; *and no private letter written by him or by his private Secretary could be binding.* The Minister only was responsible—responsible for the advice he gave, and which advice he (Sir R. Vyvyan) did not hesitate to say he looked upon *as akin to treason.* (Cheers.) At all events the present servants of the Crown had attempted that which in another reign had formed the subject of an impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors—to annihilate the independence of one branch of the legislature, because it had ventured to make a slight alteration in the Reform Bill. When all the facts were published, and when the *calm-judging people of England had had time to reflect*, they would see and acknowledge that the King, by his conduct, had shown himself *the genuine friend of his subjects and the constitution.* Had it been necessary to make a new appeal to the people, he (Sir R. Vyvyan) should not have been afraid of the result of a general election; for when it was known that the object of his Majesty was to prevent the swamping of the House of Lords, *the voters in all parts of the empire would have shown themselves as potent as they had been on any former occasion.*

As far as relates to the *conduct of the King*, I shall reserve what I have to say until by-and-by, when I shall have done.

with these faithful and sensible advisers of his Majesty. VYVYAN entirely approves of the conduct of STRATHFIELD-SAY, and of *that of* PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, *too*! and how does he make out a reason for this? Why, because PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL'S "situation was very different from that of the DUKE." And what was the difference, VYVYAN? Why, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL'S could not *fall back* upon the high military reputation, and HIS motives would have been liable to obvious misconstruction!" God Almighty! and these are the men that have made laws to govern this great country! You have found, VYVIAN, that the DUKE'S *motives* have not lacked for construction: you have not found the people silenced by his "high military reputation," which he had to "*fall back upon*," and which he has fallen back upon with the devil to it; for, if he look at the picture shops and the signposts, he will see himself not only fallen back, but *with his heels uppermost*, in every considerable town in the kingdom. His *effigy* has served as *proxy* for him, and it had to undergo a *military punishment* last week even in the little quiet town in which I am now writing!

It is curious to observe the difference in the manner in which VYVYAN and BARING speak of PEEL'S-BILL PEEL. VYVIAN is ready to do "full justice to the motives" of the PEEL'S-BILL statesman; but BARING was not so ready to do full justice to those motives: he, on the contrary, *differed* from the Right Honourable PEEL'S-BILL PEEL as to the course which he had pursued; aye, and he tells us, that "he had pressed upon PEEL'S-BILL PEEL a different line of conduct." Oh, oh! you had, had you! Now, mark, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL'S reasons for not taking on with the DUKE, were as severe a censure upon BARING as they were upon the DUKE; and poor BARING had not, like STRATHFIELDSAY, a "*high military reputation to fall back upon*;" therefore he could not, like VYVYAN, defend the conduct of PEEL. Thus ended these famous explanations, leaving not one single soul in the whole kingdom without a mind full of the proper feelings towards all the parties, Tories, Whigs, Ministers, opposition, courtiers, and all together.

And, here, before we come to the further proceedings with regard to the Reform Bill, let us notice what has been said with REGARD TO THE CONDUCT OF THE KING. The publications, the pictures, the overt-acts of the people themselves, with regard to the King, his brother and sisters, his wife, and the children that are reputed to be his; of these I took quite notice enough in my last *Register*, 19 May, 1832, which *Register* we shall have to refer to a great many times. But, now what is it that the Whig press has asserted with regard to the conduct of the King? This press has been asserting, for many months past, that the King promised LORD GREY, several months ago, that he would, whenever it became necessary, make new peers, sufficient in number to enable GREY to carry the Reform Bill. When, therefore, it was known that he had refused to make the peers necessary to carry the bill, public indignation burst forth. This press has alleged, that the promise to make the peers, was *made in writing*; that this writing was *shown by* GREY *to* HARROWBY *and* WHARNCLIFF *before the debate on the second reading of the bill*; that when GREY went to the King, after the motion of LYNDHURST on the 7th of May, and asked for the power to make the peers, the King said, "No: my promise to make the "peers, applied only to the case of the "Lords *rejecting* the bill: they have "*not rejected it:* they are ready to go "into its details in the committee; and, "therefore, I will not authorise you to "make the peers now." This is what is in substance alleged; and, as I observed in the last *Register*, if any peer other than the DUKE, whose protest was hardly dry, had come and said, *I will pass the bill*, the result might have been very different from what it was; but nobody could believe, that a man would do a thing so monstrous as that which the DUKE must have done if he had passed this bill. The deed was, as LORD EBRINGTON called it, an instance of public immorality too shocking,

too outrageous for a people like this to endure for one moment. Besides, an opinion took possession of the minds of the whole people at one and the same moment, that there was a grand conspiracy for defeating the bill, and for preventing all reform of Parliament whatsoever, and that the King had been advised so to act as to favour this wicked conspiracy. The very name of STRATHFIELDSAY, as prime-minister again, was looked upon, after all his declarations, and especially after his recent protest, as a drawing of the sword and flinging away the scabbard; and the people, with a unanimity, with good sense, wholly without a parrallel in the history of mankind, and with promptitude and celerity, that sets all description at defiance, offered *resistance* the most effectual, and in every part and portion of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, and everywhere without a single instence of even the existence of danger of breach of the peace. Those who have been readers of my writings, or hearers of my harangues; those who have read those writings, whether published abroad or at home, must well know, how proud I have always been of my country; how anxiously I have laboured to cause it to be honoured throughout the world. What, then, must be my feelings now, in having to record this matchless instance of its justice, its humanity, its wisdom, and its courage!

I wish to say as little as possible about the conduct of the King; and, as for his *family*, I shall leave to others to deal with that as they may think just and proper; but, I must offer my opinion with regard to the principal facts connected with that conduct. In the first place, I believe that the King did give LORD GREY a *written assurance* that he would make new peers sufficient to enable him to carry the bill. I believe this for two reasons, first, because I know that the EARL of RADNOR told the MANCHESTER deputation that it was so; and, second, because SIR RICHARD VYVYAN, in the speech which I have quoted above, admits, that there was such letter *written by the King, or by his private secretary*, and resting his defence of the King on his constitutional irresponsibility. Indeed, there must have been such promise, or else, as *Hunt* said, "the Ministers would have bin adeluden ov the peepul" for at least three months, during which their press were ringing this assurance in our ears.

Whether the interpretation, which it is said the King put upon his promise, were fair or not, one cannot decide without a sight of the promise itself; but there was one thing which occurred in the House of Commons on the 15th of May, which was, to say the least of it, curious in the extreme. It was a speech of Mr. TENNYSON, in answer to some observations of Mr. HUME. I will insert the speech here; because it is a thing by no means to be overlooked. I wish the reader to pay attention to every word of it; for, he may be assured, that we shall have to recur to it again and again. It is of great importance; and it does, in a great measure, serve to explain that which we now (22d of May) see going on.

MR. TENNYSON said, he could have wished that his hon. Friend (the member for Middlesex) had abstained from the observations he had just made. (Hear.) He had understood his hon. Friend in particular to recommend that everything should be avoided likely to excite irritation, yet he now touched on topics which must create *unpleasant feelings in a high quarter*. Nothing could be so painful to him (Mr. Tennyson), and he was confident also to *his noble and right hon. Friends near him*, and to the country, as that the event which had just been announced should be considered as *placing his Majesty in a state of submission and subjection to any party*. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that before a few days had elapsed, those who had *regretted* that the advice tendered to him by the Government for *an extensive creation of peers* had not been adopted by the King, would *be grateful to his Majesty for having declined to administer such a shock to the Constitution*, for a shock it would undoubtedly have been (Hear, from the Opposition). Although he (Mr. T.), as a thorough reformer, would not have hesitated to give that advice to the King had he been a cabinet Minister, *in case no other means of effecting an extensive reform offered themselves*; yet, if it should *turn out* that his Majesty, who was undoubtedly bound to ascertain that *no other means did exist* before he resorted to such a course, *had discovered those means*, and that without any shock to the institutions of the country, *an extensive and perhaps*

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more beneficial and popular reform should be the result of *such modifications* as might *now be introduced*, he repeated, that the country, and his Majesty's Ministers amongst the rest, would be *deeply grateful to him for the sound discretion with which he had rejected their counsel*. No man could *doubt the paternal wishes of* his Majesty to do all in his power to meet the wishes of the people, but if possible, without doing any violence by means of his prerogative to the institutions of the country, and he was therefore pained lest the observations of his hon. Friend (Mr. Hume), intimating a hope that *peers might still be spared*, and that other measures might be taken, should give the impression that the reformers *were now acting as if they had obtained a victory over the opinions and feelings of the King*. (Hear, hear.)

This was delivered, you will observe, in the *presence of the Ministers*, in the midst of whom Mr. TENNYSON was sitting! And observe, they said not a word in their own defence, though this was in fact a charge *preferred against them*. There is only one awkward thing in this speech of Mr. TENNYSON. He tells us, in effect, that the King had discovered *other means of causing the Reform Bill to be carried*; but he does not tell us, that the King *informed* Lord GREY *that he had discovered those other means*. It is next to impossible that he should have communicated this discovery to Lord GREY; for in that case there would not have been the smallest excuse for Lord GREY's resigning. This cannot be; and yet, from the silence of Ministers while this statement was making, and after it was made, it does appear to be something very curious.

May 21. The Reform Bill was taken into consideration in committee, on the motion of Lord GREY; and some parts of it were agreed to without any division. It appears that some of the lords who were opposed to the bill, have agreed to absent themselves from the House, at the request of the King, and the following circular has been published in the newspapers as being authentic:

St. James's Palace, May 13, 1832.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am honoured with his Majesty's commands to acquaint your lordship, that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House to-night from a sufficient number of peers, that, in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.

I have the honour to be, yours sincerely,
HERBERT TAYLOR.

Well said, HERBERT TAYLOR. We shall owe the Reform Bill to HERBERT, after all! Let it be observed that this pretty epistle is dated on the very day that GREY announced that he had had a communication with the King, and that WELLINGTON gave his miserable explanation. I am now writing on the 22d May; and, from what I see, I should suppose that the intention of a majority of the Lords now is, to let the bill pass through all its stages without any effectual opposition; that being the only means of preventing GREY from making such a creation of peers as will give him a *permanent Whig-majority in the House of Peers*. The Tories see that the bill must now pass; blind as they have been, and proud as they are, they now see, that, by the means of the *old sow*, the people can compel the passing of the bill. They are, therefore, reduced to this choice; to let the bill pass without a creation of peers, and thus keep their majority against GREY for future occasions, or to give him fair grounds for insisting on the new creation; and thus see the bill carried, and see him secure a permanent majority in the House of Lords into the bargain. That they prefer the former, there can be no doubt; and, therefore, I believe, that they will now suffer the bill quietly to pass.

Thus, after all, it has become a *party-struggle*, as far as the Whigs and Tories are concerned. It is strange, but neither party seems to anticipate, that the reformed House of Commons will be *any thing much different* from what Houses of Commons have been for a hundred years past. Neither party seems to imagine that there will be any great change of system, but that the scramble for spoil will be still much the same as it has been for such a long time. Lord RODEN does indeed seem to have some apprehension, that the idea of "CHEAP

GOVERNMENT" may find its way into the heads of some of the members of a reformed parliament. His lordship's apprehension is certainly well-founded; and, I could almost take upon me to assure him, that the idea of "CHEAP RELIGION" will also enter into the heads of some of the same members; and, I venture farther to predict, that if these ideas should not of themselves enter into their heads, that the people will pretty soon drive them in, or drive the members out of the House. Aye, aye! my good Lord RODEN, the people of England have lived long enough upon potatoes, and those of Ireland much too long upon sea-weed and nettles and stinking shell-fish, while pensioned lords and ladies, and their offspring, and swarms of sinecurists, grantees, retired-allowance people, dead-weight people, and bands of merciless usurers and monopolists, have been living in luxury upon the fruit of our care and our toil.

As for me, my readers, my duty will now be to give you my opinion, with regard to the means which we ought to employ to secure to ourselves the advantages which this Reform Bill will put within our reach. My MANCHESTER Lectures describe that which we ought to look to as the end of our exertions: my duty now will be to point out the *means* of attaining that *end*; and this, life and health permitting, I will now do. We shall have the Reform Bill: and that, too, in the best possible manner; because there will not now be a single man in the kingdom so foolish as to believe, that the people *owe it to anybody but themselves.* Had it not been for the events which have recently occurred, I, for my part, should have been half killed by the disgust excited by *fulsome addresses* to Ministers and King and Queen, and upon my soul I should not have been surprised to see addresses to HERBERT TAYLOR, the maids of honour, and to all the GERMAN squads in the kitchen. *Now,* it must be a base wretch indeed, as well as fool, who will think of addressing, or even toasting anybody but ourselves. If there should be any one, whom I happen to be acquainted with, and who shall take a part in such addresses, either to Ministers, King, or anybody else, I desire that such person will deem me no longer worthy of his acquaintance. Some sort of festival is talked of to express our joy at the completing of this measure. My part in such case I have decided on. If I be in the North at the time, I will dine with as many poor weavers as I can afford to give a dinner to; if in the midland, with as many poor workers in iron; if in the South, with as many chopsticks of Hampshire or Wiltshire or Berkshire. That is what I will do; let others do as they please.

Now, my friends, I have addressed you at great length; but the matter appeared to me of the greatest importance; and, I trust, that I have placed it before you in a manner, such as to render it comprehensible now and useful hereafter.

I remain, your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. 23d MAY. I see that the bill jogs on; and with infinite delight I perceive the furious rage of old Serjeant BEST, KENYON, and others. But I also see, in the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day, some fool or some knave recommending a national subscription *to raise statues to* GREY! and that, too, just at the moment when this same GREY has just suffered the statue of that impudent vagabond, CANNING, who declared that *he would oppose reform to the last hour of his life*; who called the reformers *a low-degraded crew*; who spoke and voted for Sidmouth and Castlereagh's bill, *to gag them and dungeon them because they petitioned for reform:* just at the moment when GREY has the meanness, aye, and even the baseness, to suffer this statue to be stuck up upon ground belonging to the public; just at the moment Dr. BLACK has the folly to propose *a national subscription,* for the purpose of sticking up a statue to GREY! Give me the list of subscribers to CANNING's statue, and I will show you that the wretches got every penny of the money out of the taxes: let the

tax-eaters and tax-hunters now subscribe for a statue of GREY. But, *readers of the Register*, subscribe *not you* one single farthing: be not you amongst the number of fools who are cheated by knaves. If we raise a statue, let it be to those CHOPSTICKS, without whom we never should have seen a Reform Bill worth a straw.

TO THE

WORKING PEOPLE OF NOTTINGHAM.

Bolt-court, 19 May, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

THE following letters will speak for themselves. The first of them is put into print, *word for word*, *letter for letter*, and *point for point*, as I received it. The affair is yours a great deal more than it is mine; and as such I lay it before you. The second letter is, as you will see, an answer to the first, which first I received late on Thursday evening, the 17th instant. With the most anxious desire to see strict justice inflicted on all your atrocious foes, and with a desire equally anxious to be able to assist in producing that result, I always remain

Your faithful friend
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Bear and Staff, Smithfield, Thursday, four o'clock.

MR WM COBBETT

In compliance with your advice given to me on Monday I wrote a full explanatory letter to Mr. Daniel OConnel Member for the County of Kerry, inclosing a printed copy of the Petition from Nottingham complaining of torture being practised in the Prison requesting according to your suggestoin, an interview to this request I received no answer, when after sending in a note and attending four times this morning, I at length was told by his servant that I might see him on the Stairs Upon my addressing him he declined all conversations asked me for the Petition, said he would present it or not according to his view of it, when he read it, That he had the Petitions of all Ireland to present, and that after he had perused it, if he did not approve of its contents he would give it to his servant to return—I have therefore to request that you will have the kindness to state to me, what you wish me to do in this affair from your personal treatment to me in your own house on Monday, I must decline exposing myself again to such a degradation I know not whether you have made any communication to Mr OConnell either by your Son Mr John Cobbett or personally yourself or by letter, but I cannot but think that there was a studied insult meant by Mr D. OConnel, and from the ungentlemanly threat and insinuation which you made to me of writing to Nottingham, complaining of my intention to expose Mr OConnel to the northern Counties, even before I had seen, written, or had any communication from him either direct or indirect is to me most surprizing—I am the more impressed with the notion that Mr OConnels behaviour was premeditated from the fact that he immedintely after saw two deputies from Glasgow to whom he behaved, in a direct different manner, to what he treated me, I here most solemnly declare that I have not the slightest wish to hurt either your feelings or Mr OConnels; I think when engaged on public business of importance, neither my behaviour nor my feelings ought to be put to the pain which you and Mr OConnel have inflicted You are two great Men and evidently so in your opinions I am but a little Man coming from a little Town, but I know how to vindicate myself when wantonly insulted without cause It is your fault not mine if we disagree, I did not begin and you know that I have not deserved harsh treatment

I am Mr Cobbetts Yours
G HENSON

Bolt-court, 19 May, 1832.

SIR,

On Thursday, the 17th instant, I received from you, by the two-penny post, a letter dated from the Bear and Ragged Staff, Smithfield, at four o'clock that day. To which letter I now give my answer; an answer which I should cer-

[illegible]tainly have spared myself the trouble of giving, did not the giving of it afford me an opportunity of discharging what I deem a very sacred duty towards the deeply injured people of Nottingham.

The case is this. At Nottingham, on the 18th of March, you were introduced to me by one of the truest friends of the working people that ever breathed, as a person charged with the business of carrying to London a petition, on the part of the working people at Nottingham, complaining of some most monstrous acts, connected with the recent administration of justice in that town, and at the same time you showed me the petition. The length of the petition and the importance of its contents forbade me, who had to set off for Birmingham next morning early, to attempt to enter into an examination of the matter at that time; and as I was certain of not being in London sooner than ten days from that time, the following arrangement was settled on.

You represented to me, that neither the members for the town, nor of the county, of Nottingham, would take your petition in hand with a promise to support the prayer of it; and, what you wanted was some member of Parliament to undertake to do that. I gave it as my opinion that there were several members of the House of Commons who would willingly present your petition; and I particularly mentioned Mr. Alderman Wood, as one amongst many, on whose justice and firmness you might safely rely; but that the nature of the petition was such that justice could not possibly be done to it by any one but a lawyer, or, at least, by some man possessing a great deal of knowledge of the law. I further said, that the only proper person that I then could think of, was Mr. O'Connell; and I added, that I would do my best to prevail upon Mr. O'Connell to take the petition in hand. Understanding that your *expenses* in going to London on this business were to be defrayed by the *working people* at Nottingham, I, wishing those expenses to be as little burdensome as possible, wishing also that your stay in London should not be unnecessarily protracted, and thinking, of course, that your wishes in this respect accorded with my own, told you that you should, if you chose, while detained in London, come to my house at Bolt-court, and there breakfast, dine, and take tea in the evening with me, or with whoever else of my family might happen to be there; and that, if none of us were there, entertainment would still be provided for you in the same manner as if I myself were always present. Knowing that I should not be in London for ten days or a fortnight from that time, I wrote home stating the nature of my offer; and your reception would have been accordingly, if you had appeared before my arrival.

Mr. O'Connell was, at that time, in Ireland; and, therefore, it was perfectly useless for you to go to London at that time. When I got to London, which was on the 26th of March, I found that you had never been to Bolt-court. Some days after my arrival, you came; and, to my surprise, I found that you had been in London for some time. When I asked you why you had not accepted of my offer, you said, that your lodging was so far off, and mentioned other things quite as unsatisfactory, seeing that Bolt-court was situated between Smithfield and the House of Commons; nor could I, for my life, divine, how an ambassador from the weavers of Nottingham, could find anything so very congenial to his taste, or so likely to further his patriotic views, amongst the butchers and drovers that frequent, and amidst the bleatings and bellowings that surround, day and night, the *Bear and Ragged Staff*, in Smithfield; I recommended a quiet lodging in this very court, and offered to speak to my neighbour, Mr. Beck, to render it as little expensive as possible to you. However, every one to his taste; and your preferring the Bear and Ragged Staff was nothing to me, provided your business were faithfully attended to. But I think it necessary very explicitly to state, that I expressed my disappointment that you did not come to my house, where, as you were told, breakfast would always be ready at eight,

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dinner at one, and tea at six; and I remonstrated with you upon the subject; and, by dint of almost complaining, I prevailed upon you to dine with me once.

So much for the grounds of this business; and now for the contents of your letter; and first, with regard to your complaint against Mr. O'Connell. On Monday, the 14th instant, you came to Bolt-court, at an hour when you never ought to have come there without a previous appointment; and after a great deal of idle chat, began to talk about the petition and Mr. O'Connell. Let the working people of Nottingham be so good as to recollect the situation we were in *on that Monday!* "What!" said I, "a run upon the Bank, all business at a stand, the town in commotion, the ship amongst the rocks, and the gale increasing every minute, and you want to go to one of the pilots to ask him what he thinks of the longitude!" After something of this sort I proceeded to tell you, that it would be the most unreasonable thing in the world to make your application to Mr. O'Connell at such a time upon such a subject; that it was impossible that he could attend to it; and that I hoped that you would not attempt to press it upon him under such circumstances. After this, you remained to entertain me with your idle gossip, and obtrusion of your opinions about "*public men*," saying, amongst other silly things, that Mr. Herries was the only man of genius that you had found amongst them; and talking of your interviews with Lord Melbourne and great Tory statesmen. Tired of this sort of equivocal, diplomatic-like talk, which was only a repetition of what I had frequently to endure before, but which now came at a time when I was not so disposed to endure it; and a gentleman calling upon me with whom I wished to have some private conversation, I addressed you thus: "Now, Mr. Hanson, my advice to you is this: to write a very short note to Mr. O'Connell, just stating to him the nature of your business, and asking him to give you a line as soon as he conveniently can, just to say when it is likely that he can see you for a very short space of time; but by no means go to him until he says that he is prepared to see you. And now, as I am sure that it is impossible for him to attend to your business at present, let me hope that he will not be represented to the good people of Nottingham as being indifferent as to their injuries and their just complaints."

You begin your letter by saying that you have acted *in compliance* with my advice. That advice was (as the gentleman alluded to can bear witness) to write to Mr. O'Connell a *very short* note: you "wrote a full explanatory letter to Mr. *Daniel* O'Connell, member for the county of Kerry:" and telling him, I dare say, that his name was *Daniel*, and that there was but one *l* at the end of his name; and that you had the satisfaction to learn, that he had been elected for the county of Kerry. After such a state-paper, issuing, too, from the Bear and Ragged Staff, would it have been much wonder if Mr. O'Connell had handed the ambassador over to his servant? But I venture to assert that this part of your representation is not correct.

My advice was, that you should not at such a moment go to Mr. O'Connell at all, until he sent for you; and it appears that, "*in compliance with that advice*," you beat up his quarters no less than four times in one day before you had received any answer from him at all. And now you complain of his conduct; now you represent him as having offered a studied insult, and you have the audacity to insinuate that that arose from some instigation on my part; though I have not had any communication, written or verbal, with Mr. O'Connell for at least three months past.

You argue, and you will endeavour to make the good unsuspecting fellows of Nottingham believe, that Mr. O'Connell premeditated this behaviour towards you, "from the fact that he immediately after saw two deputies from *Glasgow*, to whom he behaved in a directly different manner from that in which he behaved to you." If you

had had sense in store instead of conceit and impudence, you would have seen two very sufficient reasons for the difference of behaviour: first, that these deputies from GLASGOW came to Mr. O'Connell upon that important business which was occupying every one's mind at that moment; and next, that they had not bothered him, at such a moment, with "*a full explanatory letter*" of ungrammatical rigmarole, in addition to a printed petition; to read which, with due care, would require full *two hours*.

With regard to what you say of *my conduct* towards you, I shall leave it with merely observing, that I suffered your interruption, and endured your impertinence, much too long, much longer than was consistent with a due estimate of the value of my own time, and than was consistent with that frankness, with which, however painful, it becomes a man to act in such a case. But with regard to the petition itself; with regard to the object of that petition, it becomes me to state my opinion to the honest and industrious people of NOTTINGHAM; and that opinion is this; namely, that their petition relates to matters of the greatest possible importance, matters connected with the personal liberties and lives of us all; that, if the facts stated in the petition can be substantiated, that man is a villain, who, having the power, refuses to lend his aid in bringing down the hand of justice upon the heads of the offenders; that, however, a petition, containing so many important allegations, and inculpating by name so many individuals, and those individuals so high in station, and so well prepared with defenders, is not to be lightly taken up, by any man; that it is a great legal matter which is here presented to the view, that even a lawyer of industry, talent, and zeal, equal to those of Mr. O'CONNELL, must have time allowed him for consideration and investigation, before he can meddle with such a case; that I firmly believe all the allegations in the petition; that that must be base blood indeed, which is not roused by the facts stated in this petition; but, that, at the same time, I must declare, that, if I, with all my indignation against the accused, and with all my most anxious desire to see justice done to the ill-treated people of *Nottingham*; if even I (having the power that Mr. O'CONNELL has) were beset by a man like you and inundated with rubbishy writings from the Bear and Ragged Staff; if I found it impossible to meddle with the matter, without being pestered with your interminable gossip, I should be obliged to say to the good people of Nottingham: "Come up to me one of "you, who is no conceited prig, no "dandy weaver with polished boots, no "statesman that cannot spell; but a "man of plain sense, willing to be in-"structed in that which he cannot un-"derstand; a man that has public jus-"tice, and not the gratification of his "own vanity at heart; and, above all "things, a man, who, while he has the "starvation of the working people of "NOTTINGHAM everlastingly upon his "lips, is not strutting about *London* in "costly and fine linen, at their expense, "and is too highly fed to accept of a "plain table for nothing."

Working people of NOTTINGHAM, throw not away any portion of your scanty earnings upon any ambassadors at all, and particularly upon such as those whose offensive conceit, coupled with their vulgar ignorance, are sure to do injury to any cause with which they meddle, and who have simply and solely in view the gratification of that which is the great vice of mankind; namely, to live in idleness upon the fruit of the labour of others. Keep in mind constantly the rule of St. PAUL: "*he that will not work, neither shall he eat.*" Why, my good friends of Nottingham, our great national curse is, that we have to maintain innumerable bands of idlers out of the fruit of our labour. Of this we are incessantly and most justly complaining. The great burden of our complaints is this very thing. How often have you yourselves petitioned against pensions and sinecures! And now you have a *sinecure placeman* of your own, in addition to all the rest!

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My friends, your petition, to have a chance of success, must go through a very different channel. I have had long and important petitions to submit to this very Mr. O'CONNELL; and, if he be questioned upon the subject, he will say, that no petitions that he ever received, occupied so small a portion of his time. When I sent him a petition, it was in a plain hand and very plainly indorsed; and accompanied with a very short and plain statement of the substance of the petition. Then with a little slip of paper, saying that I would wait on him on such a day at such an hour, and desiring him to tell his servant to bid me call again if it were not convenient for him to see me at that time, requesting him not to waste his time by writing to me; and when I did wait on him, taking care *not to sit down*, and merely for the purpose of saving him the trouble of writing. This has been my mode of proceeding with every Member of Parliament I have ever had to apply to for such a purpose; and if, unhappily, you should persevere in your tastes for having a diplomatic person in your service, let me conjure you, my good friends, to choose one less prone to gossip; and above all things, not to be too liberal in remunerating his services. This ambassador can do you no more good in LONDON than he could by going to the moon. He was, according to his own braggings, figuring, the other day, at the *Council of the Birmingham Union*; called in, doubtless, to assist, with his advice, the members of that council, whom he represented to me as being in danger of being *arrested by the Government!* Which, indeed, put the finishing stroke to my patience.

Now, Mr. HENSON, I have fulfilled my promise. I saw that your design was to get at some ground, some pretence, for misrepresenting Mr. O'CONNELL to the good people of NOTTINGHAM; and I told you, in the presence of the gentleman before-mentioned, that if I discovered you making any such attempt, I would certainly counteract your efforts by a publication in the *Register*. This I have now done: what you call in the vulgar slang of the Bear and Ragged Staff "*an ungentlemanly threat*," I have here put in execution. If the working people of NOTTINGHAM choose still to tax themselves to keep you without work, and if they derive inconvenience instead of benefit therefrom, the fault will be theirs and not that of

Your most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

REMARKABLE RE-ACTION

AT GODALMING, IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

ON Wednesday, the 16th instant, the people of this little quiet town got *a cart*, drawn by a horse, and seated in it the representative of a MILITARY CHIEF; and, by his side, the representative of a FROW. The cart appeared to be accompanied, during the procession, by every creature in the town, and also by numerous persons from the villages round about. The personages in the cart were a *living man and woman!* There was an erection, resembling a gallows, fixed to the cart, with a swing rail going over the heads of the culprits. The procession started from the bridge at the bottom of the town, going on slowly towards the market-place, at the upper end of the town. At about every fifty yards of the progress, the executioner, armed with a pistol and powder, *shot the military chief*, who fell down backward in the cart, the *frow* hanging about his neck and screaming. At last the ceremony was concluded, by regularly putting ropes round their necks, white caps on their heads, and these being drawn down over their faces, the offending parties expiated their sins in a very becoming manner, first, listening attentively, with great apparent penitence, to a prayer of considerable length that was read to them, and then committing their souls, in due form, *to the devil*, hanging the legal length of time, and, being cut down, fell, apparently dead, into the bottom of the cart. The performers in this affair collected a good parcel of money, which they expended

in drinking "*success to the Reform Bill.*" The church-bells rang from morning to night, except while the offenders were hanging, when, as a matter of course, the *knell tolled.*

Such, and such like, has taken place in almost every sensible town in England. This *ought to be translated, and published in* France. Our neighbours ought to know the way that we go on in our little quiet country towns. I should have remarked, that the MAYOR appeared singularly fond of the COMMANDER, and *kissed him*, very affectionately, previous to their finally taking leave of this *miserable reforming world.* GODALMING is not much famed for *antalluct*; if it had been, there would have been plenty of *talk* and no *do.*

CHOPSTICK SENSE.

THE beastly and insolent brutes, who meet together, and, like the pharisee in the parable, thank God "that they are not as other men are;" these, at once stupid and conceited wretches, are everlastingly representing the country people as *poor, ignorant creatures*, who are miserable for the want of "*antalluct*;" just as if *they* had intellect themselves! In the above article I have given an instance of the expression of the just resentment felt by the people of a *country town* in my native county. I am now going to give a specimen of the opposite feeling, expressed by the people of a *village* of that same county. The Earl of ONSLOW has his family-seat in the little village of MERROW, or at least very near it, which village lies about four miles east of GUILFORD. His lordship, it seems, voted against LYNDHURST'S motion of the 7th of May, in consequence of which, an address was agreed to by the whole parish of MERROW, on the 18th instant, and, the next day, was presented to him by the *churchwardens of the parish.*

TO THE HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ONSLOW.

We, your Lordship's neighbours, of the parish of MERROW, having, with great pleasure, heard that your Lordship was personally present in the House of Lords on the late disastrous occasion, and that your Lordship voted in the minority, most respectfully beg your Lordship to accept our *warmest acknowledgments* and *heart-felt approval* of this your support of the *nation's rights*; and we further beg to assure your Lordship, that this proof of your Lordship's feeling upon this most *momentous question*, has raised your Lordship high in the estimation of your Lordship's humble servants.

And it is the good will of *such a people*, that a majority of the Lords have been so wise as to fling away! How much happier, how much *safer*, is my Lord ONSLOW, than many a man that I could name! This is what I have always been harping upon in my addresses to the Lords on the Reform Bill. I have always been telling them, that it was the good-will of their *neighbours*, and not of the insolent dead-weight fellows, and the blasphemous and murdering Jews, that they ought to set a high value upon, for that, after all, their well-being, and probably their property and their lives, must mainly depend upon the good-will of their *neighbours.*

TO COCKEY DENMAN,

THE WHIG ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Godalming, 22d May, 1832.

COCKEY,

You have, since WOOD was fool enough to puff you up, been lucky in the money-making way, but monstrously unlucky in your *speech-reporthers*; for, if their reporths were to be believed, you must be set down for a LIAR as great as the great LIAR of the North, or even the great LIAR of the South. I told you to your face of the lie which had been published in your name, relative to poor COOKE of MICHELDEVER, which was, verily, the most infamous lie that ever was ascribed to mortal man; which lie is still in print, observe, with your name at the head of it, and of which lie and the circumstances connected with it, you have by no means yet heard the last: I told you of this lie to your face; and now this scoundrel reporther is fixing another lie upon you; for, in the *Morning Chronicle* of

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thirdly, he makes you say this: "In the "case of Cobbett, Government was de- "feated and the jury discharged, owing "to the perseverance of ONE jury- "man." Why, Cockey, what an impu- dent lie this is; what a barefaced, what a shameless lie! PEEL'S-BILL PEEL is represented as having observed, that he did not know HOW YOU GOT AT THE FACT of there being but one juryman for my acquital. Aye! How could you get at the fact, Cookey? thank you for that, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL. But, the reporther is a brazen liar. Even broadfaced TORRENS had not the impu- dence to lie in his *Globe* newspaper to this extent. He and ANNA BRODIE did lie so far as to say that there were only two of the jury that stood out for me; but your reporther has reduced the TWO to ONE, which you must know to be a most infamous lie. You *must* know it; for the jury came into the box and deli- vered a paper to the judge, in which paper they stated that there were SIX FOR AND SIX AGAINST; therefore you could not have said this, without wish- ing to pass for a liar even more brazen than the great LIAR of the South him- self. Besides, as PEEL'S-BILL PEEL observed, how are you to get into the secrets of a sworn jury. It would be something new indeed for an Attorney- general to say that he knew what was passing in a jury-room! Oh, no! Cockey DENMAN; you were beaten by me, and not by a juryman: it was feebleness and falsehood beaten by talent and truth. I wanted no partial juryman. The mo- ment you began your prosecution, I told you in print that I would beat you. I did not wait until I saw the names of the jurors. Pray mark that. The moment I saw your infamous bill of indictment, I set you at defiance: I told my readers, and I told the French, and in the French language too, that I would beat you, and expose you. So that this crying story hatched up by this reporther, can only tend to give you a shove farther downwards; and if you be wise, you will restrain your reporther's silly and dirty pen in future.

There is another personage, equally unlucky with yourself with regard to the reporthers into whose hands he falls. I mean a fellow of the name of HUNT, under whose name this same reporther publishes in the same paper a lie, not greater indeed than the lie ascribed to you; but more malignant and more atrocious in its tendency; for he makes this fellow say first, that the prosecution against me had been suspended, in con- sequence of a letter which Mr. HUME had written to Lord GREY; and secondly, that "the effect of suspending Cob- "bett's prosecution was that Carlile *was* "*tempted to write a still stronger article* "*the following week, for which he was* "*prosecuted and convicted.*"

Now, with regard to the letter said to have been written by Mr. HUME to Lord GREY. I heard of it at the time; told my informant, who was a very zealous and warm-hearted young man, that I was very much obliged to Mr. HUME for his kind intentions, but that I I was very sorry that he had done any such thing. I dare say that several gentlemen applied to the Ministers upon the subject; for I know of two that did, from the country; and I know that these gentlemen having communicated the fact to some members of my family, they expressed to those gentlemen their sorrow for what they had done.

So much for the lie by insinuation: and now for the lie point blank. This reporther, who puts forth his lies under the unhappy name of HUNT, is not only like a negro, destitute of the capacity to distinguish between falsehood and truth, but he is destitute of that prime quality so essential to the constituting of a good, sound, hearty LIAR, namely, *memory*, of which he seems to possess no more than the bald-cootes on the rocks of Newfoundland, which, having been shot at one minute, will fly off and come back again to be shot at the next, though they see the fowler stand in the same spot, and with the gun ready to fetch them down; for the fact is, that Mr. CARLILE, instead of having been tempted to write by the suspension of my prosecution, was *actually in jail, and undergoing his horrible sentence*, EVEN BEFORE THE BILL OF INDICTMENT WAS PRESENTED

AGAINST ME! One is at a loss to say whether this reporther be most LIAR, FOOL, or BEAST. He is certainly far below a "new negro" in the scale of the animal creation. But, really, if we do get a reformed Parliament, we must put a stop to these reporthers; for, as old HARRY said to CRANMER, "By G—d, Tom, the world will think us *brutes*," if we suffer them to go on exhibiting us in the manner that they do you and this unhappy fellow HUNT. I have nothing more to say at present, Cockey, except that the less that is said about this fight between you and me, the better it is likely to be for you both now and hereafter. It is a subject that you ought to shun as a sailor shuns the rocks, or a burnt child shuns the fire.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I had nearly overlooked what is *reporthed* to have been said upon this subject by the honest, sincere, and sensible ALTHORP, who thought, good man, "that one of the dangers in prosecuting "these libels would be to give the de- "fendant an opportunity of making an "*impudent defence in a court of justice.*" Ah! honest man! What, you remember, do you, the sweating that I gave to your bunch of pretty colleagues, when I had them hanging their heads before me in the Court of King's Bench! Farewell, honest man. That is all I have to say to you at present, only to advise all of you to let me alone.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

14th May, 1832.

Debate on the projects of the Duke of Wellington, and on his being again Prime Minister —which debate arose on the presenting of a petition from the Livery of London, by the hands of Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD.

(*Continued from No. 7, col. 446, vol. 76.*)

The question now, however, was, not what had been done, but what was to be done. He wished to see how the affairs of the country could be retrieved. That was, in his opinion, by placing the Government of the country again in the hands in which it could be placed so as to obtain the confidence of the country, and by passing that Reform Bill, the delay or refusal of which had been the cause of all their difficulties. How that was to be brought about he did not know, but he had full reliance on the moderation and the wisdom of the people. (Cheers.) This, however, he also knew, that the spirit of the people of England was so thoroughly roused that there was no hope of appeasing them save by just and reasonable concession; and he saw no way in which that could be done unless by restoring to their places those honest Ministers who had been separated, he trusted not disunited, from the Crown (without complaint, at least, on the side of those Ministers). By placing them in their former situation he hoped to see a speedy and a peaceable settlement of all dissentions. (Hear, hear.) A noble Lord, according to the Member for Thetford (Baring), had declared that the Lords would have passed schedule A without change or amendment. That might be so, but then their Lordships took good care not to let Lord Grey into that secret, and therefore his Lordship had no course left except that which he had adopted. He agreed, indeed, with the noble Earl, that it was the main and fundamental principle of the bill, and that after the declaration of the noble and learned Lord (Lyndhurst), in moving the amendment, that he wished to enfranchise first, and to disfranchise only according to the extent to which it might be found necessary afterwards; he thought the noble Earl was justified in considering the division as deciding the consent to the principle of the bill. He thought it would become the Duke of Wellington much more if, instead of getting together a Cabinet to carry the same bill, and then, as it was reported, resigning immediately afterwards, he used his influence with the House of Peers to induce them to pass the bill under the auspices of the Minister who had first proposed it to them. If he did so, he would have the gratification of seeing the constitution again an object of veneration to the people, and the Monarch restored to the affections of his subjects. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. HUME never addressed the House under circumstances of so much alarm and apprehension, speaking both politically and commercially. He confessed, therefore, he had heard with the greatest pleasure the dawn even of a chance of reconciliation in the present agitated state of the country. (Hear, hear, hear.) He thought there could not be a greater blessing to the country than such a termination, and that the man who would succeed in bringing it about and calming the existing excitement would deserve the thanks and gratitude of the people. He was anxious to avoid saying one word which could prevent such a consummation or produce any angry feeling; and of this he was assured, that Lord Grey and his late colleagues had the interests of the country too much at heart to stand much on ceremony, if they saw a probability of their being again restored to full confidence as the

advisers of his Majesty. He would not advert to the speculation of the Duke of Wellington with respect to the bill. He would not look back at the past, he would look only at the present, and availing himself of what had fallen from the member for Thetford, he would say, that if his Majesty wished again to stand well with his people, he *would not hesitate to receive his late Ministers to his councils.* (Hear, hear.) He trusted, therefore, there would be no want of means for the accomplishment of this most desirable end, and he would suggest that the House should *at once adjourn*, and leave matters as they stood now to their own operation. (Hear.) Every post from the country was freighted with complaints and remonstrances and unpleasant statements. He wished much that the next post would convey to the country the tidings of an alteration of all that had been lately done, and the sentiments of the 280 members which he hoped he spoke with respect to this matter. (Hear, hear.) Then if he spoke their sentiments (hear), and if, as he hoped, the Member for Thetford spoke the sentiments of his party, he thought it would be the best way *to adjourn* the House, after the petition was disposed of, and leave those more intimately connected with the question to adopt such measures, under their conciliatory feelings, as would put an end to all the evils and mishaps of their situation, and enable them to avoid those most frightful evils with which they were threatened. (Hear.)

Lord MORPETH rose to *second and support this recommendation.* He was confident it would have the effect of arresting the course of evils, *and to restore that just confidence in the Crown and the Government* which but a week ago they so fully possessed. All who lent themselves to this great work would deserve the blessings of their countrymen.

Mr. LABOUCHERE would *add his voice* to the same recommendation. There was no reflecting man who would not *hear with joy of the glimmering of a hope of some termination to that state of things which all viewed with apprehension. Public men* should under such circumstances *bury all animosities*, for the purpose of enabling Earl Grey to carry that bill *which all were now agreed should be carried*, and which, if carried by any other hands, would not, in all probability, be *received as a measure of peace or conciliation*, which, by *God's blessing*, it was hoped it would have been; but, on the contrary, would lead to fresh animosities, and a restless desire of *new changes*, which every friend of his country must contemplate with the *greatest dread.* He trusted, therefore, that the *independent* members of that House would use their just influence; and that those who had been Ministers, and those who expected to be Ministers, would, under the circumstances, *abandon their intentions*, and save the country from the three perils that threatened it: first, that the Reform Bill would *not prove satisfactory* to the people; next, that the *character of all public men might escape the stain* which would fall on it if those who had always opposed the bill now carried it into a law; and, lastly, that the *character of the Sovereign might not any longer suffer* in the opinions of his people. The course now recommended would *restore that Sovereign to their affections*, which he believed *none ever better deserved*, and every true friend to the *monarchy* must desire to see that restoration take place *as speedily as possible.* (Hear, hear.)

Lord ALTHORP, in consequence of what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman who spoke last, as well as from the Members for Yorkshire and Middlesex (Morpeth and Hume), wished to recal the attention of those hon. Members and of the House, who seemed to indulge in so many anticipations of good, to the real state of the question. Those who indulged in anticipations of the possibility of a compromise between parties should recollect what is the real state of public affairs. At the present moment, as they had heard that night from a right hon. Gentleman, doubtless well informed on the subject, the new Administration was completely formed in all its most essential points. The proposition, as far as he understood it, was, that in consequence of the discussions which had taken place in that House, it is to be expected that some arrangement may take place, and that the House of Lords will withdraw their opposition to the bill. Now in his humble opinion there was *nothing more unlikely.* He thought it was as unlikely a thing as any he had ever heard, that the Lords would withdraw their opposition to the bill as it now stood, and that hon. gentlemen were indulging in unfounded expectations. He believed the Reform Bill would be carried, and he was satisfied it would pass the House of Lords; but he *did not believe that in the present state of the House of Lords it was possible for the late Administration to carry such a bill.* (Hear, hear.) He rose to say this because when he found Members so sanguine in their calculations of an accommodation, he wished to recal their attention to the real circumstances in which they were placed, and to ask them, if they looked back to the events which had already taken place, what probability there was that the House of Lords *would allow the late Administration to carry the Reform Bill.*

Lord SANDON regretted as much as any man the events which had taken place, but he believed it would be found they arose wholly in the House of Lords from a *misapprehension of the nature of the arguments*, and a *misunderstanding of the intentions of the opposition.* He believed this on his honour. (Hear, hear.) He believed on his honour and conscience that the motives of the opponents of the Government had been *misunderstood*—that having the bill before them it was their desire to make it as perfect as possible; and that they would have sent it back to that House in such a shape as they *would have gladly accepted.*

(Hear, hear.) He believed, too, that this bill would have been most satisfactory to the country. (Hear, hear.) He cordially concurred in the observations of the hon. Member with respect to the necessity of *preserving the character of public men free from taint*; and he hoped, therefore, that *a reconciliation might yet take place*, and that all the difficulties at present in the way might be successfully overcome. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DENISON was disposed to think the vote of the other evening rather premature; but after what had already taken place, and after what he had heard that night, he thought it the duty of every independent Member to concur in the *recommendation that the contending parties should endeavour to effect a reconciliation*.

Mr. HUNT thought it necessary to say a few words, although he was not one of the 288 who voted for Ministers, and the reason for that was, he did not wish to mix himself up with either party. He agreed with those hon. Members who asserted that the country was in such a state that there were very few persons, either in that or in the other House of Parliament, who could restore it to peace and good-humour. Nor would he disguise the fact, that the only persons who were *at all likely to succeed in tranquillizing the people, were the late Government*. Whether they really could do so or not he did not know; but this he knew, that whatever was done must be done promptly; that it must be done without intermission or delay—otherwise he would defy any man to say what might happen in the course of eight-and-forty hours. He had listened to the hon. Member for Westminster, as he had often done before, with great pleasure. That hon. Baronet had spoken very justly of the impropriety of the interference of a criminal judge in political intrigues. But he begged leave, for fair play was a jewel, to recal to the hon. Baronet and the Whigs a circumstance which occurred some years ago. He remembered that when Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville were in power, that Lord Ellenborough, a criminal judge, had a seat in the cabinet; so that the same man might one day determine on the prosecution of any person, and the next day sit in judgment on him. He was certainly of opinion that at all times judges should attend to the bench, and not meddle with politics. They had heard a great deal in the course of the debate of political immorality and political inconsistency, and he certainly admitted, that if the Duke of Wellington were to accept place, and then to carry the Reform Bill, it would show, on his part, a great deal of political immorality and inconsistency. But what could be said of the conduct of many of the hon. Gentlemen opposite when they joined Mr. Canning (whose monument had just been put up in Palace-yard), who had distinctly declared himself most inimical to reform? There was quite as much political immorality and inconsistency in that. In his opinion, they might put Whigs and Tories into a bag and shake them up, and it would be quite indifferent which came out first. (A laugh.) He did not believe that the hon. Member for Thetford would have said what he had said, unless he had some ground; and he (Mr. Hunt) repeated, that although the late Government did not possess his entire confidence, the country was in such a state, from one end to the other, that only the late Government could tranquillize it. There could be no denying the agitation that was going on. If any one had been at the Bank of England that day, as he had, he would have felt it. He had seen four or five runs upon the Bank, but none like what he had seen that day. He had himself been three-quarters of an hour before he could get a 10*l.* note converted into cash. Placards had been put up (we think the honourable Gentleman said by an eminent banker) calling upon the people to defeat the Duke of Wellington by going to the Bank for gold. Under these circumstances, what might be the situation of London before to-morrow night, unless what had passed in the House that evening, by going forth to the public, might assist in tranquillizing the general feeling?

(*To be continued.*)

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THE delay in passing the Reform Bill has caused a "*suspension of business*" in this case at any rate. This work, which I venture to say will be found to convey more "*useful knowledge*" than VAUX-BROUGHAM and all his crew would be able to put upon paper, if they were to devote all the remainder of their restless and meddling minds to the task; this work has been suspended for more than a year, in order that it might contain an account of the number of members of parliament returned for the different places; and also an account of the *division of the counties*. We may now expect soon to be furnished with these materials, and the work will be published in about a month after the passing of the bill; and when it is published, I pledge myself that *one single table* in it shall contain more "*useful knowledge*" than is to be found in the head of Vaux-Brougham and all his set, though in that set we find that couple of worthy fellow-labourers DENMAN and WILDE, and, if I remember rightly, DRAYTON the auctioneer!

TWOPENNY TRASH.

The next number will be ready for delivery punctually on the last day of this month; and I will venture to say that it will produce ten thousand times as much effect upon the people as all the "*Penny Magazines*" of VAUX BROUGHAM and his "*entellactual*" crew, amongst the names of whom I am sorry to see that of Mr. PARKES of BIRMINGHAM; very sorry, because the name is thus made use of to procure success to a system of political cheatery. We are *now* to be *cheated*, if possible, but I will prevent it!

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A GENTLEMAN has written to me from *Liverpool*, to make inquiry about some *hand-mills*. The letter was long, and I was extremely anxious to give it an answer; but, unable to make out the signature myself, and unable to find out anybody else capable of making it out, I have been compelled to let the letter go unanswered. This is an instance of the inconvenience of people writing in a manner not to be understood. I always write in a plain hand; and I generally fling into the fire at once, all letters which I receive that are in an illegible scrawl, let them come from whom they may. In the present case, the letter was written in a plain and even elegant hand, all the pains bestowed upon which were wholly thrown away by the incomprehensible signature.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

MORGAN, J., High-st., Kensington, porkman.
WORSELDINE, J., and W. Thomas, Castle-yard, Castle-street, Holborn, carpenters.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

ESAM, E., Thame, Oxfordshire, draper.
SPRINGETT, J., Linton, Kent, cattle-dealer.
THOMAS, R., Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ASBURNER, R., Liverpool, haberdasher.
BROOKES, T., Hereford, hotel-keeper.
CALVERT, J., Liverpool, flag & slate-merchant.
COWLEN, S. J., Bradwell-near-the-Sea, Essex, beer-seller.
DEVIN, E., Liverpool, music-seller.
DUNBAR, W., New North-road, Islington, hemp-merchant.
GRIFFIN, J., Holborn, laceman.
KAY, R., and J. Nuttall, Heap, Lancashire, paper-manufacturers.
MEERS, J., Birmingham, gun-maker.
MOLD, W., Walsall, saddlers'-ironmonger.
MORRELL, J., Boroughbridge, victualler.
ROSE, J., Didsbury, Lancashire, victualler.
SUMMERS, E., Bangor, linen-draper.
TAYLOR, J., High Holborn, stationer.
WILLIAMS, T., Inchbrook-mills, Gloucestershire, clothier.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

CRAWFORD, J. & Co., Paisley, manufacturers.

TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

TAYLOR, T., Goff's Farm, Sussex, farmer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

RICKARD, S., J. Dockray, and T. Pimlar, Leeds, machine-makers.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNES, T. S., Cheapside, warehouseman.
BOTHAM, C., and C. Brinsden, New Bond-street, milliners.
BOUSFIELD, S., Heaton-Norris, Lancashire, saddler.
BYWATER, R. and W. B., Waltham-abbey, Essex, grocers.
CROFT, J., Brunswick-row, Queen-square, wine-merchant.
DIXON, R. S., Fore-st., Lambeth, flour-factor.
GORELY, J. D., New Bond-st., brushmaker.
GRAHAM, W. D., and J. Tate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, linen-drapers.
GREENHILL, T., Great Dover-st., Surrey, flour-dealer.
HARDING, J., Nailsea, Somersetshire, baker.
LEACH, H., Rochdale, flannel-manufacturer.
MANSFIELD, J., Billingborough, Lincolnshire, mercer.
ORBELL, J. jun., Walsingham-place, Lambeth, flour-dealer.
SANGSTER, W., Holland-place, Lambeth, builder.
SWAINSON, W., and T. Mustell, London, warehousemen.
VOSE, J., Serle-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, bootmaker.
WILSON, T. K., Pocklington, Yorksh., tanner.

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LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 21.—Our supplies have been good, since this day se'nnight, of English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat and flour, English and Scotch oats, and English malt: of Irish oats (34,369 quarters) great: of English and Scotch barley, English rye, English and Scotch beans and peas, foreign oats and seeds, from all quarters, but very limited.

This day's market was rather thinly attended, and the trade, owing to the abundant state of the supply, having caused much lower prices to be anticipated than were submitted to, was throughout very dull, with wheat, barley, oats, and malt, at a depression of from 1*s.* to 2*s.* per quarter; with beans, peas, seeds, and flour, at last Monday's quotations. The anticipated decline in the prices of flour is said to have been prevented by the purchase of extensive shipping supplies.

Wheat	52s. to 66s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 30s.
—— fine	35s. to 38s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
—— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
—— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
—— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	25s. to 28s.
—— Poland	23s. to 26s.
—— Feed	18s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
—— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to —s. per cwt.
—— Carlow	70s. to 80s.
—— Cork	80s. to 82s.
—— Limerick	80s. to —s.
—— Waterford	70s. to —s.
—— Dublin	66s. to 68s.
Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
—— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 62s.
—— Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
—— Edam	49s. to 54s.
—— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	64s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD.—May 21.

This day's supply of beasts was rather limited; of small stock moderately good. The trade was throughout exceedingly dull, with mutton, lamb, and veal, at a depression of from 2*d.* to 4*d.* per stone; with beef and pork at Friday's quotations. The quality of the beasts, sheep, and lambs, was for the most part unusually prime.

Beasts, 2,312; sheep and lambs, 17,260; calves, 160; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 25.

The arrivals this week are again large. The market very dull at 1*s.* lower prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	84⅜	85⅜	[illegible]	85⅜	85⅜	85⅜

THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE for ENGLAND and IRELAND, No. V., for June, Price 2*s.* 6*d.*,

Conducted by WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.,

Will contain,—1. Conservative Church Reformers: a Plan of Church Reform, by Lord Henley.—2. Unpopularity of the Bishops.—3. Property in Tithes: an Inquiry into the Question whether the Legislature can legally sell the Tithes.—4. Incorrectness of the Returns of the Number of Clerical Magistrates.—5. Abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts: Prosecution of Mr. Williams in the Consistory Court of London for Brawling.—6. Mr. Aspinall's Sermon: The Crisis, or the Signs of the Times with regard to the Church of England at the present moment:—with all the important events of the preceding month relating to Church Reform.

E. Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange, London; Wakeman, D'Oyley-street, Dublin; and all Booksellers.

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SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(*Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,*)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (*for cash only*) which they charge for:—

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley Colours	2	12	0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth	3	0	0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers	1	8	0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats		12	0
Figured Silk ditto		18	0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets	1	10	0
Barogan ditto	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 2ND, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

REFORM BILL.

WHO said that the Lords *would not pass the Bill*? "NOT YOU!" my readers will exclaim. Yes, I shall have that justice done me, at any rate; that I *always* said that they would pass the bill. I have always said this from the very time that the bill was first presented to them. It has gone through the committee without any alteration whatever; it will be passed next *Monday* night, I dare say; and, if the King have one real friend upon the face of the whole earth, that friend will advise him to go down to the House on *Tuesday*, in all his royal state, and without *one single soldier near him*, and, with his own lips, give his assent to this bill.

BARING'S BILL.

TO ALL THE REAL REFORMERS IN THE KINGDOM.

Bolt Court, 31 *May*, 1832.

THERE is a bill before the House of Commons, brought in by that BARING who is the father of the famous BINGHAM BARING, and who has, from first to last, so unremittingly opposed the Reform Bill, and who was to have been the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* of STRATHFIELDSAY'S DUKE. This bill professes to have for its object the upholding of "*the dignity and independence of the House of Commons.*" One is naturally surprised at the bare sound of these words, coming from *such a quarter*, proposed to *such a House of Commons*, and brought forward *precisely at such a time*. What! does BARING want to uphold the dignity and independence of a *reformed* House of Commons? Does he want those who are sitting for the fifty-six rotten boroughs to pass a law to secure the independence, dignity, and morality of a *reformed* House of Commons? Does he, who has called this reform a *revolutionary measure*, expect it to produce dignity, independence, and purity, such as never were dreamt of before? One is astonished at the bare thought of such a thing. The bare mention of it is so startling that it makes us look about us for the purpose of discovering the *extraordinary cause!* The moment we read the bill, however; the moment we *begin* to read, our astonishment ceases, for we learn that the tendency of the bill is *to shut out, or turn out, of Parliament all those who are not very rich men.* But let us read the bill, and read it with attention, and we shall not wonder any longer, except it be at a quality in the author of it, in which he certainly exceeds all the rest of mankind.

A BILL *for preserving the Dignity and Independence of the House of Commons, by causing the seats of Insolvent Members to be vacated, by preventing the election of Insolvent Persons to serve as Members, and by removing Difficulties touching the rights of Creditors against Bankrupt Members.*

WHEREAS it is highly necessary for the preservation of the dignity and independence of Parliament, that members of the House of Commons, who are not able to satisfy their creditors, and who are protected from personal arrest solely by reason of their privilege as members, should not retain their seats; that persons avowedly insolvent, should not be elected to serve as members; and that bankrupt members should not be allowed any privilege, as members, against the rights of their creditors: Be it therefore enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the *passing of this Act*, process against the person may be issued where the same shall be issued upon the authority of any *judgment, recognizance, decree, order, rule*, or other final proceeding to *compel the payment of money*,

although the person against whom the same is to be issued *is or shall be a member of the House of Commons*; but that no such process shall be executed so long as the said person shall continue to be a member.

And be it enacted, that before any such process shall be issued against any such member, a written demand shall be personally served upon him, signed by the party by or on whose behalf it is intended to issue such process, or by the attorney or solicitor of such party, demanding payment of the sum of money for the non-payment of which it is intended to issue the same; and an affidavit of such service shall be made before the proper officer of the court out of which it is intended to issue the same, and filed in that court; and a duplicate of such affidavit shall be deposited with the clerk of the House of Commons, who shall mark thereon the day of depositing the same, and shall cause notice thereof to be given to the member.

And be it further enacted, That from and after days from the day of depositing the affidavit last mentioned, such process may be issued; but that the same, instead of being delivered to the sheriff or other officer who would have to execute the same if the person were not a member, shall be delivered to the clerk of the House of Commons, who shall mark thereon the day of the delivery of the same.

And be it further enacted, That in case, after the expiration of days from the delivery of the said process, the sum for the non-payment of which the same shall have issued, shall continue unpaid and unsatisfied, and the said process shall continue in force, *so that the same could be lawfully executed if the person were not a member, the seat of the said member shall be thereby vacated*; and it shall be lawful for the Speaker of the House of Commons for the time being, during any recess of the said House, whether by prorogation or adjournment, *and he is hereby required, forthwith after the expiration of the last-mentioned period, to issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown, to make out a new writ for electing another member in the room of such member.*

And be it further enacted, That such member, whose seat shall so become vacated, shall *not be eligible to be returned as a member upon the new writ* to be made out by reason thereof, in case any process which by this Act is authorised to be issued shall be in force at the time of the election.

And be it further enacted, That no person who at the time of any election *shall be in custody under any such process* lawfully issued and executed, *shall be eligible to be returned to serve as a member of the House of Commons.*

And be it further enacted, That no person who shall have been discharged out of *custody under the authority of any act for the relief of insolvent debtors, shall be eligible at any election to be returned to serve as a member of the House of Commons, unless before such election he shall have paid or satisfied all the creditors in respect of whose debts he shall have lawfully charged.*

And whereas by an act passed in the fifty-second year of the reign of his Majesty George the Third, intituled, "An Act to suspend and "finally vacate the Seats of Members of the "House of Commons of the United Kingdom, "who shall become Bankrupts, and who shall "not pay their debts in full within a limited "time," the seat of a member is, in certain cases therein mentioned, declared to become vacated; and it is expedient to alter some of the provisions of the said act: Be it therefore further enacted, That in case any commission or fiat of bankruptcy shall hereafter issue against any member of the House of Commons, under which he shall be adjudged a bankrupt, and the same shall not, within days after the adjudication, have been superseded, his seat shall become vacated after the expiration of the said period, unless he shall have paid or satisfied or secured the payment of his debts, according to the provisions of the said recited act.

And be it further enacted, That no person against whom any commission or fiat of bankruptcy shall hereafter issue, and under which he shall be adjudged a bankrupt, shall have any privilege as a member of the House of Commons, touching any proceeding which might be taken against him under the authority of such commission or fiat, in case he had not been a member.

I have always had my doubts about *Political Unions*, unless effectual means could be taken to keep the Government creatures out of them. On the 30th May Mr. CARPENTER made a motion, in what is called the NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION in London, to petition against this bill of BARING; and it appears that Mr. PLACE praised the bill, as calculated to insure the *moral honesty* of members of Parliament; and he added, that "the present Parliament "had the power and the *right* to pass "any measure *now*, as well as at any "previous period of their sitting."

I will notice this latter point first; and though I do not say that Mr. PLACE is a creature of the Government, I shall have no scruple to say, and every man of sense will believe it, if he persevere in expressing this opinion. What! after this House itself has passed a bill, which, taken together with the reasons on which it was stated to be founded, pronounces this House *not to consist of the representatives of the people*, Mr. Place contends that this same House has a right

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to pass whatever laws it pleases; and, according to Mr. Place, the House has *right* to pass a law, not only to shut, or turn, poor men out of Parliament; but it has a *right* to pass a law to make the qualification ten thousand or twenty thousand pounds a year in freehold land; it has a *right* to pass a law to prevent any man from being a member of a reformed Parliament, until he has taken an oath to maintain tithes and Sergeant Bourke's Bills, and to do anything else that this rotten borough Parliament shall dictate.

So much for Mr. Place's doctrine about the right of Parliament; which doctrine, observe, would sanction an act passed by this Parliament to make its sittings perpetual; and if this bill of Baring pass and become a law, mark my words, that this Parliament will not be dissolved for a pretty long time to come; and that this is only one of a series of measures for counteracting and nullifying the effects of the Reform Bill. I trust that when Mr. Place has had time for reflection, he will think and say differently on this subject; if he do not, I shall know what to think and say of Mr. Place, whom, in the mean time, I take the liberty to beg to be assured, that all the trickery that ever was contained in all the budgets of Whitehall is, no longer, capable of subjecting the people of England to a Government of Baring, though partly consisting of *moral* majors, and "*reverend*." Unitarian persons. I do not like your *majoring* and *colonelling* and *reverend* patriots; unless they distinctly disclaim *receiving any money* from *anybody* on account of their glorious, or pious calling. As Dame Quickly says of *Swagger*, "I am the worse when one says *major* or *reverend*," and I looked at this Union with great suspicion, when I saw that it was filled out with soldiers and priests. The report states, that a man called Major Read said, that *in the United States, there was a law like this.* I deny this: I assert, there is *no such law* in that country; that there is no *qualification* and no *disqualification*, in respect to any members of the legislature, including the President himself.

With regard to this bill of Baring's, the real tendency of it is to enable the powerful and the opulent to shut out of the House of Commons any man offensive to them, who is not very rich, or who has not great riches at his command. The very fittest men to be members of the House of Commons are persons in trade. Such persons, and even professional men, barristers, and attorneys, and doctors, may, from some cause not arising from any fault or folly of their own, be unable to answer all the pecuniary demands upon them. There is scarcely any man who is engaged in extensive business, and who, if called upon on a sudden to pay every debt that he owes, though he might be worth fifty shillings in the pound, might not have a judgment issued against him, and thus be taken from the service of the people. Observe, too, how easy it would be for the powerful and the rich to combine for such a purpose, if it were a formidable man that they wished to get rid of. They would have nothing to do but to find out and bribe his principal creditors. A squib at an election; a libel real or pretended; the *venue* laid so as to have a special jury consisting of county magistrates, might souse a man of moderate fortune in damages, such as he would be unable *instantly to pay*; the next term issues forth the judgment against him, and in a few weeks he exchanges his seat in the House of Commons for a jail, and corruption is ridded of her plague! And this is what Mr. Francis Place calls "insuring the *moral honesty* of members, as the best guarantee for their "political integrity!"

But, Baring, quitting this Place, let me now turn to you a bit, and ask you, in the first place, how this great anxiety for the "*dignity* and *independence* of the House of Commons" happened to pop into your head just at this time; happened to pop into your head just after a law had been passed to drive a hundred and fifty of *mere nominees out of the House*? I suppose it came into your head the moment you became the Duke's Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day. You have been, I think, about *twenty year-*

a member of the *honourable* set; you saw a man, who was in the King's Bench for debt, and who, while there, was elected for a rotten borough, taken out of prison upon the motion of old GEORGE ROSE, of Treasury notoriety; and you saw the honourable member swagger about at large, and laugh at his creditors. You have witnessed innumerable instances of this description, or very nearly approaching to it: you have seen scores of men who have been members of the House for years together, and who never possessed anything on which a sheriff or his officer could lay his hands: in short, you have seen the House a sort of an asylum for men who could not, or would not, pay their debts: and *now*, when the nominees are about to be sent adrift, when the people are about to be permitted to enjoy part of their rights to choose representatives, you discover, all at once, that it is absolutely necessary to pass a most vigorous measure for upholding the "*dignity and independence of the House!*"

BARING, listen to me a bit. Is not this country in a most deplorable state; are you not at your wit's-end what to do with it; was not the whole thing within eight-and-forty hours of being overturned in the year 1825, and was it not within twenty-four hours the week before last? And, BARING, have not men of *rank* and of *landed qualification* brought the concern into this state? And, while they have been managing our concern in this manner, have not the *Congress of America*, the members of which have no rank and no pecuniary qualification whatever, carried that country to a point of prosperity and greatness which have astonished the world? Are not the members of that Congress generally *poor men*; and have not two of the Presidents out of the seven *died insolvent*; and were they not insolvent at the time of their being chosen? If all these questions be answered in the affirmative, and every one of them must, upon what ground is a bill like this to be justified, even supposing the present House competent to pass it?

Young GEORGE ROSE, during the last debate upon the Reform Bill, expressed his fears, from what *he had seen in America*, that the Reform Bill would cause poor men instead of rich men to be elected; and he told a story about a *very rich man* in PHILADELPHIA, who had been beaten by a *stable-keeper*. GEORGE was right as to the *fact*, but wrong as to the *time*. The time was when I was in PHILADELPHIA; and, it is truly curious that your *father-in-law*, the OLD ORIGINAL BINGHAM, was the *very rich man*, and Mr. ISRAEL ISRAEL was the *stable-keeper*. ISRAEL beat the *very rich* OLD ORIGINAL by, I think it was, more than *two hundred to one*. ISRAEL was a man of good sense, very great public spirit, generally known and respected, and everybody knew that he had not sprung up from being *supercargo of a privateer*, and that he had not amassed wealth by *jobbing in loans*, and by getting two or three hundred per cent. by *dealing in the poor soldiers' certificates*. The people, therefore, chose the poor man in preference to the rich man; this is what they have always done since the establishment of their government; and this is the great cause of their prosperity and their happiness.

But, BARING, is there nothing besides poverty that ought to exclude a man from a seat in Parliament or to turn him out of it? Does Mr. PLACE's "moral honesty and political integrity," demand nothing more than the mere *possession* of money? Is the mere *fact* of *possession* to be considered as a proof of the *right to possess*? If this be the case, then, where is the constable that will dare to take a bag of stolen gold from a thief? Let your bill be so amended, BARING, as to insure a strict inquiry *into the source of the rich member's wealth*; and then I assent to it with all my heart. What! you startle, do you? Well, then, I will drop that matter for the present, hereby pledging myself to the people, that, if I be chosen a member of Parliament, I will endeavour to cause such inquiry; aye, and to cause *restitution*, too, if, in any case, it shall be found to be just!

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Encore un coup, as the French preachers say. BARING, worthy son-in-law of the old original BINGHAM, it seems to me that you have wholly overlooked one thing; namely, that if clear pecuniary possessions; if such a total absence of poverty; if these be so necessary to uphold the dignity and independence of the House of *Commons*, they must be ten times more necessary to uphold the dignity and independence of the House of *Lords!!!* Whether any of their Lordships be in a state of insolvency; whether all of them be, at all times, ready to pay every farthing that they owe; whether their privilege is of no sort of use to them against the pursuit of creditors; how these matters may be, I cannot pretend to say, never having, I thank God, had any accounts with them. But, BARING, while I see swarms of their mothers, their wives, their children, their brothers and sisters, their uncles, aunts, and cousins, upon what that *honest* man, Lord ALTHORP calls the "list of *charity*;" while I behold this, common humanity compels me to believe, that some at least of their Lordships have no very great deal of that sort of substance which is tangible to the paw of a sheriff or his officer. At any rate every one must see that it is *possible*, that some of them may fall into this state; and, notwithstanding the wonderful ability which you have displayed, in proving that it was perfectly honouring in you to "*assist* the King" in carrying through a Reform Bill, which you had, a hundred times over, declared to be "a *revolutionary* measure, striking at the very "root of the monarchy;" notwithstanding the possession of this wonderful ability, *and another quality*, in which you certainly surpass all the rest of mankind, I defy you, though assisted by FRANCIS PLACE, of CHARING-CROSS, to show any one reason for passing this bill, relative to the House of Commons, which will not equally well apply to a proposition for a similar bill, relative to the House of Lords.

And, now, BARING, I have done with you for the *present*; but I have just a word or two to say to the *Whig Ministry* and to the COUNCIL of the BIRMINGHAM UNION. Will the Whigs *prevent this bill from passing*? We know that they have the power; and if they do not do it, that is a stupid or a base man who does not regard them as having a desire to do every thing they can to counteract and nullify the Reform Bill; and if the BIRMINGHAM UNION continue silent under the passing of this bill, and *support the Whig Ministry afterwards*, every man of sense will regard them as forming part of the Whig faction, and will look at all their acts with great suspicion accordingly.

The bill is *hastening along!* The people should petition against it immediately, and particularly the people in the metropolitan boroughs and the great towns. I call upon the people of FINSBURY, of MARYLEBONE, of the TOWER HAMLETS, of the city and liberties of WESTMINSTER, of LAMBETH, of GREENWICH, of SOUTHWARK, and of every great town in the North, especially those which are to be enfranchised, *to petition immediately against this bill*, the manifest tendency of which is to shut out, or turn out, the greater part of those very men whom they ought to choose. If the *Council* of BIRMINGHAM will not move in this work, I call upon the people of BIRMINGHAM, and particularly the *young men* of BIRMINGHAM, to move themselves: let them once get together, and they will soon find that they want no little king in *Council* to lead them by the nose. I call upon the good fellows of DUDLEY, of BILSTON, of WOLVERHAMPTON, and of WALSALL, to raise their voices, and to raise those hard, smuggy, and honest hands, by which they contribute so largely to the wealth and power of the kingdom; I call upon them all to come forth and protest against this insidious bill, which I believe to be the first of a series of bills intended to render the Reform Bill not worth a straw.

Lest any one should imagine that I have here been pleading on my own account, I will observe, that this bill, if passed into a law, will have no possible effect *with regard to me*. I deem my security against insolvency full as great, *at the least*, as that of this BARING him-

self. Nor have I at present my eye upon any man, whom I should like to have to assist me, who is at all likely ever to be exposed to the shutting out, or the turning out, which is contemplated by this bill. I plead for the right of the people to avail themselves of the talents that they may deem valuable, though those talents may be accompanied with the absence of wealth and the want of money. If the people *bestir themselves in time*, this joint blow of BARING and of FRANCIS PLACE will fail; it will be beaten off at once; but I trust that we shall not be so ungrateful as not to take the *will* for the *deed*.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE ELECTORS
UNDER
THE REFORM BILL.

On the Caution which they will now have to exercise, and on the Duties which they will have to perform.

Kensington, 1st June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

Owing to our *own exertions*, and to *nothing else*, we shall now have this REFORM BILL; and it becomes us now to consider *what use we shall make of it*; for the mere *name* of reform will do us no good at all. I trust that we shall now cease to be amused with *shadows*, and that we shall be satisfied with nothing but the *substance*. We want the reform, and we have always wanted it, to make us *better off* than we have been, and than we are. Our earnings have been taken away from us unjustly; we have been made poor and miserable by this; the most unfortunate of us have been reduced to take, by force or by stealth, the goods of our neighbours, or to starve; new jails, new poor-houses, new mad-houses, fill and disgrace our country; offences against the law have increased a hundredfold; those who have property dare not go to sleep, lest they should have it taken from them, or have it destroyed. We ascribe these evils to the burdens laid upon us; or, in other words, to our *earnings being taken away from us*, and given to those who give us nothing, and who render us no service in return. When a man is robbed by a highwayman or a housebreaker, he clearly sees, that the property taken from him is *a clear loss*; and, my friends, no matter *how* the fruits of our industry be taken from us; no matter as to the *manner* of doing this; no matter by *whom* the act *of* taking away is performed, the effect is the same; the thing taken away is a *clear loss*; if there be not something given, or something done in return. This, then, is what we complain of. Our grievances are not fanciful and theoretical, but real and practical. We complain *that our earnings are unjustly taken from us*; and we always have ascribed, and now do ascribe, this to our not being represented in Parliament; to our having been robbed of the right of *choosing those who impose taxes*, and who *dispose of the money* taken from us in taxes. This has been and is our grievance.

The *Reform Bill*, to redress this grievance completely, ought to secure *the right of voting to every man of sane mind, and unstained by infamous crime*; but, for harmony's sake, we have, as the Manchester meeting in their address to the King say, "agreed to try "the effect of a more limited suffrage; "and, for the present, to forego a part "of this our undoubted right." But, my friends, in order that this Reform Bill may be of *real use to us*; in order that it may be the means of removing our poverty and misery, and delivering our country from this mass of crime and disgrace, we must take care *to choose trusty and able men* to represent *us*; and we must take care not to be *cheated* by intriguers, who, under the garb of patriotism, will endeavour to make us the tools of one or the other of the factions, and thus expose us to be plundered as mercilessly as we have been heretofore.

I have to address you, FIRST, on the recent proceedings relative to the Reform Bill; SECOND, on the arts which will be made use of to cheat us out of all the good that a reform ought to

produce us; THIRD, on the measures which we want to have adopted; and FOURTH, on the sort of men who ought to be chosen, and on the *pledges* which they ought to give before they be chosen.

I. *On the recent Proceedings relative to the Reform Bill.*

On the conduct of the Lords, of the King, of the Ministers and their supporters, of WELLINGTON and his supporters; of all these you have been pretty well informed, in one way or another, through the channel of the newspapers; but, in order not to be cheated, you ought to be cautioned against giving way to *praises* bestowed upon anybody. We shall have the Reform Bill, and we shall have it solely by our own exertions; we shall owe it to nobody but ourselves, and we never ought to forget how much we owe to the country labourers, and particularly to those of them who first resolved to live upon potatoes no longer. Those who live upon the taxes and the tithes are never willing to allow that the *people* have any merit at all; and though it is now evident to every one that it is the people themselves who have made the Reform Bill pass, the greatest possible exertions are making to cause us to believe that we shall owe that bill entirely to the good-will, talents, and exertions of the Ministers and of their political party, which are commonly called the WHIGS. Now, my friends, nothing can be more false than this: it is a lie as impudent as ever issued from lips, or was ever put upon paper. The whole of the Ministry themselves, with the exception of my Lords GREY and HOLLAND, have either been the most bitter enemies of parliamentary reform all their lives, which is the case with PALMERSTON, GODERICH, MELBOURNE, GRANT, GRAHAM, and AUCKLAND; or who expressly abandoned the cause of reform in 1827, and joined CANNING, who had always been the reviler of that cause, and the persecutor of all reformers; and who, at the very time when they joined him, and when he was Prime Minister, declared, that he would *oppose reform in every shape and degree to the last hour of his life*; and this is the case with BROUGHAM, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Lord ALTHORP, little HOBHOUSE, and some of the rest of them.

How, then, can you believe that these men were ever sincere in their wishes for a real reform of the Parliament? The facts are these: that the cause of parliamentary reform had been a great cause in ENGLAND from about the year 1770; that the late MAJOR CARTWRIGHT was the great champion of that cause from its beginning till the day of his death, which took place a few years ago; that I, converted to the cause by MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, espoused it with all my might in the year 1806; that the reformers were persecuted, and I more than any of the rest, until the present Reform Bill was brought in; that, in the year 1830, including the month of December 1829, I went in person into three-fourths of the counties of England, and delivered *lectures*, urging the people to demand a reform of the Parliament; that, when the Parliament met in the month of October 1830, the demand for reform was general throughout the country; that the Duke of WELLINGTON, who was then Prime Minister, declared in the most positive and most insolent manner, that there should be no reform as long as he was in power; that the people were so enraged at this that he could neither walk nor ride the streets with safety; that Lord GREY then took the place of WELLINGTON, promising the nation that he would make a reform of the Parliament. It is, therefore, clear as daylight that the reform arose out of the will and resolution of the people; and that Lord GREY could not have kept his place any more than WELLINGTON had done if it had not been for his promise to make a reform of the Parliament.

It is equally clear that the Ministry entered upon the work of reform with extreme reluctance. They put the work off, in a most unaccountable manner, from *the first week in November* 1830, *to the first day in March* 1831; and, from the statements of several of them, it was made very clear that they had done

what they had done grudgingly; and that they had been unable to bring themselves to grant that which they had granted, until a very few days (not more than three) before the bill was actually brought in. To show with what ill-will they made this reform, you have to look at their prosecution of me, which they commenced, or rather determined upon, about a month before the bill was brought in. You know that they failed in the prosecution; you know that I beat them and put them to shame; the whole nation cried aloud against them for this; for no man believed that I had committed any offence at all. What then was the *motive* to this prosecution? The motive was this: they knew that I had more weight with the people than any other man; they knew that I had the power of exposing their insincerity; they knew that they could not deceive me; they feared that I should defeat any attempt of theirs to deceive the people; they thought that I should oppose the limitation of the suffrage which they intended to make; and that I should defeat their bill, and cause them to experience peril for their places. They therefore fell upon the plan of silencing me by the means of this infamous prosecution. The moment they commenced it, I hurled defiance in their teeth. When their bill appeared I received it and supported it, because it was something gained at any rate; it restored us to a part of our rights; and a part was better than none. They would now have gladly dropped their prosecution, if they could have done it with any degree of credit; but while I supported their bill, I continued to lay the lash upon them, and to *challenge* them to come and meet me in the Court of King's Bench, into which I at last dragged them by force, and there lashed them before the face of the whole country, like so many guilty sheep-biting dogs!

This prosecution showed their inherent hatred of reform as clearly as setting fire to a farmer's stacks shows a hatred to the farmer. The French newspaper writers exressed their utter astonishment that a reforming Ministry should commence such a groundless prosecution against the great champion of the cause of reform! I told the *Parlez-vous* that they did not understand the matter; that reform was a *lady*; that she was in the family-way by the Ministers, and that I had furnished a halter for leading the loving couple to church! It was precisely thus, and their feelings towards me were much about the same as those which a premature papa entertains towards the parish officer, who performs the pious act of compelling him, on pain of imprisonment, to take the mother of his offspring for better for worse.

Thus, then, it was all the work of the people so far. Now for the rest. When the first Reform Bill was under discussion in the House of Lords, and when the opposition Lords expressed their determination to oppose the clause which enabled ten-pound renters to vote, the Lord Chancellor BROUGHAM expressed his readiness to re-consider that part of the bill. He did not say that he was ready to give that part of it up; but it is quite clear that he would have given it up rather than lose his place; and, observe, Lord GREY expressed no disapprobation of this conduct of his colleague. It is clear that the Ministers were ready to alter that clause at that time; but the Tories who were persuaded by a FOOL-LIAR whom they had in *their pay*, that there was a "*reaction*," and that the people would be quiet though the bill should be thrown out; the Tories thus encouraged by this FOOL-LIAR, urged the noble peers to throw out the bill altogether. They did throw it out; and thus the Ministers were relieved, for that time, from their disagreeable job. BRISTOL, NOTTINGHAM, DERBY, every town and village in which an opposition Lord showed his head, soon convinced both Tories and Whigs, that the FOOL-LIAR "*had bin adeluden ov um.*" The Ministers fell to work, to dreadful work upon those who had insulted WETHERELL and the Duke of NEWCASTLE. To punish these people seemed now to engage their minds and hearts. But still the nation called for *another bill!* and a

bill, too, as good as the last, at the least! This was very troublesome. Lord GREY was out of humour. We were threatened with a long prorogation of Parliament; but petitions, addresses, deputations, political unions, speeches, and penny-newspapers, so worried him, that, after a suitable time for screwing his face as if about to take physic, he got the Parliament together and brought in another bill, but, seemingly, without any great stomach to the passing of it; for, such was the system of procrastination now resorted to, that the bill which was brought into the House of Commons on the 12th of December, did not get out of it until the 27th of March; that is to say, 116 days; though all the matter of the bill had been fully discussed the year before; and though, in 1817, a bill to authorise CASTLEREAGH and SIDMOUTH, *to shut any man up in a dungeon at their pleasure*, had not remained in the same House *more than eight-and-forty hours!*

Out of the House, however, it did get at last; and though the time seemed so long to everybody else, it seemed as short to the Ministers as the hours do to a man that is going to be married against his will; or, which is about the same thing, is about to have his neck encircled by a rope, instead of the arms of a disgusting bride. Nevertheless, into the House of Lords the poor bill got, the people watching it all the while as a coney-cut watches the mouth of a rabbit-burrow. The *ten-pound clause* was still the burden of open complaint with the Tories; and, as was evident to every one, of secret hostility with the Whigs. At the close of the debate on the second reading, Lord GREY said, "that the ten-pound clause "was *no part of the principle of the bill*; "that it *might be altered* with perfect "consistency with that principle; that if "it could be shown that any qualification, not so small as ten pounds, "would be less open to fraud and abuse, "*he would not resist the correction of* "*such circumstances*; but that the decision on this point would depend on "the House and *not on him*." In the same speech he said, that, "let the decision of the House be what it might, "*he would keep the peace of the country.*" If these words had a meaning, their meaning was, that he was ready to give up the ten-pound clause, and that *he would keep* the people quiet, though the bill should be rejected altogether. In the meanwhile precautions had been taken by the Ministers to keep the BIRMINGHAM UNION quiet; and it was *thought* that the BIRMINGHAM UNION would be imitated by all the rest of the nation; but, according to the old rustic saying, "THOUGHT was in bed once, and *thought he was up*;" and the consequence was, less cleanly perhaps, but not less ludicrous than it was now. For, there stood the BIRMINGHAM UNION, gaping like a clown at a puppet-show, while all the rest of the nation, from GLASGOW to LONDON, was sending up addresses, petitions, and remonstrances, breathing nothing but suspicion, excited by the speech of GREY, calling aloud for the whole bill, and especially the ten-pound clause. There was an extraordinarily long Easter adjournment, for the manifest purpose of giving time for the BIRMINGHAM soporific to work; but the soporific having failed, the long adjournment only gave time for an accumulation of anger, which had been excited by the suspicions created by GREY's speech; and, when the Parliament met on the 7th of May, he was compelled to begin by expressing his determination *to stand or fall by the ten-pound clause!* This produced Lyndhurst's motion. The rest is known, and will remain recorded in the hearts of our children.

II. *On the Arts which will be made use of to cheat us out of all the good that a Reform ought to produce us.*

We have seen with how much reluctance the bill was brought in and carried along by the Ministers. By watching and fighting, like vigilant and gallant dogs, we shall have it; and now the last resource of corruption is to cause it to be of no use to us; to get together what will be called a reformed Parliament, which may be just as bad as any that have gone before; and which, at any

rate, will not make any material alteration of the system under which we have been suffering so long, and that will call it "*revolutionary*" to propose to touch pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, dead-weight, tithes, crown lands, or what is called national debt. If we were to submit to this; if we were stupid and base enough to permit a thing like this to go on, we should become the mockery and scorn of the world. The manner in which it will be attempted to effect this object, to practise this last shift of corruption, will be thus: every press will be put in motion that can be put in motion for the purpose, *to cry up the Ministry*. An endeavour will be made to make us believe that we owe every thing to the Ministry. When the bill has been passed, the ruffians who live upon the taxes, and those who want to live upon the taxes, will be calling meetings everywhere to send up *addresses of thanks* to Lord GREY and the Ministry; and after this it will be very ungrateful in us to complain of this *excellent* Ministry on any account; and as to asking them to take the pensions and other good things away from their relations and friends, that will be *too bad!* So that we shall have the Reform Bill and be cheated out of the fruit of it, just as the poor fellows in FRANCE have been cheated out of the fruit of their valour and their blood. Be upon your guard, therefore, against all propositions of this sort; if any one propose an address of thanks to the Ministers, move an amendment to address the political union nearest to your neighbourhood. Indeed, justice would point out *an address of thanks to me*, for I have done more in making a reform than any other thousand men in England: it was I who detected the designs of Ministers, and who urged the people on to compel them to do that which they have done. But I want no addresses; I want no flummery; I want to see the people act with resolution and with sense, and to be, as the natural consequence of such conduct, free and happy as their fathers were.

Already is this system of delusion beginning to be put in practice; and (for I will never expressly or tacitly aid in deception) my opinion decidedly is, that the Whig faction mean to make use of the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL UNION as their tool in *getting up addresses of thanks to the Ministers*, and in wheedling the people to be content with nothing but the mere name of reform. I know that I shall give offence, by thus frankly stating my opinion; but the effects of that offence are nothing, when compared with the probable consequences of neglecting my duty. To those who live in this scene of political intrigue, and who are attentive observers of occurrences, those of the last fortnight must have been sufficient in producing in their minds a conviction of the correctness of this my opinion. The scenes at GUILDHALL and the Mansion-house; the dinings, and the presenting of the freedom to Mr. ATTWOOD; the speechings of our CHARLEY, and of my cat's-meat LORD MAYOR: these, to us who live in the hell of corruption, would be more than enough; but to those of my readers who are so happy as to live at a distance from it, it may be necessary to be a little more particular, beginning with noticing an address, put forth on the 15th of May, by the Council of the BIRMINGHAM Political Union.

I have just been observing that the grand scheme is to prevail upon the people *to praise the Whig Ministry*; to make them believe, that the very breath in their nostrils depends upon the permanent possession of power by that Ministry, and the permanent predominance of the Whig faction. If we once adopt this notion, Lord GREY will be our LOUIS-PHILIPPE, and we shall be cheated as completely as the French have been. The BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL is, as I said before, intended to be the instrument in the execution of this scheme; and it appears to me to have begun its operations in this way, by calling upon the nation *to sign a declaration against* WELLINGTON, and in *favour of the Ministers*. This declaration was agreed to by the COUNCIL on the 14th of May; and on the 15th it was resolved to send

it off to all the great towns and districts in the kingdom, in order that signatures to it might be obtained. It was sent inclosed in a circular letter addressed to individuals; and that circular, together with the inclosure, was sent to me. My answer to the circular contains my objection to affix to it my signature; and this answer I have sent to the *secretary*, in the following words:

To Mr. Benjamin Hadley, Honorary Secretary to the Birmingham Political Union.

Godalming, 24th May, 1832.

Sir,

I have received from you a circular letter, enclosing a "Solemn Declaration" of the Council of the Birmingham Political Union, which documents I will here copy, and then subjoin to them that answer which I think it is my duty to give to your application.

Birmingham, May 15, 1832.—I am instructed by the Council of the Birmingham Political Union to request that you will do them the honour *to allow your name* to be affixed to the Solemn Declaration (of which the enclosed is a copy), which we have just adopted and signed, respecting the public conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and his unfitness to be placed at the head of the executive government of a free people.—I have the honour to be, your most obedient Servant,

Benjamin Hadley, Hon. Sec.
to the Birmingham Political Union.

SOLEMN DECLARATION.

Birmingham, May 14, 1832.

WE, the undersigned, think it necessary, in this awful crisis of our country's fate, to make known to our fellow-countrymen the alarm and horror with which we are impressed by the report of the Duke of Wellington's having been placed at the head of his Majesty's councils. We entertain this alarm and horror on the following grounds:—*First*. The Duke of Wellington's general avowal of arbitrary principles.—*Second*. His speech against ALL REFORM, made only about a year and a half ago.—*Third*. His protest against the Reform Bill, as entered on the journals of the House of Lords on the 17th of April last.—*Fourth*. His reported expressions in the late Parliament, amounting to those of regret, that the Irish people "WOULD NOT" break the law.—*Fifth*. His being a pensioner of Foreign Despots; and as such, exposed to their influence, and unfit to govern a free people.—*Sixth*. His conduct to Marshal Ney, who was murdered by the Bourbon Government, in violation of the convention of Paris, notwithstanding his appeal to the Duke of Wellington, who had signed that convention.—*Seventh*. His general support of arbitrary power on the continent of Europe, and the certainty that his policy, if he be true to his principles, will necessarily involve the nation in unjust and ruinous wars against the liberties of Europe.—*Eighth*. His utter incompetency to govern England by any other means than by the sword, which has never yet been, and never will be, submitted to by the British people.

For these and various *other reasons*, we hereby solemnly declare our fixed determination to use all the means which the constitution and the law have placed at our disposal, to induce his Majesty to reject from his councils *that faction*, at the head of which is the Duke of Wellington, who have, by their arbitrary principles, excited the distrust and abhorrence of the whole population of the United Kingdom; and we declare our firm conviction that the public excitement and agitation can never be allayed until the great Bill of Reform shall be carried into law *by that administration*, by whose wisdom and virtue it was first introduced. These are our fixed and unalterable sentiments, and we hereby appeal to all our fellow-countrymen, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland; and we confidently call on them to unite with us and sign this our solemn declaration, in support of *the liberty* and *happiness of* our country.

At all times disposed, not only to do ample justice to the motives of the Council, but also to express my gratitude to its members for the good which they have done, it would have given me great pleasure to put my name to a document which they have thought worthy of being promulgated by them; and as I have insurmountable objections to the signing of this declaration, it becomes me to state them to you with that frankness, without which intercommunication of this kind, while it must produce uneasiness in the parties themselves, never can lead to any beneficial result.

I do not like vague and general charges, even when preferred against the devil himself; and, therefore, I object altogether to the *first* and *seventh* of the grounds alleged in this declaration. The *fourth*, *fifth*, and *eighth*, relate to points of *fact*, of the truth of which I possess no proof, and am, by you, furnished with no proof. On account of the *second* and *third* grounds, I most cordially detest the Duke; on account of the *sixth*, I have expressed

my detestation of him from the date of the killing of NEY to the present hour. Either of these grounds would be much more than sufficient to make me use my utmost efforts to prevent this man from possessing power in the country of my birth; though, at the same time, I think that we should do him much too great an honour by any proceeding so general and so solemn as that which is here proposed by the *Council*.

But, Sir, I am sorry to say that my strongest objection still remains to be stated; namely, that, by signing the declaration, I should solemnly declare it to be my opinion, that the *present administration*, not only have *wisdom* and *virtue*, but that the continuation of their sway is necessary to the *liberty* and *happiness* of our country; an opinion which I do not entertain, and which I should blush to express.

In the *eighth* ground alleged against the *Duke*, it is asserted, that he is incompetent to govern England by any other means than by *the sword*; but, in making this allegation, I am surprised that the COUNCIL did not recollect, that one of the first acts of the present Ministers was to augment the standing army left them by the Duke; and that they have, more recently, literally put *swords* into the hands of that police which he left without swords. I would fain bury in oblivion HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE and BERKSHIRE, BRISTOL and NOTTINGHAM; but if I could forget poor COOK of MICHELDEVER, the two MASONS of BULLINGTON, the seventy-three husbandless wives, and the hundreds of fatherless children and broken-hearted parents, in that county which I know so well, and which is dear to me from so many causes; if I could forget all these; if I could blot all these from my recollection, I cannot forget that this same *wise* and *virtuous* Ministry, whom you call on me to support, against "a faction at the head of which is the Duke;" I cannot forget that this same Ministry, the existence of whose sway you identify with the *liberty* and *happiness* of England, still make this very Duke lord-lieutenant of that county; aye, and that they made him *a judge*, to sit on the bench in that special commission, by whom Cook was condemned to the gallows, and whose awful, though legal, judgments filled that unhappy county with mourning; made it re-echo with the screamings of mothers, wives, and children.

Such, sir, are my reasons for refusing to sign this declaration. While I impute no blame to those by whose direction it has been sent to me, they will, I trust, find no ground of blame in this refusal on the part of,

Sir,
Your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Every one must see that the real object of this solemn declaration was to get the people to pledge themselves to *support the Whig Ministry against the Duke*. With exactly the same view the BIRMINGHAM deputation has been cajoled and caressed and *feasted and freedomed* by the Corporation of LONDON. The name of London is great. The recollection of the famous men who have, at different times, belonged to its corporation, is always alive in our minds The title of *Lord Mayor* and that of *Common Council*, are what they always were: those, therefore, who live at a distance from the scene can hardly believe it possible that the *things* represented by the same *words* are not still the same sort of *things*. It is necessary, therefore, now that we are going to speak of the part that this corporation has acted in this grand scheme of delusion, to say a little what the things really now are. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, have the fingering of the City funds, partly consisting of the revenues of estates, and partly of the enormous taxes of various kinds which the boroughmonger Parliaments have enabled them to lay upon us. With these funds they have proceeded in much about the same way that the boroughmonger Parliaments have proceeded with the funds of the nation. They have contracted a debt greater than ever can be paid; they have their

pension, sinecure, retired-allowance, and dead-weight lists: they vote money to each other to defray the expenses of their *summer excursions*. A few years ago they spent *six hundred pounds* on a water party up the THAMES to OXFORD; and, in that same year, they gave *one hundred pounds* to all the widows of freemen in the city; they have lately established a Bourbon-like police. As an instance of their fiscal oppressions, they made me pay nearly thirty pounds in order to be permitted to keep a shop in the City; and, it being their duty to furnish bread to the prisoners in Newgate, they were so much in arrear to the baker that he refused to send any more bread without the money, when, at that very time, they expended nearly *thirty thousand pounds* of our money, in a feast given to this very WELLINGTON and the Holy Allies; aye, to this very WELLINGTON against whom this Birmingham Council now calls upon the nation to sign a *solemn declaration!* Their fiscal exactions, for which *they obtain Acts of Parliament*, are absolutely without end. What I pay to the Government is a trifle compared with what they compel me to pay. I now have demanded of me enormous rates for an old church (which has been pulled down); and rates equally enormous for *a new church*, which is not yet built; so that I have two church-rates to pay and no church to go to. And this is the body of persons, to receive the "*freedom*" from whom Mr. ATTWOOD says, he thinks it is an *honour*. I, then, had, like MALVOLIO in the play, "honour *thrusted* upon me;" for these fellows made me pay them thirty pounds in order to be permitted to keep a shop; and this money it is notorious that they divide amongst them. With regard to their *political principles*, their attachment to the rights of the people, what need have we of anything more than their monstrous conduct with regard to Mr. SCALES and the people of PORTSOKEN WARD? By the laws and usages of the City, the ALDERMAN of a ward is to be elected by the people of the ward, that is to say, by the freemen of the ward. Mr. SCALES was so elected by a vast majority; but the ALDERMEN would not admit him, but took a man who had got only a few votes, and the crew of Common Council approved of what the ALDERMEN had done; and there are the people of PORTSOKEN WARD represented by a man whom they have not chosen, while this brazen corporation has the audacity to rail against rotten boroughs, and to present the freedom of the City to Mr. ATTWOOD, upon the ground of his being a "*distinguished reformer*;" and there is Mr. ATTWOOD with folly or meanness sufficient to induce him to receive the "*honour*" at their hands! As if it had been resolved that nothing should be wanting to make the thing complete, "CHARLEY" was chosen to make the motion for conferring the *honour*, and the motion was seconded by FIGGINS, the *printers'-tinker*. The report tells us, that Mr. ATTWOOD said, upon this occasion, that, "Though he could meet "danger unmoved, he never had his "nerves so much shaken as they had been "at receiving the freedom of the City!" Faith; it might well shake his nerves, when he saw CHARLEY and Figgins stand before him; and especially when he considered that he was about to receive something that they had touched; the very thought of it makes my nerves shake; and I will bet Mr. ATTWOOD just what he likes, that he does not find, between TEMPLE-BAR and BISHOPSGATE, one single shopkeeper who would not run like a scalded cat and hide himself under his counter, if he were in danger of being exposed to endure what Mr. ATTWOOD deemed such an honour.

The thing for us to observe is, however, that this is a crew of hangers-on of the Ministry. They depend upon the breath of every Ministry; for, if they were to displease the Ministry, there would soon be an end of their power of taxing us, and of their *making of loans*. If WELLINGTON had remained in for a fortnight they would have been on his *side*. Of everything that is disgusting we had a specimen upon this occasion. *Two of the deputies from* MANCHESTER appear to have crept into the society of CHARLEY and the Lord Mayor, under

the skirts of the grand deputation from BIRMINGHAM. One of those deputies (Mr. JOHN FIELDEN) returned home immediately as soon as the duties of his mission had been performed. Whether Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH were present at this "feast of reason," I do not know; but our prime Lord Mayor, in toasting the reformers of MANCHESTER, put Mr. RICHARD POTTER at their head, recollecting, perhaps, that "*Dick was eloquenter.*" This was of a piece with all the rest; for this Mr. POTTER is no more at the head of the reformers at MANCHESTER, than CHARLEY is at the head of the reformers in London. All was false from the beginning to the end; all a ministerial trick played off by their several sets of tools. A trick, however, which would have been wholly unworthy of all this notice from me, were it not calculated as well as intended to deceive the people at large, and to make them submit in silence, while they were cheated out of the fruits of reform. I am not bound to endeavour to undeceive anybody but my own readers. To undeceive them was my duty; and from a sense of that duty I have bestowed these remarks upon the conduct of persons, the far greater part of whom I should otherwise have deemed wholly unworthy of attention.

III. *On the Measures which we want to have adopted.*

We want so many things, that a particular description of each would fill a volume; but the substance may be described in four words: CHEAP GOVERNMENT and CHEAP RELIGION. These are what we want: and these we will have, in spite of the Whigs and the city-jobbers. In order to have these, the taxes and the tithes must be taken off: all the latter and a very large part of the former. In short, all the *internal* taxes and the Corn Bill may be abolished; because when the internal taxes were taken off, we could raise corn cheaper than any country in the world. I have not time now to enter into the matter fully; but I am at all times ready to prove, that we stand in need of none of these taxes. I am at all times ready to prove, that the Kingly government would be safer without these taxes than with them. We have not called for reform for the purpose of gratifying a theoretical whim; but for the purpose of obtaining solid good; for the purpose of relieving ourselves from the ruin and misery in which we are steeped; and, unless it produce these consequences, it will make our condition worse than it was before; because, to all the present evils, will be added the great evil of disappointed hope. We hope, therefore, now to consider of the means, which we ourselves ought to make use of, in order to secure this great end.

IV. *On the Sort of Men who ought to be chosen, and on the Pledges which they ought to give before they be chosen.*

It is very much to be feared, that the habit of looking up to men of rank and wealth will still prevail in the selecting of members of Parliament, and, if it prevail to any very great extent, the reform will produce no good effect, and the miseries of the people will finally produce a general convulsion and total revolution. When an elector observes, that it is necessary to have some man of station or wealth, something like the following dialogue would take place between him and me.

COBBETT. Why do you want a man of rank or of wealth?

ELECTOR. Because he is more likely to be a clever man and to understand such matters, on account of the superior education which he has had.

COBBETT. Is the country in a state of ruin, misery, and crime; is it not loaded with an irredeemable debt?

ELECTOR. Yes, certainly.

COBBETT. Have we not been governed entirely by men of rank and of wealth?

ELECTOR. Yes, we certainly have.

COBBETT. What reason have you to suppose then, that the same sort of men are the only men capable of putting things to rights; and do you believe that any thousand men, caught by the legs by straining a string across the

read, could have managed their matters worse than to have made the existence of themselves and the government depend upon the imaginary value of little bits of thin paper?

ELECTOR. Why, that is very true, to be sure; but if a man have not a *great stake* in the country, how are you to depend upon his doing right?

COBBETT. As to *stake*, in answer to such an observation, old TIERNEY once remarked, that stakes of this sort generally belonged to the *public hedge*. But, do you think that the Americans have got a good government; do you think that their laws are wise and good; do you think that their affairs are managed by able men?

ELECTOR. Yes; I wish to God ours may be as well managed; for see how great and powerful that country has become; and see how happy the people are, under the sway of the Congress.

COBBETT. Very well, then, that settles the point; for there is no *pecuniary qualification* whatever for a member of Congress: very poor men are very frequently chosen, and very rich men never. There have been seven PRESIDENTS: two of them have *died insolvent*, and were insolvent at the time they were PRESIDENTS.

A *foolish* man may be in favour of men of rank and wealth before he hears this dialogue; but it is only a *roguish* one who can persevere in such a choice after he has heard it. The man to choose is, in the first place, a man that has no very great regard for riches. Industry, sobriety, moderation in his expenses, no fondness for luxurious living; these are qualities that electors ought to look after; and in addition to these, a good store of knowledge, some talent, and great resolution.

With regard to the political principles of the man to be chosen, pledges are the best guarantee of good conduct; and the pledges which I would put, to any man who asked me for my vote, are these:

1. Will you make a motion, or support a motion, for the repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, and the soap-tax?

2. Will you do the like with regard to the Corn Bill?

3. Will you do the like for an abolition of tithes?

4. Will you do the like with regard to the assessed taxes?

5. Will you do the like with regard to the stamp taxes of every description?

There are many other things which a member of Parliament ought to do. Here, however, might be enough *to begin with*; and if a candidate refused to answer all these questions in the affirmative, and to put his name to them, I should deem that man a traitor to his country who would give him a vote.

COBBETT-CORN.

THIS has been a fine season for planting the corn, which is now generally up. I was unable to find a little farm to suit me, so as to be able to plant the corn this year, in order to raise a hundred quarters according to my wish; but I found a friend more than a hundred miles distant from London, who had a field of nine acres, which he was willing to plant. I intended to go myself to superintend the planting of this field; and I appointed to be on the spot on the 6th of May, the ground having been previously prepared. But, on the 25th of April, seeing the political storm that was gathering, I determined on remaining in London, and on sending a man down to do the business in my stead. On the very day of LANDHURST'S *motion* the corn was begun to be planted, and the planting was finished at the end of four days. I have not heard of the corn being *up*; but I *know* that it is up; because I planted a small piece of corn on the same days, the middle day of which was the 9th of May; and mine is up and looking beautifully well.

The readers of the *Register* will recollect that, on the 24th of September last, I published a challenge to the Yankees in the following words:—"To "all the Yankees on the Face of the "Earth.—I, William Cobbett, of Kensington, old England, hereby offer to"

" bet any Yankee 100*l.*, the conditions " of which bet are as follows. First, " that the said Yankee shall plant an " acre of corn next spring in one piece, " and that I will plant an acre of corn " in England; that the said Yankee shall " have his acre standing and growing " in some place within ten miles distance " of the Court House of New York; " that when he shall declare it to be " ripe, Dr. Mitchill of New York, his " countryman, or in case of inability in " him, Mr. John Tredwell of Long Is- " land, shall go and ascertain from the " measuring of a square rod, impartially " taken, how much corn he has stand- " ing upon his acre, and that the said " Yankee shall appoint one of his coun- " trymen residing in England to come " in like manner, and take an account " of the amount of my crop; that the " parties shall communicate to us seve- " rally the amount of the crop in Ame- " rica, and the amount of the crop in " England; that if the American judge's " account of the Yankee's crop exceeds " that of mine, Dr. Mitchill or the other " judge shall draw upon me for the 100*l.* " through Mr. John Harris of New " York, who will pay the bill; that if " the contrary be the result, the said Dr. " Mitchill, or Mr. John Tredwell, shall " see the 100*l.* paid to the said Mr. John " Harris on my account."

" That there may be no dispute about " big corn or little, and the difference " or amount of crop, or the difference " there is in great corn or small corn in " filling the bushel, the question shall " be decided by weight of shelled corn, " that is to say, a rod of ground shall " have the ears taken off, husked and " shelled upon the spot, and then " weighed, and the question be decided " by the weight.

" Now I am perfectly serious in this " challenge, and I do it to convince the " people of the United States that we " can grow as good corn as they, and " even greater crops. They have always " said to me that *corn* was the only " thing wanted to make *England* the " finest country in the world; and this " is to convince them that we have got " it. I desire Mr. George Woodward " of New York to put this into the " American newspapers. Another con- " dition is, that any one accepting the " challenge must communicate that " fact, and declare the spot where the " acre of land is, to Mr. Woodward, " before the first day of May next; and " Mr. Woodward must be satisfied that " the party, if losing, will pay the 100*l.* " at once.

" The umpire appointed to judge of " my crop, must be one that Dr. Mit- " chill, Mr. Tredwell, or Mr. Woodward, " will be answerable for in point of in- " tegrity."

Bold fellow as JONATHAN is, he has never accepted my challenge. But I find that my corn has been planted in AMERICA. So that my eldest son, who is really the author of all this corn affair, appears destined to improve the agri- culture of both his countries, being a citizen of one by birth, and a natural- born subject of the other by parentage. I take the following from the "NEW YORK FARMER AND HORTICULTURAL REPOSITORY" of the 17th of November last. The editor, having inserted the above challenge in his paper, then makes the following remarks:—

" We give the above a place in our " columns, not to encourage betting, " but as an article of intelligence. Mr. " C. could scarcely have chosen, in this " State, a circle of ten miles radius in " which there is less corn grown than " around this city. A gentleman in- " forms us that Mr. Woodward planted " some of Mr. Cobbett's corn in his " garden in Jay-street, in Brooklyn, " Long Island, and found it to *ripen* " *much sooner than our common Indian* " *corn.* Mr. Woodward is very positive " that a crop of corn could be fully " ripened, *planted after the harvesting* " *of oats.*"

I am sure that Mr. WOODWARD is right: aye, and after a crop of rye too; and after a crop of Timothy-grass. Here, then, is a benefit conferred upon these Yankees! I taught them the value of Swedish turnips, mangel-wur- zel, and cabbages, as cattle-food; I took them out a breed of beautiful Sussex hogs; and my son has now given

them this corn; so that they are amply paid for having afforded me shelter from Sidmouth and Castlereagh's dungeons. I and my son owe them nothing; and, when our country shall have got a good and cheap government, we can, with clear consciences, recommend the paring of their nails, and the making of them bow to that power which, freed from infernal boroughmongering, will again claim and enforce her *dominion of the seas*. No American that ever conversed with me upon this subject will deny, that I always said, that I should never die in peace without making them again bow to England; and that bow to her again they *should*, whenever we shook off the power of the hellish boroughmongers. They know this too; and hence those American pamphlets against our reform which the base vagabonds of the *Quarterly Review* have so liberally quoted, and which wise Boscawen quoted in the House of Lords! Pretty stuff, then, is the talk about the liberties of *mankind! English kind* is quite enough for me, including *Scotch* and *Irish* in the word *English*. I like the *Americans* exceedingly: between my friends here and my friends there, it would be very painful for me to state a preference. But, England is my country: I must share in all her glory and in all her disgrace; and when it is a question of her honour and well-being, I must cast aside all private recollections and feelings. From this sentiment it was that I always resolutely declined becoming a citizen of the *United States*; and that I also as resolutely declined being introduced to any person belonging to the government of *America*. While love of my own country made me rejoice at their triumphs over the boroughmongers, I always said, that if we were delivered from them, I never would rest until I saw the *Americans* acknowledge, explicitly our right to dominion on the seas. I wish them all the happiness that men can enjoy in this world; but a nation may be very happy without being permitted to swagger about and be saucy to England.

With regard to Coan, *c'en est fait*, as the French say. Never will *Jonathan* bring a bushel of his corn to England after three years from next November. The nine acres that I have spoken of above will settle this matter.

N.B. The Yankees do not seem to be alarmed lest their "*pigs should die ov the murran, or their peepul ov yaller janders.*" They seem to laugh at this fool-liar stuff, as the people of Long-parish did.

LECTURES.

At the request of the *Union of the Working Classes*, I gave a *Lecture* at their place of meeting, in *Theobald's-road*, Red-Lion-square, on Tuesday evening, the 29th instant; and I propose to do the same on *Tuesday next*, the *5th of June*. On Monday, the 4th of June, I am to be at Deptford, or Greenwich, for the same purpose; and I propose to be at *Chichester* in about ten days, in my way to the Isle of Wight, at *last!* We must all put our shoulders heartily to the wheel now, for fear (to use the words of the LIAR) the factions should be "*a deluden ov the peepul.*"

PAPER-MONEY.

I take the following from the *Courier* newspaper of the 29th of May. I have not room, nor have I the disposition, to comment upon it at present. My readers will see that the object of it is to produce *another issue of one-pound-notes*. I offer no opinion as to whether the wise men will do this or not. If they openly express their design to do it, I shall then tell my readers what the consequences will be; and, in the meanwhile, I advise my readers TO GET ALL THE GOLD THAT THEY CAN, and to keep it in gold till they see the issue. In estimating the degree of importance to be attached to the article which here follows, let my readers observe, that this *Courier* newspaper is as much a tool in the hands of the Ministers as a dirty mop with which a maid cleans down the doorway is a tool in her hands. If they had a mind that it

should execrate paper-money, instead of applauding it, it would execrate paper-money. Therefore, let my readers observe, that their *wishes*, whatever may be their power, are for an issue of one-pound notes. This my readers should bear in mind. If they actually *make a move*, we shall have sport enough; and thus I leave this matter for the present.

We are inclined to consider this matter as by far the most momentous that has engaged the attention of the legislature for many years, not excepting even the measure of reform, which has so long and exclusively engrossed the attention of all parties, in and out of Parliament.

On the monetary system of the country depends the practical enjoyment of its wealth. It is in vain that a community may possess the means of producing wealth, if it have not also the means of distributing it. That there is something wrong in the system of our circulating medium is proved by the undeniable fact, that, notwithstanding the means which this country possesses of creating in abundance all the necessaries and comforts which are desired in civilized life, the whole mass of the population has been of late years, and is now, in a state of destitution and wretchedness unexampled in any age or any country.

The grand panacea for the overwhelming distress which has pervaded all classes of the community, was, in the language of the pseudo political economists, a return to a "wholesome" state of the currency. The idea of a nation possessing more wealth than could be represented by the existing quantity of gold and silver, was frightful to the imaginations of the empirical philosophers of the day. With them there was but one specific for all the maladies of the state—a return from an artificial paper to a natural metallic circulation. A history of bullion, from the time of the deluge, was curiously compiled, and it was triumphantly demanded if Noah ever endorsed a bill or issued a one-pound note. In vain it was replied that times were changed since the days of Noah, and that England was not in a natural but an artificial state of society. The virtuous age of Sparta was appealed to by the bullionists, to show the moral benefits accompanying the payment of a bushel of lentils by a cart-load of half-pence. Who would dare to compare a peice of old rag to the substantial splendour of a guinea?

With all this the public was delighted. The philosopher having thrown gold dust in the eyes of the people, a circulation of gold and silver was hailed as a sure renovation of the late prosperity which the country had improperly obtained by paper. When so much gold and silver should be flying about, it was confidently anticipated that some of it must inevitably fall to the share of the humblest member of the community.

But somehow, although gold and silver are abundant, the profits of all commercial transactions are lessened. Foreign and internal commerce have declined instead of increasing. Agriculture is in a state of depression: the landlord cannot get his rents; the farmer cannot sell his corn; the labourer and mechanic cannot buy it. The East India interest complains: the West India proprietor is ruined. All is confusion. It is true that the Bank has refused to take back gold for its paper; but still this gold fails to find its way into the pockets where it is most wanted. In the midst of this paradise of the bullionists, the realization of their theory is practical misery to all classes. Metallic money is more plentiful, but employment is scarcer than ever.

Something, therefore, must be wrong. There is no want of real wealth; for the general complaint is, that too much is now produced. There is no want of consumers; for hundreds of thousands of suffering human beings are calling aloud for *food* and *clothing*. It would seem, then, that the evil lies in the difficulty of the distribution and circulation of the over-abundant wealth which paradoxically distresses the country.

The series of measures, of which Mr. Peel's Bill, in 1819, was the principal, has had a fair trial; the golden prosperity which it promised has proved to be fallacious. The determination to restrict the energies of the nation, and to limit its natural and mechanical productions to the amount which can be represented by gold and silver, has produced the consequences under which the whole community now convulsively labours—universal stagnation, universal suffering, and universal discontent.

Had the abstract principle of a "wholesome" state of the currency been borne in mind during the inconsiderate expenditure of the PITT-school administration; and had the amount of the national debt been restricted to the sum which could have been represented by gold and silver, the country would not now be suffering under the pressure of that overwhelming evil.

But we trust, that the information which will be obtained by the practical men on the committee, will tend to dissipate entirely the ignorance and prejudice which are beginning to disappear from the minds of the public on a subject of vital importance to the welfare of the empire.

Mr. WELLS, the barrister, has published a very excellent and useful pamphlet on the BANK CHARTER, which pamphlet is sold by Mr. WILSON, of the Royal Exchange. He has added to the second edition a list of the members of the secret committee now sitting upon the subject. This committee, of whom PEEL's BILL PEEL is one, may sit a long

rabbit without hatching. Some think that they will hatch *small bank notes*. If they do, the chicken will surely have the gapes; and when once they get that disorder, they very soon depart this life. Mr. WELLS's pamphlet contains a great deal of very useful information: it contains a legal history of the Bank and of the debt, and must be very useful during the approaching discussions upon the subjects.

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

I SHALL now publish this book on the 1st of July. Besides the names, in alphabetical order, of all the counties, cities, towns, and villages in ENGLAND and WALES, together with a neat little map of every county, it will contain an account of all the new divisions of the counties, of the polling places, of the boroughs as they will stand for the future, and such a mass of information as to other matters, as, I venture to assert, no book of the kind was ever before found to contain.

FOOL-LIAR.

THE FOOL-LIAR of a *reporther* seems to be resolved never to quit that poor dismal creature HUNT. He is at him again in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 31st of May, in the following words:—"HUNT moved for copies of the "letters addressed to Lord Althorp and "the Attorney-general, by Joseph Hume, "Esq. and Mr. Ironmonger, relating to "the prosecution of Mr. Cobbett." Those who have been in the West Indies know, that there is a good deal of difference between a *negro* and a "*new negro*," which latter means a *negro* just caught and brought from the coast of GUINEA; and, in this state, he has not any more sense than a four-legged brute. If you strike him with a stick he flys at the stick, and not at you: if he cut himself with a knife, he writhes and growls, but does not seem to know what it is that has given him the gash. You cannot trust him alone in a place where there is fire, for he does not know any thing of the consequence of the application of fire to any combustible matter. In short he is taught causes and effects just as the learned pig is taught to tell you what o'clock it is by tapping with his hoof. This *fool-liar* is a subject of great philosophizing with me: he seems to be upon an exact level with a "*new negro*." What can he, by this publication of his, be diving at? What can the *fool-liar reporther* mean to *get at* by the means of letters written to ALTHORP and DENMAN about my prosecution? But IREMONGER! Oh, oh! IREMONGER wrote to DENMAN, did he! And DENMAN *answered* him, I suppose! If the *fool-liar reporther* will but get me copies of *these letters*, I will give him a mess of COBBETT-CORN MUSH, that shall neither give him the "*murran nor the yaller janders*;" but that shall give him a better stuffing than ever he has *paid for* during the last dozen years of his life, and a more honest meal than he will ever have again till he gets into that poor-house, in which, I dare say, he is destined to end his days.

BERKSHIRE ELECTION.

I HOPE that there can be no doubt of the return of Mr. HALLETT for this county; though, I must confess, I do not much like to see the turnip and cabbage Baronet so busy. He never did yet meddle with any thing that he did not mar. However, he has numerous tenants in the county, and he cannot easily do much mischief. If the freeholders of the county do not prefer Mr. HALLETT to that fellow PALMER; and if they have not the spirit to assert that preference, all that I can say is, they deserve all the grindings of the tax-eaters, and every evil that the labouring men can inflict upon them.

POLITICAL PROPHECY.

ON the 23rd of February, 1828, I addressed to the Duke of WELLINGTON the following words:—"Adopt any

"measure that shall extensively affect "the community; let that effect be "deeply mischievous, and at once all "the admiration of your generalship is "swept away for ever; *away goes your* "*name from the corners of the streets,* "and *down comes your picture from the* "*sign-posts*"

Now, then, take the following two articles from the *Brighton Guardian* of the 23rd of May, and the following one article from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 24th of May.

BRIGHTON.—So universal is the dislike in this town to a certain great captain, that immediately on its being announced he was likely to become *Prime* Minister (the very rumour of which, like the priming of cannon, caused the whole country to explode by means of large meetings and terrible *reports*), everything which was thought in the least tending to his honour was immediately done away with. The landlord of the Wellington Brewery *pulled down the sign and broke it in pieces.* This was not the only instance of public indignation; for, at an *ale-house known* by the sign of the "Duke of Wellington," where a fac-simile of this soldier might be seen with his cocked hat and feathers riding a prancing steed over the field of Waterloo, or driving "into the Mulpurba (where they were drowned) about FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE," (just as the spectator pleased to fancy), the sign has undergone a woful change. The sign is turned topsy-turvy, and exhibits a black daub over the face.

BATTLE.—The people of Battle never rose from their beds with greater pleasure than on Saturday morning; the ringing of bells at the unusual hour of six, and soon after the firing of cannon announcing to them that their hopes were realized; that the two previous days' anxious expectation was fulfilled, and that the conductor of their "Bill of Rights," was restored to that power which will enable him to carry it triumphantly. In the evening the band paraded the town, accompanied by the Duke of Wellington in effigy, led in a halter by Earl Grey, who conducted "his Grace" to *the Wellington,* and *hung him on his own sign-post,* his name having two days previous been *daubed out in order to save the sign.*

EDINBURGH.—The *feuars* of *Wellington-street* have thought proper *to change its name,* and on each corner, viz. at Toll-cross and Fountain-bridge, have put up, in legible letters, "*Earl Grey-street,*" by which name it shall be distinguished in future.—*Scotsman.*

If this be not *fortune-telling,* I do not know what is. The DUKEY would do well to come to me at once, at BOLT-COURT, and learn what will happen to him during the rest of his life. I could tell him now, but I will not tell it him here in print. I do not want to see the palm of his hand: I only want to have him alone with me, witnesses being unpleasant in such a case. I could tell Lord GREY's fortune, too; but I will not tell it just at this time. If he persevere with STURGES BOURNE's royal commission; if he persevere with regard to Irish tithes; if he persevere with regard to the poor men of HAMPSHIRE and WILTSHIRE: . . . . . but I will not proceed; I will hope for the best. I do not desire the fulfilment of my apprehensions with regard to him: I desire the contrary. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to see him continue in power, and to do for the country everything which ought to be done.

TITHE WAR!

THERE used to be only now and then a *tithe-battle* in Ireland, with a few killed and wounded on both sides; the parties engaged in the *battle* being the *Christian*-pastor and police on one side, and the Christian flock on the other side; but now, under this mild Whig Government, infantry, cavalry, and a *park of artillery* are brought into the field! However, the facts are the thing: they set all commentary at defiance; only observe that these things take place, after Lord ALTHORP had promised a bill for the extinguishment of tithes in Ireland, to accompany the bill for what GREY called "*vindicating the law,*" and which promise was not kept; the coercion-bill having passed the House of Commons without any mention of the extinguishment-bill. I shall have some remarks to make when I have inserted the account of this deadly warfare, which I do beseech my readers to attend to in every particular.

(*From the Cork Reporter of 24th May.*)

The determination to resist the payment of tithes, which seems almost universal throughout several large districts of this county, was exemplified on Wednesday in the most marked and unequivocal manner. It appears that the Rev. Mr. Freeman, rector of Ardnageehy, had

distrained fifteen cows from off the lands of a farmer named Cotter, for non-payment of tithe, due, it is said, on the first of this month; and that, resolved on carrying the distress into operation, application was made to the Government for military aid, in case such should be necessary to effectuate the sale. Wednesday was named for the auction, and Rathcormac settled on as the place at which it should take place. At about nine o'clock in the morning *a park of artillery* with *two squadrons of Lancers*, passed through this city from Ballincollig; they were joined by *more cavalry*, and *a large infantry force*, all which, *with over 200 police*, presented an array of military strength that gave the scene more the appearance of a country engaged in open and active warfare with its Government and institutions, than for the protection of the sale of a few old cows. We are told that the country people, for many miles round, were assembled, and that but one feeling pervaded the vast multitude; namely, an unalterable determination, as far as they could contribute to the attainment of the object, to "EXTINGUISH TITHES!" but to do so peaceably and constitutionally. When the arrangements were completed, the auctioneer assumed his functions, the cattle were exhibited and offered for sale, but there was no purchaser! Not a man came forward, notwithstanding that half the gentry of the district, and almost all the magistrates were present. "Not a man," it is stated to us, "*had the temerity* to purchase," and as a matter of course, the sale was adjourned. Up to this time the assembled thousands preserved perfect quiet; but when it was announced that no one could be got to offer even *twenty shillings* for fifteen cows, the whole mass of the people set up three tremendous cheers—the cattle were driven off—the military and police marched to their respective quarters, and the country people soon dispersed.

(*From the Cork Southern Reporter, 26th May.*)

Since the arrival in town on Thursday of the fifteen cows distrained for tithes alleged to be due to the Rev. Mr. Freeman, Rector of Ardnageehy—escorted, as they were, by a troop of Lancers, and followed by thousands of the populace, this city has continued in a state of very feverish excitation. Many of the inhabitants have been loud in their censure and condemnation of an individual who could think of transferring a scene of turbulence and popular dissatisfaction and discontent from the Green of Rathcormac to the city of Cork. If, as they say, the clergy of the establishment have failed to raise their tithes, and that not even a distress-sale can be effected throughout the country parts, they should reflect calmly before they would, by making populous cities their auction-marts, endanger the public peace, excite clamour, and plunge whole communities into terror and turmoil. That this has been the case in this city for the past two days is undeniable; and however this day may pass off, we warn others, who might be similarly circumstanced with the respectable incumbent of Ardnageehy, to beware how they would inflame a tithe-hating people.

STATE OF THE CITY.

The entire city has been a scene of the most alarming excitation since twelve. At that hour about 10,000 people, headed by a band of music, with flags and colours flying, entered the city. All the garrison, cavalry and infantry, under the command of Sir G. Bingham, were soon introduced, the shops of the principal streets closed, all business suspended, and tens of thousands of the populace perambulating the town. On the whole, such an exhibition of terror and dismay, of alarm and excitement, our city has seldom presented.

Reporter-Office, Half-past Two.

FAILURE OF THE SALE—RESTORATION OT THE CATTLE TO THEIR OWNERS—POPULAR ENTHUSIASM.

The transactions of the last two hours will not easily be effaced from our mind; and our present regret is, that time does not permit us to say anything but state a few leading facts. Amidst the yells of infuriated thousands, guarded by a squadron of Lancers, the fifteen unfortunate cows were driven from a field belonging to the High Constable, where they had been since Thursday night, to the Grand Parade; and there exhibited for sale. The entire of that leading street was one dense mass of human beings, who occasionally set up tremendous cheers. Surrounded by the troops, the process of auctioneering was commenced, the auctioneer, a stranger, it is said a resident of Middleton. They were set up at *3l.* for each—no bidder; *2l.*—no bidder; *1l.*—no bidder; in short, he descended to three shillings for each cow, but no purchaser appeared. This scene lasted for over an hour, when, there being no chance of making sale of the cattle, it was proposed to adjourn the auction; but, as we are informed, the General in command of the military expressed an unwillingness to have the troops subject to a repetition of the harassing duty thus imposed on them. After a short delay, it was, at the interference and remonstrance of several gentlemen, both of town and country—agreed upon that the cattle should be given up to the people, subject to certain private arrangements. At this hour, the cattle, followed by the people, frantic with joy, have just passed our office. We have never witnessed such a scene—thousands of the country people jumping with exulting feelings at the result—wielding their *shillelaghs*, and exhibiting all the other symptoms of exhuberant joy characteristic of the buoyancy of Irish feeling. When the result was known, clamorous and irrepressible cheering for the military burst forth. Their conduct, indeed, was praiseworthy beyond anything which language can describe. Three cheers were then given for General Sir George Bingham, and were followed by shouts the most deafening. Nothing could be more suitable to the

occasion than his mode of conducting the proceeding. The people, to be sure, were under the guidance and amenable to the direction of persons in whom they could confide; but even were it otherwise, his manner and courteous demeanour would secure order. As the military passed through Patrick-street, they were loudly complimented by the gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce. Would that the Irish Secretary could have witnessed this scene, it would guide him to more correct notions on the subject of tithes in Ireland. The great danger is passed, but heavings of the swell still continue to present themselves in the city, which is yet in a state of extreme agitation. Another tithe-sale is advertised for Wednesday. Shall our city again present the fearful spectacle—shall its trade be again suspended, and its inhabitants be "frighted from their propriety?"—The day will give the reply.

TITHES IN CARLOW.—We published on Tuesday an extract from *The Carlow Morning Post*, stating that a number of cattle, seized for tithes, had been lodged in the Carlow jail-yard, and that yesterday was the day fixed for offering them for sale. Accordingly preparations were made yesterday for that purpose: the country people at an early hour began to collect, arriving in parties from all quarters of the counties of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny, Queen's County, and Wexford, to the number of at least 40,000, who, through the influence of several of the Catholic clergy, preserved the most provoking good order. A large body of military were in attendance. At 12 o'clock one bullock was put up to auction, but not a single bidder could be found; and in the presence of 40,000 persons the cattle were returned to the owners.

"*Dublin Castle, 19th May*, 1832.

"Sir, I am directed by the Lord-lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant; and I beg to acquaint you that his Excellency's directions have been signified to Major Miller, *to concert measures with the military authorities*, so as to have a sufficient force to prevent the sale which is to take place at Rathcormac being interfered with, or the public peace broken.

"WILLIAM GOSSETT.

"*To the Rev. Richard Dante Freeman.*"

Wednesday, nine cows distrained by Mr. T. Rice, for tithe-composition due to him in the parish of Kilmolly, county Kerry, were offered for sale in the village of Abbey O'Dorney, where, however, the attendance of thirty men, all strangers, and the threats used by them, prevented a sale taking place.—*Limerick Chron.*

There, reader! Look at that; and now let me ask the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL, whether it be decent to call upon us to support a Ministry who employ battalions of infantry, squadrons of cavalry, and crpark of artillery, to enforce the rendering of tithes by a Catholic people to a Protestant clergy? No: it is not decent; and the COUNCIL will not call upon us to do it: got home luckily alive out of this all-corrupting Wen, got clear out of the sound of the voices of our CHARLEY and Figgins and their flashy Lord Mayor; got safe home again; once more their heads got steady, they will begin to reflect a little on the bubbling humbug in which they have been immersed: they will remember the sensible petition, which they themselves presented to Parliament in the early part of April, in which they remonstrated against the present Parliament passing any law whatsoever except the reform law; and in which they strongly deprecated this violent proceeding with regard to Irish tithes. In one word, the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL will cease to extol a Ministry who enforce measures like this; or the people *will cease to extol the* BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL; and that is the long and the short of the matter.

It is very curious to observe how the *Morning Chronicle* throws the blame here upon WELLINGTON, PEEL, and the Tories. The following remarks upon these transactions, are made by my dignitary, Dr. BLACK; and the devil take me if I do not un-doctor him, the very next time that I catch him at work like this!

After giving the above history, he proceeds thus: "Such is the *damnable* "consequence of the *obstinate resistance* "of the Duke of WELLINGTON and Sir "ROBERT PEEL *to Catholic Emancipation* and to *Parliamentary Reform*; "such the result of their infatuated and "blind support of 'Protestant Ascendancy.' We give these extracts for the "information and benefit of the English "people—a commentary on the labours "of their sagacious legislators, *the Tories*. Will they *ever again tolerate* "*Tory mis-rule*? Do we wonder at the "favourite project of a dissolution of the "*Union* when we witness such disunion "and unchristian persecution and strife "—such robbery of humble members of "one religion to enrich the clergy of "another? While famine, pestilence,

"and fiscal extortion lay waste this dis-
"trict—while *the Irish Government* re-
"fuses to aid a suffering population—
"yet it is quick and lively to lend its
"*civil* and military force to sell the blan-
"ket and the cow of the poor peasant
"to stuff the *greedy Parson* and *vora-*
"*cious ecclesiastic.*"

Now, Doctor, what a string of impudent lies are here! Why, WELLINGTON and PEEL gave Catholic emancipation, and to a greater extent than the Whigs ever proposed to give it. It is not the refusal of Catholic emancipation that has produced this state of things. It is not the opposition to reform that has produced such a state. It is not *Tory* legislation, but Whig legislation. What! while we have GREY's threat of "vindicating the law," still ringing in our ears; and while we have the Irish tithe coercion-bill, sent up by the Commons and lying on the table of the Lords; while this is the case; while every man knows this, you have the impudence to tell your readers that it is the *Tories*, and not the Whigs that have produced this "*damnable*" state of things. But to reason in such a case is nonsense: I will strip you of your dignity, and make you an example to evil-doers, if ever I catch you at this work again: so there is an end of that.

Another famous battle! Oh! how the *Jews* and the *Devil* must laugh at all this work between "Christian pastors and their flocks!" I have no room for comment. It *cannot last*: the whole THING must go to pieces.

(*From the Carlow Morning Post.*)

VICTORY! VICTORY!! VICTORY!!!—TITHES ABOLISHED—MR. GERMAINE'S BULLOCKS RELEASED FROM JAIL—THE PARSONS BEATEN—PARSON WHITTY OF 98 OVERCOME.

'CARLOW, MAY 28, 1832.—Only think of what Parson Whitty has done. The moment he discovered that Wellington took office, that instant the meek Divine issued his mild and apostolic orders to have property to the amount of 112*l.* distrained for 34*l.*; and to render it more harassing and expensive, the good pastor brings an action through the Civil Courts. What more? Why, the very man (Mr. Germaine) who is thus ill treated is again further insulted, being denied the common and useful knowledge of the day of the sale of his property. What more? The people are brought into town for seven days, day after day, still every day adjourning the sale, thinking the people would be worn out with fatigue, or, perhaps, tempted to violate the peace, from the provocation caused by this delay. What more? Mr. Wat Newton, a magistrate, who had nothing at all to do in the matter, writes to Dublin for a notorious driver, Campbell, to come down and purchase the cattle.—And what has been the consequence? Why, a determination on the part of the people to suffer every privation sooner than be overcome. It is most certain that had the crew adjourned the sale to the day after, there would have been congregated together in this town no less than one hundred thousand men; and mark their conduct. By that fifty thousand men assembled there was not, perhaps, one glass of whiskey drunk till the sale was over, so determined were they to conquer their enemies by peace and good order—and more, out of that fifty thousand men, not one hundred, perhaps, were to be found in the streets at eight o'clock.

THURSDAY, HALF-PAST TWO—The bullocks are now brought out for sale. The people are kept off from the military by a strong guard of their own body. Mr. Caulfield, with some others, are continually galloping back and forward between the people and the military, conveying the intelligence of almost every minute, and a number of respectable and prudent farmers (amounting to about sixty) are stationed at the place of sale, in order to witness the transaction, and to see the man who would bid.

All matters being thus arranged, and the very possibility of a riot being removed, one bullock was offered for sale by the sheriff, who acted on this occasion as a driver, auctioneer, and sheriff, and all. But lo and behold! there is no bidder, and, after a solemn pause, and much writhing and gnashing of teeth among the shoneens, the poor bullock, remanded back again to prison, and the sale adjourned till Friday, at one o'clock! At this moment, when Mr. Caulfield galloped up to the people with the intelligence, it is absolutely impossible to describe the wild shout that was raised by twenty thousand voices. The shout was a mixture of abhorrence and defiance, and being raised with such vehemence, it actually rent the skies. The people, so far from being worn out by fatigue and hunger, are only acquiring fresh vigour, and they all swear they will return to-morrow, bring every man from his employment as they come along, and muster a force of 50,000 men.

HALF PAST ELEVEN.—Mr. Jonas Duckett, from Belview, arrives from the County Kildare, with another party of about ten thousand men from Kilkea and Moone; he is followed by twelve large waggons, drawn by horses in tandem, and by about one hundred horsemen with flags and banners. In Tullow-street, Mr.

Duckett desires the flags and banners to be removed, out of respect to the orders of Capt. Moore, our patriotic magistrate.

HALF-PAST TWELVE.—The Queen's County men now arrive in great numbers, so that between the crowds passing in at every moment from Kilkenny, Carlow, and the other counties, there are about 50,000 men in the town. Hurrah! hurrah! the man "Campbell," who has been written for to Dublin, by Walter Newton, in order to purchase the cattle, went off in the mail of last night, it is certain, and hence no bailiff or bidder can be found.

ONE O'CLOCK.—Major Ryan is acting his part in a most impartial and honourable way; he seems to have nothing to do whatever with the bullocks or the tithe party—he is merely in the capacity of commanding officer, and possesses fully the confidence of the people.

HALF-PAST ONE O'CLOCK.—At this moment all is excitement. Messrs Caulfield and Germaine and their party are galloping back and forward between the people and the military, like so many aides-de-camp. There never was anything witnessed like the judicious arrangement of the people; no accident can possibly happen; all are sober; not a glass of whiskey drunk in town as yet—Clare was nothing to this—the priests are doing their duty—all is breathless at this moment—the cattle will be brought out in a few minutes, and they can find neither bailiff nor bidder. They must be sent home again to Mr. Germaine.

TWO O'CLOCK.—The bullocks are driven out—a dead pause—there is but one magistrate to-day in attendance—strange! and they all came yesterday. They dreaded a riot yesterday, with twenty thousand men; and to-day, when fifty thousand assemble, they all remain at home: will any one riddle me that? No bidder—the sale is abandoned all over—Whitty and the tithes are defeated, and Mr. Germaine is desired to drive home the fourteen bullocks. Hurrah! hursah!! hurrah!!!

All is now cheers and shouts from fifty thousand men. At this moment Major Ryan addresses Mr. Caulfield, Mr. Germaine, and others, and expresses "a hope that the same peaceable conduct which the people have manifested during the last six days will be persevered in; that no exhibition or procession of bullocks through the town will be resorted to; and that no injury will be inflicted on the property or person of Mr. Whitty." Mr. Cahill delivered this message of the gallant Major, and the result was, that the moment the bullocks were enlarged, the whole multitude accompanied them out of town without any exhibition, save the triumphant acclaim which was raised by fifty thousand men shouting and cheering as they went along. The bullocks were all *crowned* with laurels on leaving the town, and followed home by ten thousand men from Rathvilly and that neighbourhood.

MANCHESTER REFORM ASSOCIATION.

(*From the Manchester and Salford Advertiser, of 26th May*, 1832.)

I BEG my readers to pay great attention to the following article, which will show them that the same Whig manœuvre has been attempted at MANCHESTER, as that which appears to have succeeded at BIRMINGHAM. Here we have Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH and Mr. POTTER, deeming it unnecessary to make any more stir, now that Lord GREY and his faithful MELBOURNE, and GODERICH, and PALMERSTON and GRANT are back again in power. BIRMINGHAM, MANCHESTER, LEEDS, and almost every other great place, has its *Whig faction*, who will now be constantly at work to make the people satisfied with anything that the Whigs may do, and will be stirring earth and hell to get the people to elect members to support the Whigs in carrying on the present system. Upon this occasion, Mr. JOHN FIELDEN came to mar their projects! I congratulate the town of MANCHESTER upon the exertions which Mr. FIELDEN seems now resolved to make. I beg the reader to attend to the statement of the *objects* of this association. I am glad that here is no talk about councils. Here is plain sense and practical matter: and here are that modesty and that sincerity which mark the man from whom the statement comes, and who is not less famed for his goodness to the working people than he is for his public spirit.

THE REFORM ASSOCIATION.—We observed last week, that at the meeting at the York Hotel, held on Monday the 14th, for the purpose of organizing a Reform Association, a sub-committee had been appointed to draw up a statement of the objects, and a draught of the rules of the association. The sub-committee did not, we find, consist of seven persons, as we then stated, but of five. The following are the names of the gentlemen:—Mr. R. H. GREG, Mr. J. SHUTTLEWORTH, Mr. ABSALOM WATKIN, Mr. RICHARD POTTER, and Mr. JOHN FIELDEN.

According to the terms of the adjournment, a meeting assembled a second time, on Monday last, at Hayward's Hotel, when it appeared that the sub-committee, *taking it for granted that, in consequence of the return of Earl Grey to office, the Reform Bill must now pass, and conceiving that that*

bill was the only object, or at least the only important object of the association, had *deemed it unnecessary to proceed with the task imposed upon them.* A majority of the meeting, however, *differing wholly from the sub-committee;* considering that the bill is a compromise, and founded upon no principle; deeming that the value of the bill must be estimated by the amount of good which it produces to the whole community, and particularly to those classes of the community which the bill excludes from a share in the representation; regarding it, therefore, as their bounden duty to take care to make the bill the instrument of the largest possible amount of practical good, were of opinion that the duties of such an association did but commence with the Reform Bill, and regretted the decision of their sub-committee as premature. It had fortunately happened that Mr. *John Fielden* had been deputed by the sub-committee, to present to them the first sketch of the document, which, as a body, they were to present to the meeting; and that he, *dissenting from the opinion that the return of Earl Grey to office made any change in the duties of the sub-committee,* was prepared with a statement of the objects, and a draught of the rules, of the proposed association.

These were read to the meeting, and ordered to be printed; and the meeting again adjourned in order that they might, in the meantime, be well considered. The adjourned meeting is to be held, as before, at Hayward's Hotel, Bridge-street, on Monday next, and at half-past five o'clock in the evening. The objects of the association proposed by Mr. FIELDEN are thus stated—

OBJECTS OF THE REFORM ASSOCIATION.

"1. To endeavour to obtain, by lawful "means, and these only, the passing of the "Reform Bill now in the House of Lords "unmutilated and unimpaired in any of "its essential parts.

"2. To give to the bill, when so passed, a "fair and impartial trial: and if, in the first "session of the House of Commons consti-"tuted under the bill, it prove efficient to "procure a large reduction of taxes, and to "secure to the people a cheap and a good Go-"vernment, the objects of this association "will be accomplished, and its functions shall "cease.

"3. In furtherance of the above objects, to "prepare addresses, petitions, and remon-"strances, to the King and to the two Houses "of Parliament, when necessary, respecting "the preservation and restoration of public "rights; to procure the abolition of all inju-"rious monopolies,—the repeal of all taxes "that press most heavily on the labouring "classes,—the repeal of the taxes which affect "the press and prevent dissemination of "knowledge; and, in short, to procure the "repeal of bad laws and the enactment of "good laws. And for this purpose, to pro-"mote, by all lawful means, the return of "upright and capable representatives of the "people at the first election under the Re-"form Bill.

"4. To promote peace, union, and concord, "amongst all classes of his Majesty's sub-"jects, and to guide and direct their efforts "into uniform, peaceful, and lawful opera-"tions."

These objects are such as the most moderate of sincere reformers; of reformers whose opinions are worthy of attention, and whose aid is worth acceptance, must admit to be necessary; they are such as the most ardent of extreme reformers must admit to be the first objects of our pursuit. These objects, therefore, afford a common field of exertion, in which all who wish well to their country, all who really desire to see the working man independent and happy, setting aside petty differences, may toil together for the common good. From this union there are two clases who may keep aloof. Those who, being spoiled by good fortune, are in the habit of regarding the claims of their less fortunate brethren with arrogance, and their complaints with indifference; and those who, being exasperated by suffering and ill-treatment, can see only an enemy in any one less unhappy than themselves. It is one of the useful effects of such an association, that the harmonious intercourse which results from it, tends to diminish both these classes, by correcting the prejudices of both.

There is another class who may not be among our zealous friends, but whom we ought not to set down among our enemies; the timid and inactive, who, by their timidity and inactivity, will be restrained from joining at once an institution of which the scope is wide, and the event uncertain. It belongs to us, to swell our ranks at last by the accession of these, when we shall have overcome their apprehensions by that success which perseverance in good and wise purposes is sure at last to command.

IRISH REFORM BILL.

MR. O'CONNELL'S ADDRESS TO THE REFORMERS OF ENGLAND.

I BEG the reader to go through the following letter with great attention, as I have myself. It is a matter of the greatest importance to us in England; for, as I have a hundred times observed, as long as the misrule of Ireland shall continue, so long will England never know peace or safety. In every line of the following letter you see a proof of a settled design to continue the ill treatment of Ireland. If Ireland were a little beggarly canton, then it would be only unjust, it would be only wicked, in us, to

wink at her illtreatment. Being what she is, *a great limb* of the commonwealth; populous and productive as she is, it is stupidity as well as injustice to think of holding her in a state of misrule. Mark, too, the baseness of her persecutors in this case. The Ministers know that they can do what they like, in this case, with regard to Ireland, because they have the Tories with them here; and because the people of England are not aware of the injustice that is about to be done to Ireland; and of the manner which *they themselves will be affected by that injustice*. They are not aware in how great a degree their own reform will be nullified by this injustice done to Ireland. In fact, they must suffer from this cause in the same degree that the human body must suffer from injury done to one of the arms. I do, therefore, urge my English readers well to consider this matter; and not to suffer the injustice to be done without proving to our brethren in Ireland that we feel indignation at it, and that we will undo it as soon as possible.

London, May 22, 1832.

BROTHER REFORMERS,

I appeal to you from the contemplated injustice of the Irish department of the British Ministry. I respectfully solicit your aid to prevent another act of gross iniquity, another vile insult from being inflicted on the people of Ireland.

My cause of complaint is this:—The Reform Bill prepared for Ireland by the present administration is *defective, partial, oligarchical, unjust*, and *daringly insulting*.

My object is twofold:—*First*, to prove the truth of these assertions; and, *secondly*, to solicit your assistance, in order to prevent the consummation of this iniquity.

But, as a preliminary, you have a right to know what species of Reform Bill I require for Ireland. I do not hesitate one moment to give you that information. I ask, in the name of the Irish people, for just such a Reform Bill for Ireland as you have obtained for England—THAT IS ALL. Is my demand unfair or unjust? I anticipate an universal reply in the negative.

I ask, then, for Ireland a Reform Bill which shall be identical with the English bill, wherever an identity of institutions and of other circumstances allows it to be identical. Wherever institutions or other circumstances are not precisely similar, I then demand that the Reform Bill for Ireland should as closely resemble as possible the English Act—that it should be as similar in its provisions as possible, and that the extent of reform in Ireland should be equivalent to, and equally satisfactory with, that in England.

I ask for the people of Ireland the *same measure* of reform which the people of England receive. I will not be—I ought not to be, content with less.

In other words, I look for as complete an equality of reform in both countries as possible.

But the ministerial bill for Ireland *is* directly the reverse. It is, I repeat it, partial, restricted, unjust, and insulting. It is constituted to sacrifice the Irish reformers to the Irish Tories—who, by-the-by, constitute the very worst class of Tories in existence.

I proceed to point out the principal particulars in which the Irish Reform Bill differs from the English. They are these:—

First—The English bill greatly enlarges the elective franchise in the counties of England. The Irish bill, on the whole, diminishes the number of voters in the Irish counties. The bill for Scotland exceedingly increases the number of voters in Scotch counties. The Irish Reform Bill diminishes the number.

Secondly—The Irish bill creates too high and too aristocratic a franchise in the Irish towns and cities: it alters the present law to the prejudice of the people and in favour of the oligarchy.

Thirdly—Although the Irish Reform Bill destroys the individual and direct power of nomination in sixteen boroughs, it substitutes so exceedingly narrow a basis of franchise as effectually to render those boroughs close boroughs, and to make them liable to the most gross and profligate corruption.

Fourthly—It renders the registration of a vote almost impossible for any but a rich man, and thus deprives the middle and poorer classes of their votes. This is effectuated by complication of detail in the registry, and by the pressure of great delay and enormous expence.

Fifthly—It leaves the registry of the votes to a set of persons, who, taken in the aggregate, are, from want of sufficient aptitude, and also by reason of their zealous Tory principles, the most unfit to have that power.

Sixthly—It continues all the enormous expense and delays of contested elections, which in England, under your Reform Bill, must be over in two or three days, but in Ireland, by our Reform Bill, may last full fifteen days, as before.

Seventhly—The Irish Reform Bill does not give Ireland her due and fair proportion of representatives in Parliament.

Eighthly—The Irish Reform Bill gloriously, and I may say gratuitously, insults the people of Ireland by giving an addition of only five members to all Ireland, while it allocates one out of the five to a single college—the College of Dublin—a college having already one member, without any adequate or just right to any representation.

Upon the whole, my decided and deliberate

conviction is, that with the exception of throwing open the representation of Belfast, Cork, Galway, and Dublin, the Irish Reform Bill will make matters worse than they are at present in Ireland with regard to the right and power of the people to choose representatives. In short, that it should be entitled, "An Act to restore to power the Orange ascendancy in Ireland, and to enable that faction to trample with impunity on the friends of reform and of constitutional freedom."

Such is the plan matured at a third attempt, by Mr. Stanley, for the reform in Ireland. He is, I know, determined to persevere in his measure. I also know that he will be supported by all the Tories in the House, and by a vast and overpowering majority of the Whigs. Indeed I have greatly to complain of the total disregard to Ireland—I believe I ought to call it contempt for Ireland—exhibited by the English Whigs and reformers in Parliament, with some, and but few exceptions.

I proceed now to prove the truth of my assertions. I take up my eight heads of complaint *seriatim*; and if the reformers of England and Scotland will condescend to read these letters—for I must extend them to at least three or four—I pledge myself satisfactorily to demonstrate that every one of my objections is well founded, and that the Irish Reform Bill is a reform bill only in name—that it is a practical blunder, such as Irishmen never commit—that while it purports to reform, it renders matters worse; and in short, that it *is* one of those base delusions which could originate only in the brazen audacity and cold heart of an English Tory, who found himself placed in the attitude of an English Whig, with control over the present fortunes of unfortunate, long-oppressed, much-insulted, but, thank heaven, no longer weak or powerless Ireland.

My first complaint is, "that Stanley's Reform Bill for Ireland ought to augment, but will, in fact, diminish the number of voters in Irish counties."

Now the great principle of the English reform, as, indeed, of *all* reform, is "*enfranchisement*," that is, to increase the number of voters. The principle of the Irish Reform Bill is *disfranchisement*, that is, to diminish the number of voters. This principle of disfranchisement, I must say, is not confined to counties. I shall show, before I have done, that it applies to some of our boroughs.

This complaint is still more strong than any Englishman not acquainted with the details of Irish affairs could possibly conceive, and for this reason:—When the veracious Wellington and candid Peel were compelled by the people of Ireland to concede religious freedom to the Protestant dissenters of England and Catholics of Ireland, they exerted a vicious ingenuity to make that concession as little valuable to popular liberty as possible. Accordingly they annihilated—they totally annihilated the 40*s.* franchise in Ireland, not only where it depended on a freehold of a life or lives, subject to a heavy rent, and therefore capable of being abused—but also where it arose from a fee-simple estate, not subject to any rent whatsoever. This was not all—they raised the franchise to what is an enormously high valuation in a poor country—that is, to ten pounds annual value over rent and charges; and that, I repeat, in a very poor country, where ten pounds a year is certainly of three times the importance of that sum in this country. But even this was not all—they rendered actual residence and occupation *of the entire freehold*, mark, *of the entire freehold*—necessary to constitute a vote. But even this was not all—they superadded a most tedious, vexatious, expensive, and, in many instances, totally impracticable mode of registry of voters, as a preliminary to the right of voting.

I wish to dwell upon this point, that the British reformers may clearly comprehend how outrageously unjust it is still to augment the difficulties in the way of the right to vote in Ireland, and still further, positively and directly, to diminish the number of Irish voters, in Irish counties.

I will illustrate the atrocious working of the Peel-Wellington Disfranchising Bill by some instances of its practical operation. Most of those instances are taken from the counties in which the Orange interest prevails. For example: in Armagh there were 8,419 voters on the 40*s.* franchise. These were replaced by 1,087 ten-pound voters—that is, seven-eighths were annihilated. In Cavan, 5,195 replaced by 781. In Down, 10,775 replaced by 1,902. In Donegal, 2,310 replaced by only 66. In Dublin county, the Metropolitan county, 2,490 replaced by 109. In Londonderry, 4,457 replaced by 839.

In Monaghan, 12,452, replaced by 946; in Mayo, 23,672, replaced by 335; Roscommon, 7,777, replaced by 470; Sligo, 4,551, replaced by 303; in Tyrone, 6,468, replaced by 701; in Galway 22,055, replaced by 1,812.

I need not continue the catalogue. These numbers show that the Peel-Wellington measure took, in twelve counties in Ireland, their votes from 110,612 voters, and replaced them by only 9,351. Thus, in little more than one-third of that country, destroying the franchise to the extent of more than 100,000 voters. The result of the lists of voters, in the remaining counties, would be found not to differ materially from those I have above enumerated.

I now appeal to every honest and candid reformer in Great Britain, whether the first step to a real, and not mock or delusive reform in Ireland, should not be to increase, not diminish, the franchise. Many of our counties were reduced to the station of close boroughs. The popular rights were nearly destroyed. If Stanley intended to give us reform, real reform, honest reform, would not his first effort be to increase the franchise, to augment the voters, and to give, at least, a reasonable portion of the people a voice in the choice of representatives?

Judge, then, honest and manly reformers of Great Britain, of the grief and indignation with which your equally honest and determined brother reformers of Ireland receive the Stanley Reform Bill, the operation of which is, not to augment, but still further to diminish, the number of our county voters.

Reflect on this, which is the literal and plain fact, that the Tories contrived, under the shadow of the Catholic Relief Bill, to render as oligarchical, as close, and of course as corrupt as they possibly could, all the Irish counties—and that the only county reform to be given us by Stanley is, to make those counties more oligarchical, more close, and therefore more liable to corruption.

Let any one of you after this ask, why is Ireland discontented? Why is Ireland disturbed? Alas! do you not perceive *the principle* on which Whigs and Tories, with indiscriminate recklessness, govern Ireland?—The principle of never doing us, in any instance, justice, lest we should become so strong as to be able to put an end to our other oppressions.

What I assert and insist on is, that the Irish Reform Bill ought to augment the franchise and increase the number of voters in our counties, as the English and Scotch Reform Bills have augmented the one and increased the other. It would be unjust to leave us stationary when the other parts of the empire increase the quantity of human freedom. It is doubly unjust to leave us stationary while we are suffering under a recent and most iniquitous diminution of our franchises, and when there is an increase in the other divisions of the empire. But it transcends in injustice when the other parts of the empire are augmented in franchise, to have an actual diminution take place in Ireland.

No country in the world was ever treated so badly by an *unnative* government as Ireland has been by the Government of England. I could demonstrate that Poland had never so much reason to complain of Russia, nor Greece of the Turks—but I confess that the conduct of this *reforming* administration towards Ireland fills me with more of resentment than all the past.

Reformers of Great Britain, you have no interest in Ireland's being ill-governed. On the contrary, your interest is that we should be well-governed and prosperous. I therefore, but much more readily, relying on your generous sympathies, appeal to you from the injustice and insult now offered us.

Recollect that there will be, by your Reform Bill, the following rights of suffrage—the following franchises established in England:—

1. The franchise of 40*s.* freeholders for life, or lives. This franchise does not require occupation of the freehold by the freeholder, but it expires with the present race of possessors.

2. The franchise of 40*s.* freeholders in fee-simple. This franchise is to continue in England, and does not require actual occupation.

3. The franchise of 10*l.* clear yearly value for any freehold estate, whether for life or in fee. This franchise does not require actual occupation by the freeholder.

4. The franchise of similar value to copyholders. This franchise is, for the first time, given by the English Reform Bill, and introduces a numerous class of new voters.

5. The original lessee or the assignee of a term originally of at least sixty years, of the clear yearly value of 10*l.* This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

6. The original lessee, or the assignee of a term originally of at least twenty years, of the clear yearly value of 50*l.* This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

7. The sub-lessee, or assignee of a sub-lease of a term not less, originally, than sixty years, with a clear profit of 10*l.* This is a new franchise, but requires actual occupation. It is the first franchise in England, which is encumbered by the necessity of actual occupation.

8. The sub-lessee, or assignee of a sub-lease of a term not less, originally, than twenty years, of the clear annual value of 50*l.* This is a new franchise, but it requires actual occupation.

9. Any tenant whatsoever, liable to a *bona-fide* rent of 50*l.* a year. This is a new franchise and requires actual occupation.

Such is to be the state of the elective franchise in England. It consists altogether of nine different classes of voters, and is an augmentation of former rights by no less than seven classes, and some of those classes are multitudinous in their nature—that is, capable of giving rights of voting to *many* individuals out of *one* property. How melancholy and miserable is the contrast which the state of Ireland is destined to afford!

In Ireland we are to have but *four* classes of voters.

1. The existing one, a freehold of 10*l.* clear annual value. This franchise requires actual occupation.

2. The existing right of freehold or 20*l.* clear annual value. This does not require actual occupation.

3. The lessee, or assignee of a term of originally not less than 14 years, of the clear yearly value of 20*l.* This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

4. The sub-lessee, or assignee of a sub-lease of a term of not less, originally, than 14 years, of the clear annual value of 20*l.* This is a new franchise, and requires actual occupation.

These are all—and thus England has, at present, two franchises, and acquires by the Reform Bill, seven additional franchises. Ireland has at present two franchises, and acquires by the Reform Bill, only two more.

England, a rich country, has two franchises of 40*s.*, multitudinous in their nature, and not requiring actual occupation. Four franchises of 10*l.*, one only of which requires actual occupation; besides two franchises of 50*l.* annual value, one only of which requires actual

occupation; and one franchise of mere payment of 50*l.* a year rent.

Mark the contrast with Ireland—Ireland, a poor country, has no 40*s.* franchise, has only one 10*l.* franchise, and even that franchise requires actual occupation. Ireland has, then, but three franchises of the enormous value *to us* of 20*l.* annual value, and one of these three requires actual occupation.

To put this matter in a still more clear point of view—Let me take in England a single estate worth 50*l.* a year, and in the hands of an occupying tenant who pays that rent for it. Now such a property as that could, in England, qualify no less than twenty-six persons to vote, while in Ireland such a property could not possibly qualify more than three persons to vote.

Thus, then, the English are to have the advantage, and I heartily rejoice at it, of seven new classes of voters—of nine classes in all; Ireland is to have but four classes—two only being new classes; that is, in new classes the English Bill is to the Irish as seven to two; in classes generally, as nine to four. But this approximation in the general classes is proved to be quite delusive, when you recollect that, in point of valued property, England has had advantages equal to twenty-six against three, or more than eight to one.

Thus, in new franchise, the English bill is seven to two better than the Irish. In popular character, as arising from property, it is more than eight, very nearly nine to one, better than the Irish bill; and let it always be recollected, that this difference is enormously aggravated by the fact, that Ireland is beyond comparison the less wealthy country.

Let me not be misunderstood—I do not in the least desire to diminish the advantages which England possesses. On the contrary, I say it with the utmost sincerity, my ardent desire would be to augment these advantages. I am a radical reformer, and on principle think every Englishman ought to have a right to vote. I quote, therefore, the advantages of the English Reform Bill—and they are very great—only to show how defectively the Irish bill is, as I firmly believe, wilfully and designedly made.

This letter has run into such length, that I must pause and reserve the residue of this my first complaint for another letter.

I have hitherto confined my attention to show the necessity that exists to augment the number of voters in our counties, and to prove that no sensible augmentation can take place under the Irish Reform Bill. I have shown the, to us, insulting contrast of the increase of franchises and of voters given to England. In my next letter I will prove, that the practical effect of the Irish bill will be to diminish the number of voters, although an increase is so imperatively required by every principle of justice and common sense.

Reformers of Great Britain, recollect that we have honestly and zealously stood by you in the contest for reform. When your Reform Bill was in danger, we flung overboard our own grievances and our just resentments—nay, more—had Wellington found any set of men mad enough to join him, in attempting to govern the country to the exclusion of Earl Grey, and had a resort been made to Polignac ordinances instead of acts of Parliament, you would have found your constitutional liberties supported by one million of Irishmen in arms true to your sacred cause to the last of their blood and their breath. British reformers, do not we deserve your peaceable but determined assistance to compel the administration and to induce the Parliament to give us a Reform Bill equally satisfactory with that of England or of Scotland?

I have the honour to be,
your faithful servant,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

PALMERSTON,

And on broad-faced, dead-weight Torrens, *proprietor of the Globe newspaper. Taken from Dr.* Black *of 30th of May.*

The *Globe* appears thoroughly inoculated with the kind interest taken by Lord Palmerston in the fortunes of our Tory diplomatists, and to share all his confidingness in their zeal in behalf of a Whig Ministry. We are told of the great sacrifice of time and money at which our diplomatic functionaries are trained to diplomacy as a profession, and of the inadequate remuneration which in many cases the utmost advancement affords for such sacrifices. We are also reminded that the individuals alluded to are almost universally persons of the highest station and most unexceptionable character, and tauntingly asked if we think it likely that these should be persons who would disgrace themselves, and blast their prospects, for the mere purpose of gratifying their political predilections. With respect to blasting their prospects, we may admit, without difficulty, that they will not do what they believe will blast their prospects. But then we must know what their prospects are, and whether their prospects exactly lie in the same direction with the prospects of a Whig Ministry. The Tories are certainly greatly indebted to Lord Palmerston for the kind consideration

which he has for the sacrifices of time and money which they have made in qualifying themselves for the ill-requited profession of diplomacy. But the public are entitled to ask what national advantage is obtained by the employment of this numerous army of persons of *high station* at the Courts of Europe, great and small, at all equivalent to the enormous expenditure entailed thereby on the nation. We had thought that, under a Whig Ministry, the only consideration was to be the public good, and not the finding places for Tories of high station. In all professions a training is necessary, and often an expensive training; but how many physicians, lawyers, and other professional men, do not succeed after all this training! And why is the country to be saddled for ever with the maintenance of all those persons of high state, who have betaken themselves to diplomacy?

Lord PALMERSTON's principles, as expounded in *The Globe*, seem to be that a government is best carried on by the instrumentality of those who, in opinion, are opposed to it. We are to have Tory lord lieutenants and Tory magistrates; the army is to be entrusted to Tories—the diplomacy is to be entrusted to Tories. We must not fasten a stigma upon the British character, "by proclaiming to every nation of Europe, that an English gentleman is not fit to be trusted—that his official integrity depends upon his political opinions, and that his duty to his country ranks, in his estimation, only after his obligations to his party." But why be so anxious for parliamentary reform, if it be so necessary, for the sake of the British character, to repose blind confidence in Tory gentlemen of high station? The House of Commons has generally consisted of gentlemen of good station, who, notwithstanding, continued to abuse the trust, to their own advantage; and the conviction that men of the best character are not to be blindly trusted in such a case, has led to the general desire for reform. If, as Lord PALMERSTON's advocate contends, the utmost confidence ought to be reposed in Tory functionaries, the public may ask, why the same confidence may not be reposed in a Tory government.

But we contend that the heads of a government are not entitled, in the disposal of the patronage of a nation, to bestow it on their opponents. They thereby impair their means of conducting the government with due energy and vigour. If it be necessary to expend the revenues of the nation in the maintenance of a diplomatic establishment at the court of every petty state of Germany, Italy, &c., this money ought to be chiefly given to those who support the Ministry. Why are Whigs and reformers to be called on to make all the sacrifices, while they see all the rewards bestowed on their opponents?

We do not mean to contend that a Tory will in all cases abuse the confidence reposed in him by a Whig government; but, on the other hand, the doctrine of Lord PALMERSTON, that men of high station will not allow their abstract opinions to influence their conduct while serving under a government acting on a system of which they disapprove, may be carried a great deal too far. We have seen how anxiously Lord ABERDEEN, the Duke of WELLINGTON, &c. laboured to involve this country with France, and to impede the settlement of the affairs of the Netherlands, Portugal, &c. Are we sure that the abstract opinions of the Tory diplomatists may not occasionally induce them, in gratitude to those to whom they owe their appointments, to furnish them with information calculated to further their views? Besides, supposing no downright treachery of this kind, political opinions, if heartily embraced, are seldom so abstract as to be without their influence in practice in the mode of serving a cause. Do we not know that the dislike of the Tories to reform and improvement is not confined to this country?—that they are opposed to the cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world? Can these men exert themselves cordially in furthering that cause? Are they so far, too, masters of themselves, that they never at the Courts at which they are stationed give expression to the hopes they entertain that their friends

will regain power? If they have this mastery, it is more than is possessed by the persons by whom the Government offices at home are filled, who, under the very nose of Ministers, make no secret of their dislike of them, and act as if they were not accountable to them.

We repeat, all this kindness and consideration for the Tory gentlemen in the diplomatic corps may obtain for Lord PALMERSTON the praise of great liberality from his opponents, but it is not calculated to benefit his Government or to satisfy the country.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 25, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

LUNN, W., St. Mary-at-Hill, shopseller.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

EASTWOOD, W., Waterloo-rd., linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BATTERSLY, H. and C., Hindley, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.
COLLIVER, J., Helston, Cornwall, hatter.
DODSON, J., Great George-street, Bermondsey, merchant.
FRANKLIN, T., Portsea, baker.
FRY, S. B., Bristol, hosier.
GIBBON, R., Wateringbury, Kent, brewer.
GRANT, W., Jermyn-st., St. James's, chairmaker.
HARGRAVE, H., Hull, straw-hat-manufact.
HARLING, J. and Z., Brixton-road, bakers.
JOYNSON, T., West Wycomb, Bucks, lace-dealer.
LAWS, J., Great Yarmouth, linen-draper.
LIVERSEDGE, K., Primrose-hill, Yorkshire, clothier.
MITCHELL, T., Strand, hosier.
MOULD, H., Chertsey, Surrey, grocer.
THOMPSON, R., Old-street, St. Luke's, dealer in hardware.
THORP, T. D., Manchester, linen-draper.
WARD, T., Colchester, innkeeper.
WILSON, J., Toothill, Yorkshire, blanket-manufacturer.
WORTHY, J. M., Exeter, and J. D. Worthy, St. Thomas the Apostle, Devon, general merchants.

TUESDAY, MAY 29, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINS, J., Oxford, cabinet-maker.
COMPTON, H., Battersea, cesch-proprietor.
ELLIOT, J. F., Catenton-street, chemist.
GIBBON, M., West Peckham, Kent, grocer.
GRABURN, J. U., Filey, Yorkshire, limeburner.
HALL, R., Kirby Moorside, Yorkshire, innkeeper.
HARRIS, W. W., Bristol, victualler.
HUDSON, T., Northbrook, Surrey, cattle-salesman.
LUNT, T., Chester and Woodside, builder.
MARK, R., Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, money-scrivener.
MATHEWS, W., Copthall-buildings and Liverpool, merchant.
MORGAN, J., High-st., Kensington, porkman.
PAGETT, W., Birmingham, hosier.
PAINTER, J., Liverpool, innkeeper.
RUSSELL, W., Battersea, nurseryman.
SCHOFIELD, J., Liverpool, victualler.
SWEETENHAM, J., Wirksworth, Derbyshire, scrivener.
THOMAS, R., Gelly-gare, Glamorganshire, coal-master.
WESTON, J., Barge-yard, Bucklersbury, wine-merchant.
WICKWAR, W. and J., Bagnor-mills, Berks, paper-makers.
WILLIAMSON, T. W., Lothbury, cloth-factor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

FALCONER, H., Edinburgh, hotel-keeper.
FERRIE, T. B., Edinburgh, insurance-broker.
HUNTER, J., Glasgow, manufacturer.
M'ALLEY, J., Glasgow, soap-maker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 28.—Our supplies have been good, since this day se'nnight, of English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat and flour, as also of English and Scotch malt, English beans, and English, Irish, and Scotch oats: of barley, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, but limited.

This day's market was rather numerously attended, both by London and country buyers; but, as the sellers were stiff to their last week's position, the trade was throughout exceedingly dull: with wheat, oats, and barley, though a few small parcels of the first description of each was said to have supported their last week's currency, generally speaking, at a depression of from 1*s.* to 2*s.* per quarter; with rye, beans, peas, and malt, at last Monday's quotations. Flour, as the buyers of it seemed determined to keep off, was expected to fall 5*s.*

per sack. In seeds but exceedingly little was doing, and even that, for the most part, on speculation for the autumnal seeding, at considerable reduced prices.

Wheat	51s. to 65s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	24s. to 28s.
——— fine	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
——— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
——— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	25s. to 27s.
——— Poland	23s. to 25s.
——— Feed	18s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	70s. to 80s.
——— Cork	80s. to 82s.
——— Limerick	80s. to —s.
——— Waterford	70s. to —s.
——— Dublin	66s. to 68s.
Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
——— Edam	49s. to 54s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	64s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD.—May 28.

This day's supply of beasts, sheep, and calves, was moderately good; of lambs and porkers, rather limited. The trade was throughout dull, with lamb and veal at an advance of 2*d.* per stone; with beef, mutton, pork, at Friday's prices.

Beasts, 2,243; sheep and lambs, 17,930; calves, 178; pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 1.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market very dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Aun.	85⅞	85⅞	85⅝	—	85⅜	—

Just published, price 5*s.*

THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS; being a Treatise of Representative Government, Despotism, and Reform: in which Political Institutions are deduced from Philosophical Principles. With a highly-finished Likeness of Jeremy Bentham, and various other Illustrations.

By the same Author,

THE REFORMER'S CATECHISM; in which the principles of "The Rights of Nations" are reduced to Question and Answer. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER; a condensed View of the great principles of Representative Government and of Reform. With an Introduction on the King's Conduct. Price 3*d.*

John Brooks, 421, Oxford-street.

TO WORKING MEN!

MR. COBBETT will deliver a Second LECTURE on Passing Events, in the INSTITUTION, Theobald's-road, on Tuesday Evening next, June 5, 1832.—Members of the National Union, 3*d.* each. To the public, 6*d.*

Doors open at Seven o'Clock. Lecture to commence at Eight.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(*Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,*)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (*for cash only*) which they charge for:—

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley	2	12	0
Coloured	3	0	0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth	3	5	0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers	1	8	0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats		12	0
Figured Silk ditto		18	0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets	1	10	0
Barogan ditto	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 9TH, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*

THE KING.

THE royal assent will, it appears, be given to the Reform Bill this day, Thursday, the 7th of June; a day that will be memorable in the annals of England. The morning papers tell us, that the assent is to be given by commission, and NOT BY THE KING IN PERSON! Well; it is his affair, not mine. If there be consequences attending this, the consequences are his, and not those of the people. Some of the newspaper writers are very angry at this: I am not: I was much more angry when poor JOSEPH MASON, who had walked from the north of HAMPSHIRE to BRIGHTON, to carry a most respectful petition to the King, was told by HERBERT TAYLOR, that the King would not receive it, and that he must carry it to the Secretary of State in London; aye, and a vast deal more sorry was I when this JOSEPH MASON was, *soon afterwards, transported for life*, for being amongst the *rioters in Hampshire*. My friend Dr. BLACK is very angry about this matter. "We communicate to the "country, with deep and sincere *grief*, "the fact that his MAJESTY will *not* at- "tend in person to give the royal assent "to the English Reform Bill. A more "*unfortunate* determination could not "have been imposed on the King, and "it must have been instigated by cour- "tier advisers surrounding the royal "person, actuated by a desire to sow "jealousies between the Monarch and "his people. The utmost excitement "pervaded this great metropolis the "whole of yesterday, from an anxiety "that his Majesty should avail himself "of the golden opportunity of this grand "national occasion to renew his solemn "covenant of *affection* and liberty with "his loyal subjects. Arrangements had "been made for his Majesty's popular "reception by deputations from the "different parishes of the metropolis. "Up to a late hour yesterday afternoon "the King was at St. James's, which "was naturally considered as an indica- "tion of his intention to go down to "Parliament in person this day; and a "report was current, that the royal "equipages were prepared for the joy- "ous event. His Majesty, however, "*took his departure last night for* "*Windsor*, and with feelings of *deep* "*regret* we deem it to be our duty to "allay the public anxiety and certain "disappointment by this previous com- "munication. Such a *grievous* decision "cannot, we are confident, be attri- "buted to the cabinet; it must emanate "from those despicable minions who "have unhappily *misled* his Majesty, "and who, for their own base party "purposes, endeavour to estrange him "from the affections of the people. "The back-stairs intriguers—the mi- "serable whisperers in the royal ear, are "the responsible agents of this national "disappointment; they have destroyed "themselves, and they now seek to in- "volve the monarch in their own fall. "On their heads be the responsibility "and consequences of the act. His "Majesty must be surrounded by de- "ceivers and calumniators of the people; "*his own natural impulses* would other- "wise have gratified the ardent and "loyal hopes of his subjects."

Come, come, Doctor, don't cry: dry up your tears; or, if you must shed some, let it be for the husbandless wives and fatherless children in Hampshire and Wiltshire; let it be for the parents of poor COOK of Micheldever, who was hanged for *striking Bingham Baring*, without doing him any bodily harm. Never break your heart about these people, who have such a plenty of

palaces already, and who have another of enormous size now building, at expense enough to frighten one to think of. All is *for the best*, be you assured, Doctor; and, though you are bathed in tears on account of it, it is, perhaps, the very best thing that could have happened.

WM. COBBETT.

REFORM BILL.

THIS bill is, *at last*, become *a law* by the decision of the House of Lords on *the 4th instant*, which is the anniversary of the birth of GEORGE THE THIRD, of whom and whose acts I will say only this, that it was *those acts* which created the *true causes* of this bill. The bill was passed in a House of 128 peers present (no proxies being presented); and there were for it 106, and against it 22! Well done, backs! you have, at last, done just what I said you would do; namely, oppose the bill, *till every man in the country had feelings towards you that need not be described*; and then, PASS IT, grinding your teeth all the while! The Lords, who stuck to the stuff to the last, were, as the report in the *Morning Chronicle* states, the following:

DUKES.	VISCOUNT
Newcastle	Gage
Gordon	BARONS
EARLS.	Rolle (Strathallan)
Westmoreland	Doneraile
Dartmouth	Bexley
Guilford	Carrington
Buden	Ellenborough
Malmesbury	Monson
Mansfield	Delamere
Powlett	Carteret
Fowis	Willoughby de Broke
	Grantley

A queerish list! But no matter: these have *no claim before* any of those who voted against the SECOND READING, or who voted in favour of LYNDHURST'S MOTION; all of whom stand upon exactly the *same footing* with these. Well, here is the bill *actually passed*; and there is the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE with his reported vow, *never to enter the House again!* Come, come! my Lord; relax a little:

"*To make the vow was rash, to keep it sin.*"

Let us all, *high blood* and *low blood*, be good-humoured now.

The closing debate was not without *interest*; especially that part of it which relates to the POLITICAL UNIONS. I shall first insert the debate, and then remark on it.

REFORM BILL.

Earl GREY moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Reform Bill.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA—Although he was little disposed at present to trouble their Lordships with any observations of his, yet he could not help trespassing on their patience with a few words on this closing scene of the tragedy which had been of late enacting in Parliament. This night was that on which the existence of this House as an independent branch of the legislature depended. This night the independence of that House would be gone for ever, and those who were then present would witness the last act of its downfal. It was a daring and atrocious policy which had produced such a disastrous result. When he reflected on the height of prosperity, power, and glory, to which this country had advanced under its old institutions and happy constitution, which was now to be sacrificed at the shrine of ambition—when he considered the revolution which had formerly taken place in France, and the crimes and calamities with which it had been attended, and the military despotism in which it had terminated—when he reflected how the happy constitution of this country had withstood the storms and tempests with which it had been assailed, and that it had not only preserved itself, but had assisted other countries in preserving their independence—when he reflected how that constitution had enabled the noble Duke (Wellington), who was not now in his place, to place the British banners on the walls of Paris, and to tear from his lofty seat the tyrant who then afflicted Europe—when he reflected that *this constitution was now humbled in the dust*, he could not help feeling deeply the lamentable change that was now about to be consummated. When the noble Earl now at the head of the administration entered on the situation which he now held, he supported his administration for a short time. He had though highly of the talents, the firmness, and general ability of the noble Earl; and after the warm declarations that he had made of his sense of the dignity of that House, he never imagined that the noble Earl would do anything that must necessarily lead to the destruction of that House, and the downdownfal of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) But he had been most lamentably disappointed. He had been, indeed, strongly advised by his friends not to support it; and he deeply regretted that he had not followed that advice, for if he had followed it, he would, at least, have been saved the pangs of repentance

which he now felt for having supported the noble Earl's administration, even for a short time. (Hear, hear.) He called the attention of the noble Earl to a speech of an eminent statesman now no more (Mr. Canning), and if the noble Earl would peruse that speech, and all the speeches of that statesman which had reference to this subject, he would see how much *opposed the sentiments which pervaded these speeches were to the measure with which the noble Earl had overwhelmed the constitution* of this country, and insured its downfal. It would be impossible for the noble Earl to avoid experiencing the *deepest feelings of remorse*, when in future times, which he might live to witness, he saw *this once happy country* plunged into misery, to which it was impossible but that the present bill must eventually lead. The noble Earl, instead of relying upon the great good sense, the property, honour, and intelligence of the nation, had delivered *himself over to the radical, revolutionary, and infidel spirit of the age.* Come what might, he and his noble Friends could not but feel that they had discharged a solemn duty to the public, and they could not doubt that however remote the time might be, yet a time would come and a feeling arise when the sentiments and principles on which they had acted would receive justice at the hands of the people of England. (Cheers.)

The LORD CHANCELLOR then rose to put the question that the bill be read a third time, when

The Earl of HARROWBY addressed their Lordships. He remembered to have heard a story, which he thought was somewhat apposite on the present occasion. In a House of Parliament in a sister country, a member addressed some questions to the Government of the day, and receiving no answer, he suddenly exclaimed "Am I addressing an Irish Senate, or a Turkish Divan—*are we to be strangled by mutes?*" (Cheers.) He confessed he was not prepared for such a manifestation on the part of the noble Earl opposite, of the sense he entertained of the depth of degradation to which the House had sunk. He was not prepared that the noble Earl should so plainly show his sense of that degradation as not vouchsafe a reply. He could not but admire the courage of the noble Earl in leaving such a speech as that which the House had just heard, without an answer. For himself, he found scarcely adequate language to convey to any one whom he might address upon such a subject the intense disgust which he felt at the present condition of that House—at the position in which it had been placed by the proceedings of the noble Earl and his colleagues; and he felt that he could hardly explain to himself, still less make intelligible to others, why he had so far surmounted those feelings as to take a part in the conclusion of that sad drama—a drama remarkable for a large variety of plots. When its first act commenced, he certainly, from a paramount sense of duty, had been induced to take an active share in the proceeding; and the recollection of what then took place, as well as what had occurred since, and what was now going forward, rendered him incapable of resisting the impulse under which he was urged to trouble the House with a few words on the introduction of this measure, the means by which it was carried, and the consequences that would probably ensue from it—consequences which, he had no doubt, the noble Earl opposite would as deeply deplore as any member of that House. He had often stated, and he would not refrain from repeating that assertion, that the mere introduction of that measure struck the severest blow against the independence of the hereditary branch of the legislature which it had ever sustained. When it was a second time introduced into the other House of Parliament, and a second time adopted, the blow came with redoubled force; but he yet entertained a confident hope that such amendments might have been introduced as, without trenching on the principles of the measure, might have rendered it comparatively innoxious—such amendments as would have enabled those who in that House strenuously opposed it, to vote for the third reading without inconsistency. For example, if double representatives had been given to the boroughs contained in schedule B, there would still have been left a better chance for the admission of men of unquestionable talent and character, who might be unwilling to face the trouble and expense of offering themselves to large constituencies. All history had proved that the most efficient and valuable members of the other House of Parliament were members of the class most unwilling to present themselves to popular places. He had further flattered himself that the places in schedule C would have been left as originally intended. He used the word intended, because he bore in mind the expressed intentions of the promoters of the measure. And he likewise expected that schedule D might have been altogether dispensed with, as well as that some of the metropolitan districts might have been consolidated, so as to give two additional members to Middlesex, and to give two representatives to the agricultural districts of Lancashire. Thus many of the painful consequences, the heats and animosities which arose from their being but single members to different places might be avoided. He had not himself at any time a very strong objection to the 10*l.* franchise, provided the other parts of the bill were rendered unobjectionable, though the noble Earl himself admitted that the amount of that franchise did by no means form a principle of the bill. Still it might have been retained without drawing too largely on the consistency of those by whom the bill was generally opposed, provided it were to be regulated by the payment of taxes, the valuation for the poor-rates, and residence—thus adopting the principle of the noble Earl himself, that of securing the most independent and respectable body of electors which the

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country could supply. He should not trouble their Lordships with any further discussion on the principles or details of the measure, but he would at least indulge himself by saying, that he had hoped they would have been allowed to discuss it in an independent House of Lords: and he was the more led to entertain that expectation from the speech of the noble Earl's which induced them to consent to the second reading of the bill. In that speech he repudiated in the most indignant terms the accusation made against him, of an attempt to dictate to that House. In that remarkable speech he declared, that the phrase he used was misunderstood and misrepresented. He declared, that whatever might be his opinion respecting the bill, the decision rested with their Lordships; with whatever urgency he might press the principle of the bill upon them for adoption, the arrangement of details rested with the committee of that House; but they could not shut their eyes to this important truth that was conveyed to them—that if they decided one way, there was an end to their independence for ever. Certainly the noble Earl had stated the extreme course which he proposed to pursue, unless a case of necessity arose. That case of necessity confessedly was—a collision between the two Houses of Parliament. The noble Earl admitted from the commencement, that nothing could excuse, much less justify, that extreme proceeding, except for the purpose of preventing a hopeless collision between the two Houses of Parliament, at a time when the opinion of the people supported the one House against the other. There was one expression of the noble Earl's which was to be found in that record of the proceedings, which members of Parliament have universally resorted to whenever it became necessary to refer to former speeches, and with that record before him he hesitated not to say that the sentiments imputed to the noble Earl were fully borne out by his words. If, however, instead of resting upon that generally received record, he (Lord H.) depended upon his own recollection, he would say that it furnished him with language much stronger than that attributed to the noble Earl by the publication before him. He had a distinct remembrance of the assurance given to the House, that its independence would not be violated without a fresh appeal to the people distinctly resting upon the question of reform. Those were the means which the noble Earl proposed for preventing that species of collision between the Houses of Parliament which alone was to be apprehended, and which alone, upon the showing of the noble Earl himself, justified the alternative which he proposed. He would then ask their Lordships, did not the statement and admission of the noble Earl bind him to wait, for the purpose of seeing whether the necessity would or would not arise. It was a gross misrepresentation to say that noble Lords had at any time contemplated alterations which would have so altered the bill as to make it what was asserted it would be—a mockery if sent down to the House of Commons in that state. So far from such a probability at all existing, the bill would have gone down to them with a preamble not materially changed, and occupying the place which preambles usually did. They would find schedule A the first of the schedules, and not materially changed. They would find the greater part of the other schedules, occupying similar situations to those in which they were originally placed, without their character being in any great degree altered. In fact the bill would not have undergone any changes beyond what are frequent in the business of legislation in this country. It surely could be no matter of importance to the other House of Parliament if a motion were entertained and agreed to for the postponement of schedule A; of what importance could it possibly be to the House of Commons that one part of the bill was discussed and arranged before another, provided the whole were returned to that House in such a condition as would not justify the assertion that it was essentially or fundamentally altered? He believed he should be fully borne out in the statement, that not above two or three noble Lords in that House were adverse to the whole of schedule A, and, therefore, he was warranted in assuming that the bill might have been returned to the Commons with its more important principles unimpaired. If any one had asserted in his presence that the noble Earl would have assumed that the circumstances which had taken place did constitute that extreme necessity which would alone justify the course the noble Earl contemplated, he (Lord H.) would have repudiated such an imputation as a base calumny upon the character of the noble Earl, and he would have felt it to be his duty, in common justice, to have vindicated the character of the noble Earl from such an aspersion. As to the power which it had been said had been given to the noble Earl, he would not characterize the means by which it was obtained in those terms which his present thoughts suggested. He had no doubt that even the present age, when it recovered its senses, would form a just estimate of those means, and posterity, which never erred, would pronounce upon them a solemn judgment. He would designate them as a party manœuvre. But whatever language best befitted their character, it must be acknowledged they had hitherto been attended with a temporary, though he feared, a mischievous success. He was not the man to envy that success. He could not envy the triumph which enabled the Ministry to trample on the Crown and the House of Lords, by fostering a power which would soon trample upon them. (Loud cheers.) The noble Earl and he, from their common time of life, could not expect to witness the termination of *that down hill progress to which this country was destined* (cheers)—*a progress which could never be arrested, otherwise than by Government taking*

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decided steps to suppress those associations which could coalesce with no regular or established order of things. The political unions had in a great measure achieved the work of reform; and they must be perfectly conscious that they could at any time accomplish objects as great and not less mischievous. Not only would the Government of the noble Earl opposite find it *necessary to suppress associations of that nature*, but he was unable to conceive the formation of any government which could sustain itself against them. (Cheers.) The measure was now, for the last time, brought under the consideration of their Lordships. The whole responsibility, whether for good or evil, *rested with the Government by whom it was proposed*, and he prayed that God would grant them the wisdom and the prudence to rescue the country from its consequences. He sincerely wished, though he scarcely expected, that they might prove successful. But *he looked much more to the people than to the Ministers*; he relied on the elastic power of that great good sense which had carried the people of England through so many dangers. Let the Government, however, beware? They had administered poison, no doubt, to a strong stomach; but however strong that stomach might be, if it were administered day by day, and hour by hour, it was not in humanity to resist its noxious power. Be the results, however, what they might, the opponents of the bill had the satisfaction of feeling they had done their duty. (Cheers.)

Earl GREY—In the state of health in which he was, and at that stage of the bill, he hoped he would have been spared the pain to himself, and the trouble to their Lordships, of addressing them at all. But after the speech of the noble Earl, he could not avoid standing up, not so much to vindicate the measure, as his colleagues and himself. (Cheers.) Were the attacks personal to himself, he should certainly not have occupied a moment of their Lordships' time in the discussion; but as they involved the character of the Government, he felt that neither in justice to the Sovereign or himself he could remain silent. He hoped that the House, as well as the posterity to which the noble Earl appealed, would acquit him of any sinister views of an ill-regulated ambition, and would give him credit for that sincerity of motive of which he had at all times felt perfectly conscious. He trusted that he should from every quarter receive credit for an earnest desire to introduce a measure consistent with the ancient constitution of the country—a measure necessary to remove the abuses which time had introduced, and, above all, rendered necessary, by the prevailing alienation between the House of Commons and their constituents, which deprived the former of the confidence of the latter. To remove those abuses, and to prevent their continuance—to meet that necessity *which he did not create*, he had introduced the measure on which their Lordships were that night finally to decide. Whether it had been advanced to this stage by any indirection or by any party manœuvre, he would leave those to judge who observed the course of his and his colleagues' proceedings. He repeated, that of all attacks which related to himself he felt the least anxious; but if it were possible for him to feel less anxiety about one thing than another, it would be to vindicate his friends from the *charge of being mutes*. It really was a novelty to hear it said that the constitution had been strangled by mutes. Without meaning anything uncivil to the noble Earl, whose alienation he regretted, short as was their connexion, he must affirm that no assertion could be made so utterly unwarranted by fact. He believed he could appeal to their Lordships to bear him out in the assertion, that no topic of discussion had been raised which had not been completely exhausted; and if he did not reply to the noble Earl's (Winchilsea's) speech immediately, it arose from a feeling that he had too often, and at too great length, trespassed on the attention of their Lordships. Looking back to the various debates that had taken place, he felt that it would be impossible for any one to contradict the assertion, that no one part of the measure had been imperfectly discussed. It was so long before their Lordships, all its principles and details had been so fully examined into, all its merits estimated, and its bearings so viewed, that it became unnecessary for him to say one word, had it not been for the speech they had just heard, which charged him with conduct inconsistent with his duty as a peer and a servant of the Crown. The noble Earl seemed to have forgotten or mistaken the declarations he had made in that House—declarations for which, when he uttered them, he expected to receive full credit from the House and the country. Now, as at all times, he would support the institutions of the country, which had so much promoted the glory and the prosperity of England. He was sincerely attached to them, and would ever continue to defend them. But, as Lord Bacon observed, Time was the greatest innovator; and it was in vain, however attached he might be to those ancient institutions, to attempt to resist that destroyer, before whom all human institutions must ultimately yield. The constitution of England might be beautiful in theory and beneficial in practice; but abuses had crept in, and the remedy could no longer be delayed. In that situation he found himself, and even if disposed, *he was destitute of the power to resist a measure of reform*. But the inclination he never had: the opinions of early life were confirmed by the experience of latter years. Entertaining such sentiments could he shrink from avowing and acting on them? The noble Earl then proceeded to detail the introduction of the bill, the principles on which it was founded—its progress through the House of Lords; and strenuously urged on their Lordships the necessity of now agreeing to the third reading. He denied that he had ever used language which could justify

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noble Lords to entertain that he contemplated a fresh appeal to the people antecedently to that exercise of the Royal prerogative, which he deemed necessary to prevent a collision between the hereditary and the representative branches of the legislature. He particularly requested that he spoke of a probable collision between the two Houses, and intimated that he should certainly feel it his duty to recommend the exercise of that prerogative, not to remedy a collision after it took place, but to prevent it in due time. The noble Earl who had spoken of their common age might remember the debates on the regency, though neither of them was in Parliament at the time; and it could not have escaped his recollection, that, on those debates, the prerogative of the Crown, to prevent a collision between the Houses, had been frequently insisted on. It was, therefore, with him no new doctrine, and the only question was, whether the emergency to justify it had arisen? There could not be a more dangerous error than to suppose that emergency was the actual and not the probable collision between the two branches of the legislature. Surely no man of prudence would wait until danger, confessedly foreseen, had arrived. Common sense dictated that it should be provided against as speedily as possible. He would now come to the noble Earl's notice of the first point on which the House had divided in committee. It was asserted that was no question of principle. To decide between those who held this opinion and the contrary, he would leave to an impartial observer. This, however, must be acknowledged, that if they had conceded the point then demanded, they must have resigned to the enemies of the measure the whole conduct of the bill. That, he felt, was inconsistent with every principle he had ever professed, and he was resolved at all hazards to resist it. He did this from no vain pride, from no morbid sense of personal dignity. The noble Earl then enlarged on the injurious consequences of rotten boroughs: he denied that the House of Commons worked well in practice, that it failed in producing confidence between itself and the people, the representatives and the represented; contending that the main principle of the bill was the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, from which no consideration could induce him to swerve. Neither could he ever consent to any change in the order of proceeding which had for its object to limit the disfranchisement. The first motion thus made in the committee was made without any previous communication to him, and when its purport was stated to him for the first time in that House, he felt instantly that it was a proposition which, if agreed to, must prove fatal to the bill. This motion was brought forward by those who were shocked and indignant at the notion of a party trick. (Hear, hear.) He imputed nothing to this; he only sought to defend himself, and he owned that, to his mind, no other course presented itself excepting that he had pursued. Under these circumstances, he had only two courses open to him—to resign, or to adopt the advice against which the noble Earl levelled. That advice he humbly tendered, and as it was not adopted, he, with the utmost gratitude for past favours, entreated his Majesty to accept his resignation. Was that trampling on the Crown or the House of Lords? Was it not, on the contrary, abiding by that principle even dearer to him than his heart's blood, for he believed it necessary to the security of the country? Noble Lords had charged him with a determination to force the bill without any alteration; he could assure them, that so far from such a wish, he had been throughout willing to attend to all objections in the committee, which would not affect the principles or the efficiency of the bill. He then proceeded to defend the metropolitan clause, the 10l. franchise, and to express a confident hope, that when the bill should have been read a third time, public repose and general satisfaction would be its sure consequences. Should it be necessary to say more in its defence, he would leave it in the hands of those whose strength was less impaired than his, and he would trespass no more on their Lordships. *What might be the result of the Reform Bill it was not for man to decide*, but in the present state of the country, they might be well assured *it was impossible to avoid reform*. If reform did not come in due time from within, it would *come with a vengeance from without*. The public mind had been so long bent upon it, that he believed there was no noble Lord in that House who would consciously say there was not the greatest danger in delaying it. He contended that although the nomination boroughs were destroyed, the great interests of the country would all be adequately represented; the agricultural, the commercial, the manufacturing, and even the colonial interests. It had been over and over again said, that much excitement prevailed; but he would appeal to the House whether he or his friends had been guilty of creating that excitement. He hoped the time was at hand when repose would succeed to that excitement: he *hoped that a new era was at hand*, and he anticipated that the noble Earl opposite would be amongst the first to rejoice at the falsification of his own gloomy forebodings. Amongst the advantages which he anticipated from the speedy adoption of the measure, was *that Political Unions would no longer exist*. He felt as fully as any noble Lord in that House *that they could not co-exist with any well-regulated or efficient Government*; but he did not look to *the same means for putting an end* to them which seemed to be in the contemplation of some Members of that House. The noble Earl on the other side probably remembered the associations which were formed in this country at the close of the American war; he could not fail to remember that they transacted business by means of delegates, and that they were in constant correspondence with each other; but that when *the exciting*

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cause was removed, the societies disappeared at the same time. So he expected it would be with the associations to which the necessity for reform had given rise. One of the results of the Reform Bill would be, *to extinguish those societies.* He then proceeded to defend himself from the imputation of any feeling but that of the most disinterested desire for the public good; at his time of life, he could feel no personal interest; and he believed there could be no man in the country aware of his own relation to society at large, who could feel otherwise than anxious for the public; the humblest mechanic in the land had the same interest in its well-being that he had, and he made no doubt that every class of the community would see the expediency *of instantly returning to that peace and good order*, without which they could not hope to enjoy that prosperity which, he trusted, would soon, and for a period of long duration, fall to our lot. He would then say that the measure of reform, so far from being revolutionary, was, in the highest degree, conservative.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE gave the noble Earl full credit for the uprightness of his intentions and the purity of his motives, but yet accused his policy as tending wantonly to put the public affairs in jeopardy. He complained that that House had been deprived of its independence. He contended, that if the sense of the country could now once more be taken upon the subject, it *would be found that the great body of the property, the intelligence, and the character of the country, were opposed to it.* He denied the interpretation put upon his own former speech by the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, and contended for that of his noble Friend (Lord Harrowby); and he strenuously maintained, that no collision had arisen between the two Houses of Parliament. The noble Earl had said that the intention of making the motion which his noble and learned Friend had made in the committee was a secret to him. On his (Lord Wharncliffe's) part he could say, that nothing which he had previously heard had induced him to believe that the noble Earl would consider the success of that motion to be conclusive with respect to his continuance in office. Whatever else might be a secret to the noble Earl, the feelings which he (Lord Wharncliffe) and his noble Friends entertained with respect to the bill could be no secret to him. What could they do other than that which they had done? From the time at which the noble Earl declared in his speech on the second reading of the bill *that the bill was in the hands of their Lordships*, he thought that propositions *for amending the bill* in the committee would be dispassionately received and considered. And he had also thought that the noble Lords opposite were disposed to go *a great way with them in amending the bill.* What he and his noble Friends had been trying to do was to make the bill safer and more satisfactory to the majority of the community. But as his noble Friend had justly said, the noble Earl had made use of the result of the motion of his noble and learned Friend with great skilfulness, as if the destruction of the bill had been previously concerted. No such concert had, however, existed. With respect to the recent proceedings in the committee, he (Lord Wharncliffe) having voted for the second reading of the bill on the ground that it was susceptible of beneficial alteration in the committee, had felt it his duty to attend in the committee, and endeavour to improve the bill as much as possible. They all knew the result, and the determination evinced by the noble Lords opposite not to give up a single point of the measure. Looking back at the whole of the proceedings, he could not take to himself any blame for the share which he had had in them. Before the debate on his noble and learned Friend's motion in the committee, he had told a noble duke, a member of his Majesty's Government, his noble and learned Friend's intention. But if the committee had not decided in favour of his noble and learned Friend's motion, it was possible that they would have decided against his Majesty's Ministers on schedule B; and that would have brought their Lordships into still greater collision with the House of Commons. Everything proved that, whatever might have been the nature of any amendments proposed in the committee, the proposition would have been in vain. He hoped, however, that when the bill was passed, the noble Lords opposite would really turn their attention *to the state of the country.* The noble Earl had admitted *that the systematic operation of Political Unions would be inconsistent with the good government of the country.* He (Lord Wharncliffe) however, *very much doubted whether the settlement of this question would have the effect of putting an end to the Political Unions.* When the Catholic Bill was going through the House, one of the great arguments in its favour was, that it would put an end to the agitation which existed in Ireland; yet, from the period of the passing of that measure, *Ireland had been in constant agitation.* Having become conscious of their power, he doubted whether the Political Unions would be disposed to relinquish it, or to break up that machinery which had *proved so effective in the attainment of their object.* On the contrary, he looked *to see a House of Commons elected under the influence of the Political Unions, and of the press.* Nothing, however, was so dangerous as political prophecy; and he would, therefore, express his earnest hope with the noble Earl, that after the heats and animosities which the discussion of this measure had occasioned had subsided, beneficial consequences might be the result. He could and but confess that he looked with great apprehension to what he conceived was the danger of lodging a preponderant power in the hands of one part of the community; but he trusted that his fears would prove groundless; and that the measure would be productive of all

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the public advantage which the noble Earl anticipated from it.

The question "*That the bill be now read a third time,*" was then put from the woolsack. The Lord Chancellor declared that he thought the contents had it; but a noble lord (we believe the Earl of Roden) stating that the non-contents had it, strangers were ordered to withdraw.

Although there could be no rational doubt as to the result of the division, yet considerable agitation prevailed among the excluded strangers, until they were informed that the numbers (no proxies we understood having been presented) were as follows:

Contents	106
Non-contents	22
Majority . .	84

As soon as the decision of their Lordships was communicated to the people assembled in Palace Yard, they rent the air with shouts, which were distinctly heard in the House.

On our re-admission, we found the Lord Chancellor proposing several verbal amendments in the bill, which, after a brief conversation, were adopted.

The question "*That this bill do pass,*" was then put and agreed to.

A number of noble lords immediately surrounded Earl Grey, and appeared to be congratulating him on the successful termination of his arduous labours.

Upon this debate, I must remark, as far as I think it necessary to remark upon it, in conjunction with the debate, in the House of Commons upon the amendments made by the Lords to the bill, except in as far as relates to the speech of Lord WHARNCLIFFE, who appears to be the only man left in the nation, who still believes that there is a majority of people of property against the bill. The main anxiety of HARROWBY, WHARNCLIFFE, and WINCHILSEA; the main subject of their apprehension, appears to be, that the POLITICAL UNIONS will still continue to exist. Lord GREY answered this very well. Certainly, it will not be necessary to have Political Unions *when the reform has been made*; but it will be very necessary to have them until it has been made. PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, and his worthy associate CROKER, whose adopted child has had a pension allotted to her, seem to have been perfectly horrified at the thought of the *continuance* of these Political Unions after the bill has been passed; and passed it now is (6 June) all but receiving the royal assent. They seem to look upon these Political Unions as something that will supersede the Government altogether; or, at least, have great weight in deciding upon measures to be adopted. PEEL expressed his alarm in the following words:

The character of all future measures *depended on the character of the new Parliament.* Let the noble Lord take the course which he might think most conducive to the speedy passing of those measures, and he assured him that no one on that side of the House would throw any factious obstacle in his way. Above all, he felt it his duty to call the attention of his Majesty's Government *to the continued existence of these political associations.* It was quite clear that the Unions had *no intention of dissolving:* they intended to continue their existence for the purpose of *extorting further advantages.* He had heard it said that this bill was to be accepted as a final and satisfactory measure. The hon. Gentleman behind him (Mr. Hume), the Member for the metropolitan county, had himself said the same thing; yet he declared only a few nights back, in reference to the 10*l.* franchise, that, give him but that and he would soon extort the 5*l.* (Hear.) *This was the principle on which the Political Unions proceeded.* What man interested in the well-being of the country could advocate the existence of these political associations, whose object and desire was *to control the right of voting.* He understood that there was *no intention on the part of Government to interfere with these Political Unions;* but they expressed their confident hope in the good sense of the people for their suppression. But if the Political Unions made their sittings permanent, if they *obtained the control over the rights of voting conferred by the bill*—whatever hon. Gentlemen might think of the form of society under which we had lived for the last fifty years—in his opinion, that there was no party in the state whose domination could be so intolerable as that which was to come. (Hear) He hoped that his Majesty's Government would have sufficient confidence in themselves—he hoped they would have sufficient confidence in the good sense of the people of England; and if they were disappointed in their expectations of that good sense, he hoped they would have sufficient confidence in the good sense of the legislature and the strength of the constitutional powers *to vindicate the authority of the law,* and rescue them from the wretched and degraded tyranny under which they would otherwise be compelled to live. (Cheers from the opposition.) By the King's speech, made at the opening of the session, the Ministers were in some measure pledged to this. In this speech his Majesty says, "Sincerely attached to our free constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my

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people the privilege of discussing and making known their grievances; but in respecting these rights, it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretext, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law; and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects to second my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered." They were, then, about to give their final assent to that bill which was said to be the chief cause and justification of political unions. With the cause, then, the *effect ought also to cease*; and he would call upon the House to consider, before the separation of this Parliament, the propriety of redeeming the pledges placed in the mouth of his Majesty's Ministers, and to *put an end to the proceedings*, the continuance of which, under any form, are inconsistent with all good government, and opposed alike to the provisions and spirit of the law, and to give that protection to *property* and *liberty* which is quite *incompatible with the continuance of those associations*. (Cheers.)

This is very terrific, to be sure. PITT clubs, Conservative Clubs, Loyal Associations against Jacobins and levellers, openly employing bands of spies and informers; all these were right enough; but unions for the purpose of obtaining reform, frighten PEEL'S-BILL PEEL out of his senses. If there be anything which common sense bids every man to believe, and with respect to which there can be no difference of opinion amongst sane persons, it is this: that, if there be anything which your notorious and deadly enemy dislikes more than every thing else, that is a thing which you ought to like Upon this principle we ought to judge now with regard to POLITICAL UNIONS. We may be sure, that PEEL and CROKER dislike them, because they are favourable to us. If they saw in these Unions things which could be easily corrupted, they would not have such a dislike to them. They think, and they think truly, that these Unions will have a good deal to say in pointing out the proper members to be elected, and, why should they not? Are there not "*county-clubs*," sitting from seven years to seven years; regularly fitted out with chairmen, secretaries, and corresponding committees; have not both *Whigs* and *Tories* these; and shall not the people have associations for a similar purpose? But, before I proceed further, let us have the words of Lawyer CROKER, who quoted WASHINGTON!

There was no part of the conduct of his Majesty's present Government which he more deeply lamented than their *conduct towards the Political Unions*. Nor was that conduct free from the marks of duplicity, as well as of neglect of duty. They might for a time check the eruptions of those volcanic Unions, but he very much feared that the earthquake would be stifled only for a time, and that eventually monarchy in this country would totter to its fall. Even at the present moment Political Unions, by the mere change of a word, were about to become legally organized. They were about to call themselves *Electoral Unions*, and to assume the functions of *conductors of elections throughout* the country; pointing out to the voters of popular places *the persons whom they thought best qualified to sit in the House of Commons*. And this system *was to last for ever*. It would be a perpetual circle of political excitement. Was it too much to believe that these Unions would succeed in obtaining a *bona fide* and permanent influence over the Government of the country? Let those who thought so *recollect what occurred in France at the period of the revolution*; and recollect the division of Paris into Electoral Sections, which, having set themselves above all law, first controlled the Government, and in a short time destroyed it. He would on this subject appeal to an authority which he supposed would be allowed to be entitled to respect by all who admired high public character obtained in the establishment of national independence, but which authority pointed out the dangers which might beset constituted order even in a republic. The great Washington, in the year 1796, when, as it were, taking leave of the American nation as a public man, wrote a letter in which he warned his countrymen of the great danger to which even a popular state was *liable from political associations*. Having observed that *when a government was once established* it was the duty of every individual to obey it, Washington thus proceeded:—

"All obstructions to the execution of the "laws, all combinations and associations, "under whatever plausible character, with "the real design to direct, control, counter- "act, or awe the regular deliberation and "action of the constituted authorities, are "destructive of this fundamental principle, "and of fatal tendency. They serve to organ- "ize faction, to give it an artificial and ex- "traordinary force—to put *in the place of the* "*delegated will of the nation the will of a* "*party*, often a small but artful and enter- "prising minority of the community; and, "according to the alternate triumphs of dif- "ferent parties, to make the public adminis- "tration the mirror of the ill-concerted a

" incongruous projects of faction, rather than " the organ of consistent and wholesome " plans, digested by common councils, and " modified by mutual interests. However " combinations or associations of the above " description may, now and then, answer " popular ends, they are likely, in the course " of time and things, to become potent " engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and " unprincipled men will be enabled to *subvert* " *the power of the people*, and to usurp for " themselves the reins of Government; de- " stroying afterwards the very enemies which " have lifted them to unjust dominion."

LAWYER CROKER, this passage from what was called Washington's legacy, will make against you when properly explained. *I was an actor*, and a pretty important actor, too, on the stage, when this legacy came forth. War was going on between England and France. WASHINGTON was anxious to keep America in a state of neutrality; "*Democratic Societies*" were formed to force the Congress into a war against England. I had a very considerable hand in keeping down these societies. The object of these societies was far different from that of our Political Unions, the object of which is to obtain a restoration of our rights, and a relief from our burdens. The "*Democratic Societies*" of America had *no complaint to make against their Government*, which laid not one single tax upon them, and which never had attempted to withhold from them the enjoyment of one single right. The form of the Government, was a form which the people themselves had chosen, the president and the members of the Congress, had, at the time we are speaking of, recently been chosen by the people. At the end of about a *year and a half*, the right of choosing would again revert into the hands of the people. It was upon these grounds that WASHINGTON objected to clubs whose manifest intention was, to coerce the Government; to overrule those whom the *people had chosen to carry on their affairs*; and, in this particular case, to compel them to go to war, to gratify the wild and vindicative whims of the leaders of these societies.

Is there any *similarity* in the two cases, Lawyer Croker; and ought not some one to have put you down at once by showing the dissimilarity? Do we combine for the purpose of dictating to the King and his Ministers measures of war and of peace? Have those who rule us *been chosen by ourselves*, from the King down to the justice of the peace? Shall we, at the end of *every two years*, *have the reckoosing of the whole of them?* Have we *no rights to recover*; and have we *no burdens* imposed upon us? Oh! Lawyer CROKER, there wanted a man with a head upon his shoulders, to remark upon your learned quotation from WASHINGTON. Oh! Lawyer! The glorious days of MOTHER CLARKE are gone never to return!

I was not much delighted with what the Ministers said upon the subject of these Political Unions. They, in both Houses, expressed a hope, that the *good sense* of the people would put an end to the Unions *when the reform was completed*. Agreed, if by completion, they mean the Reformed Parliament *actually assembled*, and proving by its conduct that it is resolved to make the changes which the circumstances of the country demand; but wholly do I disagree with them, if they mean, that the Unions ought to cease upon the *mere passing of the Bill*. Why, here is this Parliament still sitting with the members of the fifty-six cashiered boroughs in it; and, what is more, the Ministers do not think proper to give us even a hint with regard to the time when it is to cease to sit! Nay, Lawyer CROKER, my real belief is, that, if the Political Unions were to dissolve themselves, and the people were to sink down into a state of confiding apathy, and were to hold their tongues upon the subject, this Parliament would continue to sit for years yet to come, unless put an end to by the demise of the crown. Oh, no! I am not for a government of clubs: I never have been. A nation cannot be well governed by such means; it is all caprice, and all confusion: but, I am for our keeping together, and not slackening in any one of our exertions, until we see the members of the Reformed Parliament fairly seated in the House.

Besides, while proud and pert STANLEY tells us that HE will take this reform as a

liquidation in full of all claims; and while it occurred to nobody to ask him who the devil qualified him to be the receiver of this liquidation; while he is saying this, and while all the Ministers seem to say that this is a *final* measure, there is loan-monger BARING with his *further reform*; and there is Lord WYNFORD with his bill for a *further reform*; and there is the sublime Seignor ELLENBOROUGH with his project for preventing the vacating of seats in cases of pecuniary appointments! Here are a whole series of bills, as I foresaw there would be, for counteracting the effects of the Reform Bill. Certainly so indecent a thing never was heard of in the world before: here is this House of Commons, which has just solemnly declared itself not to be the representatives of the people, entertaining a series of bills *for regulating the conduct of those who shall be the representatives of the people*; and, what is still more, really seeming to be acting upon the notion, that any acts which it shall pass shall be *binding* upon a reformed Parliament, and that it shall not be able to *repeal* them!

The people would have been well content, after passing the English Reform Bill, to see the present House of Commons sit *to finish the other Reform Bills*, and to do nothing more. Then we might have forgotten, or, at any rate, ceased to characterize, this present House of Commons, and ceased to trouble it, in its dying moments, with our complaints and remonstrances; but, since it will continue to "*legislate*" as it calls it; since it seems resolved to go on a "*legislating*," it ought to be our business, and particularly that of the Political Unions, to give it something to "*legislate*" upon; and above all things to remind it, that, agreeably to Lord JOHN RUSSELL's express declaration when the Reform Bill was brought in, the two great questions of the *durations of Parliaments* and the *ballot* were only "*deferred*" until the Reform Bill should be passed. I should be well content to leave these matters to a reformed Parliament itself; but if the *rotten-borough* gentry insist upon still continuing to "*legislate*," the Political Unions will, I warrant them, soon bring these matters before them. Better cease to "*legislate*," then, or, at any rate, cease to call the measure *final*, while there is a whole series of bills coming forward, the manifest object of which is to counteract the effects of the Reform Bill.

Thus, Lawyer CROKER and PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, you see that something may be said in favour of POLITICAL UNIONS, which are, in fact, dangerous to none but *the enemies of the people*; to none but those who have still the hope of *defeating the effects of reform*. These Unions are, in effect, as necessary *to uphold the present Ministers*, as the faithful and gallant *dogs* were to protect the *sheep* against the devouring jaws of the *wolves*. "Get rid of your dogs," said the wolves to the sheep: "it is "they that make all this mischief "between us: get rid of them, and then "*we shall live in harmony*." "Get rid of your Unions," says Croker and Peel's-bill Peel. If the Ministers were as foolish as the sheep, the result would be much about the same *as to them*. But, they *could* not get rid of them if they *would*. Without a renewal of SIX-ACTS, they cannot get rid of them; and, does Croker and Peel's-bill Peel think, that THIS House of Commons; THIS one; that THIS one, is going to sit there, and receive *green-bags*, and renew SIX-ACTS! Oh, no! If the Ministers be wise, they will let the Political Unions *quite alone*; they will go on, in right earnest, putting the Reform Bills into execution; they will be gentle towards the people, even in case of their excesses (if they should fall into any, which I do not believe); they will rely *on the people* to defeat all the infamous intrigues against them; and they will make no attempt at all *to make partisans of the leaders of the Unions*. My Lord GREY is too sensible a man not to see that the thing must *march*, as the French call it; and I pray God, that HE may resolve *to march with it*! I acknowledge great gratitude to him, and my feeling is that of the nation. The thing *will march*, whether he marches

with it or not; but, it would march much better *with him at its head.* CORRUPTION'S *hatred against him* is absolutely indescribable; but, let him *confide in the people,* and he has nothing to fear: if he pursue the contrary course, there is *no species of danger* to which he will not be exposed. He is beset by enemies. He may truly say, in the language of the Psalmist: "Mine ene-"mies compassed me round about: "they set a trap for my feet: even "they that dipped their hands in the "same dish with me did seek my life." And then, to avoid profanity, he might as truly exclaim: "But you, *O people,* "are righteous, and will cover me with "shield, and will avenge me on all my "foes."

Lord GREY remembers, he must remember, that, *nine years ago,* I told him, that, amongst all the nobility, he was the *only man* whom I regarded as at all capable of *setting the thing to rights*; but, at the same time, how often, my God! did I tell him, that even he could do nothing *without the people at his back!* How often did I tell him, that the attempt would *destroy him,* unless *shielded by the people!* And I, as often, assured him, that he would have *that shield.* He has found all my words true, thus far; and he *ought to listen to me now.* He is now, at this moment, in *the crisis of his fate*; and a few short months will decide, whether he is to be known hereafter as one of the greatest of mankind, or, as a person of very equivocal claim to renown. That the former may be his lot is my most sincere and ardent wish; to give effect to that wish I would cheerfully labour like a horse all the rest of my life; because the wish cannot be accomplished without the re-establishment of the liberties, the happiness, and the greatness of our country.

I now come to another part of the speech of Lawyer CROKER, it is only worthy of attention, as it shows what sort of dreaming is going on in the minds of the tax-eaters. The lawyer, who has had such a fat birth for so many years, seems to be filled with most dismal forebodings for the future. He takes a large view of the matter, extends his statesmanlike eye over the whole continent of Europe; and, at last fixes it, dropping a pious and patriotic tear at the same time, on the dismal state in which England will be when it shall have been stripped of all its rotten boroughs, and shall have been abandoned by all those elegant and beautiful creatures, who figure on the pension and sinecure lists, and of all the *very* long spurs, and *very* bushy whiskers, that ornament the dead-weight. Having prepared ourselves to weep with the Lawyer, let us hear his pathetic lamentation:

Up to the present period England had been the *anchor of the social security of Europe.* Equally exposed to the deluge of democracy during the existence of *republicanism* in France, and to the deluge of despotism when *Buonaparte* obtained supreme authority in that country, the hopes of social order had been preserved in England *as in an ark,* until both those dangers had subsided. But that which his Majesty's present Government was about to do, was to convert *that ark into a fireship.* All who contemplated what was passing in Belgium, in Holland, in Portugal, in Spain, in Russia, must know that the *people of those countries were looking with intense anxiety to England.* (Hear, hear, hear.) The republican or movement party throughout Europe, looked on the passing of the Reform Bill as a great advance, and, like the honourable Member for Middlesex, hailed it as the *precursor of a greater.* Looking, therefore, not only at ourselves, but at the other nations of Europe, was it possible to believe that if those nations became democracies, we could maintain the monarchy, the aristocracy, and *all the ancient and feudal institutions which we were accustomed to revere?* Adverting to the Boundary Bill he (Mr. Croker) observed, that he should feel it his duty to state his objections to the way in which that bill was to operate, it was not his intention to protract his remarks upon it, or to carry his opposition so far as to interpose any serious obstacle to the passing of the measure. Indeed, he considered the Reform Bill and the Boundary Bill as inseparable; for, if the people of England were assembled for a general election after the Reform Bill was passed, and before the Boundary Bill was passed, and therefore before it was determined who had the right of voting, the most disastrous consequences might be the result. He could not conclude, without solemnly declaring, that nothing which had occurred during the discussions on the measure had altered the opinion which he entertained of it at the first moment of its introduction. He believed that the honourable Member for Middlesex was perfectly

correct in his prognostics. He believed that principles were afloat which it would be impossible to check. He believed that the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman opposite were sincere in their desire to put, as it were, a seal upon the bond; but he also believed that the words of the bond were so extensive that no seal would be effective; and that as the hon. Member for Middlesex had said, *the Reform Bill was but the commencement of a career of change*; what had occurred since the original introduction of the bill confirmed him in that apprehension. The first edition of the bill had been received with approbation, even by the most violent reformers. They had since had two successive editions of it; each having a further and a further tendency to democratic character. (Cries of "No, no.") That negation should not provoke him to enter further into the subject than to say that such was his opinion. Indeed, the arguments of the friends of the bill had been—"See what your opposition comes to; the second bill is worse than the first, and the third than the second." Seeing, therefore, that every alteration was in a democratic spirit, and seeing the prevalence of that spirit *throughout Europe*, he could not but apprehend the ultimate subversion of the constitution, and the establishment *first of a democracy, and then (in due course of events) of a despotism*; and, after a sad, and he hoped not a bloody interval, the RE-CONSTRUCTION OF THE ADMIRABLE SYSTEM so injuriously assailed.

Lawyer CROKER: it is for you who knew Mother CLARKE, and who know your adopted female pensioner: it is for you to say whether either of these could have made a speech so stupid as this; but it is for me to say, that I do not believe that any other man living could have done it. So Lawyer, England *has been the ark* of "*social order*," has it? It stood out against both *republicanism* and also against Buonaparte, until "both those dangers had subsided." Shallow Lawyer: it did indeed put them both down: but it CONTRACTED A DEBT; the boroughmongers contracted a DEBT in order to put them down, which was sure to put them down; and this I told them, when they were roasting sheep and oxen at the peace. I told them so then, Lawyer CROKER: I told them that they had *to pay the reckoning*; and that reckoning, Lawyer, they are now only just beginning to pay.

You tell us, that the people in the despotic states of Europe, have been looking with great anxiety to England; and that the republicans in those countries look upon the passing of the Reform Bill as *a great advance*. To be sure they do, Lawyer; and to be sure their tyrants look at it with dismal forebodings; and, that is one of the things to be sure, that makes the bill pleasing to us. You ask, whether, if those nations become democracies, "We could "maintain the monarchy, the aristo-"cracy, and all the ancient and feudal "institutions, *which we were accus-"tomed to revere.*" Lawyer CROKER, amongst those revered institutions, do you find the excise-laws, the stamp-laws, the assessed tax-laws, the infamous funding system, the standing army, the military academy, the dead-weight, the Bourbon police, and the treadmill, not to mention more things at present. Poh! Lawyer CROKER. Mother CLARKE would not have talked nonsense like this.

It is, however, the close of your speech which has been most attractive of my admiration. You think that we shall have, first, A DEMOCRACY; then, in due course, a DESPOTISM; and then return to the PRESENT ADMIRABLE SYSTEM! That is to say, to rotten boroughs. Mother CLARKE would not have said *that:* Mother CLARKE was a tax-eater, and a brazen one, too: Mother CLARKE took the *footboy* from behind her chair, and made him an *officer in the army:* but Mother CLARKE would not have said *that.*

And, if we should have a democracy, Lawyer CROKER, why should that be followed by a despotism? The parties most interested in the thing; the parties who would lose most by it, must be most brutally perverse to drive us to a democracy; but, if they were to do this, WHY should that be followed by a despotism? You say, that the despotism will come in "*due course*;" just as if democracy was the flower and despotism the fruit! Mother CLARKE would not have said *that*, Lawyer CROKER: Mary Ann was brazen, to be sure; but Mary Ann, if she had been quoting WASHINGTON at the same time, would have had too much sense to say *that*,

well knowing, that the very mention of WASHINGTON would remind her hearers, that there was a people, and an English people too, who had shaken off the laws of a boroughmonger parliament; had erected a *democracy* in the stead, and had, under that democracy, enjoyed, and still continued to enjoy, prosperity and happiness not equalled by any people on earth. Mother CLARKE would not have foreseen this conclusive answer, and she, brazen as she was, would have refrained from making the assertion.

There were many other things, said in these last dying speeches on the Reform Bill, which things would, under other circumstances, not be unworthy of notice. Other matters, however, now press, and I must, therefore, here conclude my remarks.

GERMAN FROWS.

Oh LORD! The devils have *bred* here! I thought they were half masculine; but at Cobham, the other day, I saw two or three of them with some *young ones*! You might have knocked me down with a feather! The rats, which country people and the people in America call "*Hanover* rats," are nasty and mischievous enough; stinking and greedy vermin a plenty; but nothing to what these "*fry-a-proom*" devils will be, if once their breed take a spread. There is one *consolation*, however; that as there are no HES come over, the breed *must be bastards*. Here, indeed, we want MALTHUS and BROUGHAM and Lord HOWICK and PETER TIMBLE to get to work at *checking population!*

LECTURES.

NOW is the time for EXERTION! We must not stand and *stare at each other*; nor must we waste our time in *rambling pointless talk*. We must think well first; *resolve* on what we ought to do, and DO it! For ME now to neglect anything within my power, would not only be an abandonment of duty towards my country, but a stupid foregoing of my own unquestionable right. I have been fighting this hellish THING for thirty long years; it has frequently *plundered* me, once made me *flee*; once had me *prisoner of war*; but it never made me lower my colours a single inch. At last I have fairly beaten it; and the devil's in me if I do not profit from my victory!

What we now want is, a *common understanding* amongst the people, with regard to *what measures ought to be adopted by the reformed Parliament*; and with regard to what *we ourselves* ought now to do, *with regard to the choosing of proper men for that Parliament*. To this latter subject, which ought to be the object of our *immediate* and unremitted attention, I shall call the attention of my readers *next week*, when I shall NAME MEN, whom *I think* ought to be chosen. It is time to do this; for it is MEN that must do the thing; and the sooner we FIX on some of them the better.

But, besides work with the PEN, I am resolved to work with the TONGUE. I am resolved not to stand staring, at any rate. I have, at the request of the "NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION OF THE WORKING CLASSES," given two LECTURES, on the two last TUESDAYS, at their place of meeting, in THEOBALD'S ROAD, RED LION SQUARE, and I have engaged to do the same *next Tuesday*, the 12th June, at the same place. Whether I shall be able to do it after that at that place I do not yet know, though the excellent arrangements of the place, the decorum observed, the sober and attentive conduct of my hearers, and the impression that appeared to be produced, hold out great encouragement to a continuation of my labours in that quarter. I gave a LECTURE at GREENWICH last *Monday night* to a very numerous audience. My main object was to convince them that they ought to shun men of *rank* and of *great wealth*, and particularly *tax-eaters*; and I am of opinion, and indeed have no doubt, that they will, for one of their members, choose Mr. PENN, the engineer; and, in this whole kingdom,

there is not, in *every respect*, a man more fit.

But I know that a great deal will depend upon RIGHT OPINIONS, as to this great matter being entertained by the MIDDLE and WORKING classes of *this metropolis*, and therefore I have determined upon *giving a lecture once a week* for some time to come, at some place or other. Perhaps I shall continue at the present place; but I have, as yet, made no positive arrangement for that purpose. They take here *3d.* from *members of the Union*, and *6d.* from other persons; and, after paying the expenses, *I divide the receipts with the Union, half and half.*

If I can find time for it, I shall be very happy to go for the same purpose to any of the *new boroughs around London*, if a proper place be provided. But to no place will I go, *unless money be taken for admission.* I never, in my whole life, except in one instance, gave, *as a present*, any book of which I was the author; though that custom is so general. I have always felt, that it would be saying, "Here is a book that I have written, *pray read it*, it is well worth your while." Just so would it be to go about begging folks to come and *hear me talk.* As to what I *do with the money*, that is wholly my affair. I have never touched, in any shape whatever, one farthing of the people's money, I work as hard as the hardest working of them, I pay any of them who work for me, and, if they choose to have any of my labour, they of course, must pay me. I do, indeed, apply the money thus earned, in part at least, and, perhaps, wholly, to the use of the *husbandless wives and fatherless children and forlorn parents of the killed and transported chopsticks:* to these poor fellows we owe *the Reform Bill*; and they and theirs shall never be abandoned by me. However, this is for *my own gratification.* I choose to do this; and I do it *with my own means.* I take the lecture-money for *myself*; and I do dispose of it *as I like.* Above all things, let no one imagine that he confers a favour on me by coming to hear me. I ask no favours of any one. I am ready, with body and mind, to serve my country; but, while I want *no thanks* in any shape or form, I am resolved to incur *no obligations.*

FRANCE.

I always said, that the French people were cheated in 1830, and that the elevation of LOUIS PHILIPPE was *planned* by him, Charles, and the base loan-mongers: I said he was put in to "*keep the nest warm*" for Charles. All the world sees this now; but, at any rate, the people are making the nest *warm indeed* for him: *hot* even. He must take care, or it will become a *marmite* (porrige-pot) instead of a "nest," and "PHILIPPE I." and his tribe, will, instead of eating up the people, as they seem disposed to do, get cooked themselves. It is high time! It is high time! It is high time that the *people cease to be insulted and loaded like asses by such worthless creatures!*

BARING'S BILL.

FROM the following petition it seems that the National Union of the *Working Classes* differ with regard to this curious bill of BARING very widely, indeed, from the "National Political Union" of Mr. FRANCIS PLACE! The petition was presented by Mr. O'Connell on Friday, the 1st instant. The circumstance is *just barely noticed* by the *Morning Chronicle*, and other morning papers, though Mr. O'CONNELL stated the substance of the several parts of the petition, expressed his concurrence in opinion with the petitioners, and declared *that he would oppose the Bill in all its stages.* All this was omitted by the morning papers. The omission might have been ascribed to laziness or ignorance in the *reporters*; but I am well informed, that copies of the peti-

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tion were made out and carried to all the papers; and I know that the vagabond editors *have not inserted it*, though their columns are filled with rubbish interesting to no person of sense. The TRUE SUN is an exception here, for it has inserted it. One would wonder what should make these vagabonds thus hostile to the working people; but they are so to a man; aye, and at the bottom of their hearts, the far greater part of them are enemies of Parliamentary reform. They have lived by corruption, and they naturally dislike to see it put an end to.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The Petition of the undersigned Members of the Committee of the National Union of the Working Classes, and others,

Humbly showeth,

That your petitioners have, with great surprise, seen brought into your honourable House a bill, the professed object of which is, to "preserve the "dignity and independence of the House "of Commons;" but the manifest tendency, if not design, of which is, to shut out or turn out of the House all those who are not very rich men, or who have not great riches at their command.

That there is scarcely any man, engaged in trade, manufactures, commerce, or agriculture, who, being a member of Parliament, may not, in consequence of some unforeseen accident, and without any fault or folly on his part, become unable to satisfy pecuniary demands upon him; and that as the said bill provides for the ejection from the House of every man so situated, the people may thus be deprived of their best, their ablest, and, perhaps, their only defenders in that House.

That your petitioners can easily foresee how the pecuniary ruin of men in trade, and of moderate property, would at any time be effected by combinations of the powerful and the rich; and they firmly believe, that if this bill were to become a law, no man of distinguished talent, if resolutely disposed to maintain the interests of the common people, would long be able to escape that ruin; and that, in short, your petitioners can see in this bill nothing other than a deep-laid scheme for counteracting the natural effects of the Reform Bill, and for depriving the people of their rights, under the pretence of preserving the dignity of their representatives.

That your petitioners believe that there are few persons who will be found to deny that the country is at present in a most deplorable state; that ruin and misery meet the eye, turn it which way you will; that, in the midst of profound peace, we have all the expenses of war to sustain; that, trade, commerce, and agriculture, have lost their profits, and labour its employment or its wages; that our pecuniary concerns appear to be as uncertain as the winds, hourly threatening us with the confusion arising from barter; and that your petitioners cannot but know that this state of things has been produced by a House of Commons, consisting of men of rank and of wealth; and that, therefore, they cannot be brought to believe, that it is necessary to pass a bill, the tendency of which is to prevent any man who is not very rich, from holding a seat in the House of Commons.

That your petitioners complain, that there is any pecuniary qualification at all for members to serve in the House of Commons; that they do not see why they should be compelled to choose persons possessed of lands and no other persons; that they know, that in the United States of America, no such qualification is required: that they know, that prosperity and happiness so great as those enjoyed in that country have never been exceeded in any country in the world; and that, as to insolvency, which the aforesaid bill would seem to hold in so much horror, your petitioners beg leave to remind your honourable House of the notorious fact, that, out of the seven presidents under which the United States have arrived at such a point of unexampled prosperity, and at such great consideration in the world, two have actually

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died insolvent and were insolvent at the time of their elevation to their great office.

That, besides these considerations, your petitioners cannot refrain from expressing their utter astonishment, not to mention a feeling of a more hostile character, that, during more than a long hundred years, while rotten boroughs existed, no member of the House should ever have appeared to think it necessary to propose any such measure as this for the purpose of upholding the dignity of the House; and that they are sure that it will not escape the observation of the most thoughtless individual, that it is singular that your honourable House should have become so very careful in providing for the independence of its members just at the moment when so many of its members are about to cease to be *mere* nominees; that, within the recollection of even the youngest of your petitioners, men have been taken out of prison for debt in consequence of having been returned to your honourable House by rotten boroughs, while many have been members of your honourable House for a great part of their lives without owing anything tangible to the hand of the sheriff or his officer. That, further, your petitioners beg leave to be permitted to observe, that if pecuniary possessions be necessary to preserve the dignity and independence of one House of the legislature, they cannot be wholly unnecessary to the preserving of those of the other House. That, indeed, your petitioners do not know, and therefore will not say, that any members of the other House are insolvent; but this they do know, and therefore this they will say, that they find on the pension-list the names of the mothers, wives, children, uncles, aunts, and cousins, of the members of the other House of Parliament, and that they therefore presume that the heads of the families must be insolvent, seeing that, otherwise, they would subject themselves to the awful censure of the apostle, who pronounces that, "Those who neglect the care of their own kindred are worse than the heathen."

That, for the reasons thus most respectfully submitted to your honourable House, your petitioners pray that your honourable House will not pass the afore-mentioned bill, but that you will be pleased to leave it to a reformed Parliament to adopt such measures as they may deem necessary to the preservation of their own dignity and independence.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

The BILL, against which this petition was presented, came on for a COMMITTEE on the 6th instant, when "Mr. "O'CONNELL rose to move that the bill "should be committed *that day six* "*months.* During the time that a large "proportion of the members of that "House were representatives, not of the "people, *but nominees of individuals*, "*no such bill was ever dreamt of.* Nay, "it was well known that persons had "been taken out of jail and introduced "into that House. But now *that the* "*people were really to select their own* "*representatives*, this bill was introduced *to operate as a check on their* "*free choice*; for he did not hesitate to "say, that its object and operation were "to confine the choice of the constituency to *the moneyed interest*, or to "men of large landed property. It "was, in point of fact, introducing a "*new qualification.* It should be remembered that the protection from "arrest given to the member was not a "protection to him personally, but a "protection to his constituents, or assurance that their interests were not "to be neglected. (Hear!) On that "principle, therefore, the Bill was a "wrong one. Let them make what "qualification they thought proper; "but having taken that precaution with "regard to a candidate, let them remember, that the candidate once chosen, the privilege belonged not to him, "but to his constituents. It was so "much the custom to attribute personal "motives to men in these times, that "he thought it right to say, that there "were few men whom it would affect "less than him; he believed that "he derived a larger revenue from

"landed property than any of the last "four members for his county. Another "ground on which he objected to it "was, that it recognised the general "right for arrest for debt. He thought "no arrest ought ever to be permitted "for debt, except after a judicial sen-"tence, when it would be rather in the "nature of criminal punishment. An-"other objection was, that it would "throw too great a *power into the hands "of the millionaires*, of those who had "*amassed large fortunes by those funds*, "*which he did not consider the most "moral means*; where an insurrection, "or a good astounding lie, well circu-"lated, put, *perhaps, a million into a "man's pocket*, it would enable these "men to obtain a control over the votes "of members of Parliament in either "House. It would give rise to a system "of *purchasing up judgments, mort-"gages*, and *incumbrances on the estates* "of Members of the Legislature, which, "though perfectly solvent, they might "not be able to satisfy on a short no-"tice, and thus a very unfitting control "over their votes would be obtained. "He objected to give wealth more "power than it had already. In his "opinion it had already too much; it "did not lead to happiness, and he "thought the accumulation of masses "of wealth into a few hands was the "great evil of this country." (Hear, hear.)

Well said! Thank you, sir. We have *one able man* for us, at any rate; one man with eyes to see under the shell, and with courage to crush the viper in the egg! After some professions on the part of BARING, and several other speeches of no great amount, the bill was committed *pro forma*, that is *for form's sake*; and is to be *re-committed* in a fortnight! when, the reader may be well assured, it will be *committed to the flames*; for the *Ministers* signified their intention to oppose it!

And, now then, what says Mr. PLACE and his "*National Political Union*?" They were *wrong*, it seems; and the WEAVERS' UNION were *right*. These working people could see under the shell. I congratulate the working classes of the metropolis on this signal effect of their penetration and promptitude; and more especially I congratulate them on their having a man like Mr. O'CONNELL, ready to attend to their complaints; for *here* they have the *ability* as well as the *will*.

THE FITZJORDANS!

THE following article, which will give rise to striking reflections, is taken from the *Register* of September 6, 1806. Twenty-six years ago, then, and when these people were babies, I foresaw the consequences that might arise from their existence.

"What a base and foolish thing it is for "any consolidated body of authority to say, "or to act as if it said, 'I will put my trust, "'not in mine own virtue, but in your pa-"'tience; I will indulge in effeminacy, in "'indolence, in corruption; I will give way "'to all my perverse and vicious humours, "'because you cannot punish me without "'the hazard of ruining yourselves!'"—BURKE'S WORKS, Vol. VII., p. 364.

THE large grants of public money, made by the *Whig* Ministry, just at the close of the last session of Parliament, were, by many persons, and by myself amongst others, regarded as being totally unnecessary, seeing that the allowances to the several branches were already so ample. COLONEL WOOD has the merit (a merit that will, ere long, be distinguished) of having opposed these grants; and, though his opposition proved ineffectual for the time, it encourages us to hope, that, when the House shall again be *full*, there will be some few members, at least, found to endeavour to cause a revision of this measure, which, I will venture to say, has given a greater shock to men's feelings than any one that has been adopted for many years.——But, at any rate, since the money has been granted, it must be the wish of every good subject to see it judiciously expended; to see it, agreeably to the declarations of the Ministers, employed in "supporting the *dignity*" of the several persons on whom it has been bestowed; and, under the influence of this wish, what must have

been the public feeling at reading the following account, ostentatiously published in all the London newspapers, of 23rd of August, 1806, under the title of "DUKE OF CLARENCE'S BIRTH-DAY?" To be precise, however, I shall, previous to my inserting the account, just state, that I copy it from the *Courier* newspaper of the day here mentioned.—"The Duke of Clarence's "birth-day was celebrated with much "splendour in Busby Park, on Thurs-"day. The grand hall was entirely "new fitted up, with bronze pilasters, "and various marble imitations; the "ceiling very correctly clouded, and the "whole illuminated with some brilliant "patent lamps, suspended from a beau-"tiful eagle. The dining-room in the "right wing was fitted up in a modern "style, with new elegant lamps at the "different entrances. The pleasure "ground was disposed for the occasion, "and the servants had new liveries. "In the morning the *Dukes of York's* "*and Kent's bands arrived in caravans*; "after dressing themselves and dining, "they went into the pleasure-grounds, "and played alternately some charming "pieces. The Duke of Kent's played "some of the choruses and move-"ments from Haydn's Oratorio of the "CREATION, arranged, *by command* "*of his Royal Highness*, for a band of "wind instruments. About five o'clock "the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of "York, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, "Colonel Paget, &c., arrived, from re-"viewing THE GERMAN LEGION. "After they had dressed for dinner, "they walked in the pleasure-grounds, "accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, "Earl and *Countess* of Athlone and "*daughter*, Lord Leicester, Baron Ho-"tham and *Lady*, Baron Eden, the At-"torney-General, Colonels Paget and "M'Mahon, Serjeant Marshall, and a "number of other persons. At seven "o'clock the second bell announced the "dinner, when THE PRINCE took "MRS. JORDAN *by the hand, led her* "*into the dining-room; and seated her* "*at the head of the table.* The Prince "took his seat *at her right hand*, and the "Duke of York *at her left*; the Duke "of Cambridge sat next to the Prince, "the Duke of Kent next to the Duke "of York, and the Lord Chancellor "next to his Royal Highness. The "DUKE OF CLARENCE *sat at the* "*foot of the table.*——It is hardly ne-"cessary to say the table was sumptu-"ously covered with everything the "season could afford. The bands played "on the lawn, close to the dining-room "window. The populace were per-"mitted to enter the pleasure-grounds "to behold the Royal Banquet, while "the presence of Messrs. Townshend, "Sayers, and Macmanus, preserved the "most correct decorum. The Duke's "NUMEROUS FAMILY *were intro-*"*duced*, and admired by the Prince, "the Royal Dukes, and the whole com-"pany; an infant in arms, with a most "beautiful white head of hair, was "brought into the dining-room by the "nursery maid. After dinner the Prince "gave 'the Duke of Clarence,' which "was drunk with three times three; "the Duke then gave 'The King,' "which was drunk in a solemn manner. "A discharge of cannon from the lawn "followed. 'The Queen and Prin-"cesses.'—'The Duke of York and the "Army.' His Royal Highness's band "then struck up *his celebrated march.*" —Now, first observing, that I do not mean to give this paragraph as a narrative of real facts, but merely as a publication that I have found in the newspaper above named, and as a statement which I wish to see contradicted by order of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, or some of his brothers; thus observing, and explicitly stating, that my object is to remove the evil impression, which such a publication must necessarily tend to produce upon the minds of a people, who, *by the express command of his Majesty*, have read to them from the pulpit, four times a year, a long exhortation against vice and immorality, and who have fresh in their minds the large grants of money recently made for the declared purpose of enabling the several branches of the Royal Family "to support the *dignity* of their station;" thus previously observing, I would beg leave, as a beginning of my

comments upon the publication before me, to ask the writer of it, *what march* he means, when he talks of the "*celebrated* march of the *Duke York*?" And, I would further ask him, what necessity there was in a publication of this sort, to remind the people of England of the Duke of York's *marches*? And why he could not have so far got the better of his too obvious disposition, as to suffer those "*celebrated*" marches to rest quiet and unalluded to!—The representing of the oratorio of the CREATION, and arranged by the Duke of Kent, too, applied to the purpose of ushering in the "NUMEROUS FAMILY of the Duke of Clarence;" the thus representing the Duke of Kent as employed in an act, whereby the procreation of a brood of illegitimate children is put in comparison with the great work of the Almighty, is, in this writer, an act of the most insidious disloyalty, and of blasphemy the most daring. We all know, that the Duke of Clarence is not married, and that, therefore, if he had children, those children must be bastards, and that the father must be guilty of a crime in the eye of the law as well as of religion, and that he would exhibit a striking example of that vice and immorality which his royal father's proclamation, so regularly read to us by our pastors, commands us to shun and to abhor, and enjoins upon the magistrates to mark out and to punish wherever they shall find them existing among us. While we hear this command so often repeated to us, and know that, from the form in which it is conveyed, it comes immediately from his Majesty's mind and conscience, can we possibly suppose, that he would wink at acts, in his own family, such as are described by this writer? And when to this consideration we add the many others that present themselves upon the subject, can we hesitate in declaring, that to represent the Duke of Clarence as having a "numerous family of children" is foully to slander his Royal Highness, and that, further to represent him as *ostentatiously* exhibiting this "numerous family" in public, and in the immediate presence of all his royal brothers and of the Lord Chancellor of England, and other of the nobles, is to accuse him *of a* gratuitous and wanton insult against the laws, the manners, and the morals of the country.—This representation and accusation I must and I do, therefore, consider as *false*; and, I am confirmed in this my opinion, when I hear the same writer assert, that the Prince of Wales *took Mother Jordan by the hand*, and, in the presence of a *Countess*, a *Countess's daughter*, and a *Baroness*, *seated her at the head of the table*, taking his place upon her right hand, his royal brothers arranging themselves, according to their rank, on both sides of the table, the *post of honour* being nearest Mother Jordan, who, the last time I saw her, cost me eighteen-pence in her character of Nell Jobson!—This part of the account proves the falsehood of the whole. But, though, amongst persons, who are at all acquainted with the characters of the illustrious personages, who are, by this writer, represented as having been actors in the scene, there can be no doubt that the whole of the representation is false, more especially when we take into view the pious and strenuously-enforced precepts of the royal father's proclamation; yet, amongst that part of his Majesty's subjects, who know nothing of the manners of the great, except what they learn through the channel of the newspapers, doubts upon the subject may prevail, nay, such persons may *believe* the representation of the *Courier*, particularly as it has been given, and *in nearly the same words, too*, by all the other newspapers; and, therefore, being fully convinced, that the representation must produce, in whatever degree it is believed, an impression extremely injurious to the character of the parties named; not less injurious to the manners and morals of the people; and, eventually, greatly dangerous to the stability of the throne, for this plain reason, that the most virtuous part of the people, that part of them in whose minds truth and justice are predominant, that part of them on whom alone reliance could safely be placed, would infallibly be the most disgusted, and the most

alienated, by the belief of such a representation; being fully convinced of these important truths, I venture to beseech the royal parties, whose names have been so unwarrantably brought before the public in the above-cited publication, to cause a formal contradiction thereof to be publicly made; I venture to beseech them to reflect on the fatal consequences which have uniformly ensued, and especially in recent instances, from proceedings such as are described in this publication, and to remember, that to be blameless, as they doubtless are, in this and all other cases of the kind, is not enough, unless they are also thought to be blameless; I venture to beseech them well to weigh the words of my motto, and to consider whether, though the above-cited publication is a tissue of falsehoods, their permitting it to remain uncontradicted may not expose them, amongst the uninformed part of the people, to the imputation of acting upon a principle such as that in my motto described; I venture to beseech them, above all things, to reflect upon what must be the natural and inevitable effect produced in the minds of the people, if they were once to believe that any portion of the grants made out of the taxes, in times like the present, was expended upon objects such as those described in this poisonous publication; and lastly, as I have, in proportion to my means and my capacity, done as much as any private individual ever did in support of the throne and the reputation of the royal family, I hope it will not be thought presumptuous that I now make them a tender of my pages and my pen, for the purpose of making and promulgating that contradiction, which every *truly* loyal subject is so anxiously desirous to see.

TO THE

WORKING PEOPLE OF NOTTINGHAM.

London, 5th June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

UPON making inquiry of Mr. O'CONNELL I find, and I have his authority to say, that everything which I, in my *Register* of 26th May, have said, relative to his conduct with regard to Mr. HENSON and your petition, was perfectly correct. And, that being the case, judge you of the conduct of Mr. HENSON, who accuses Mr. O'Connell of "a studied insult" offered to him.

I find that Mr. O'Connell has, since that time, received Mr. HENSON, and read your petition; that he required (and well he might) to have *proof of the facts* before he presented a document, inculpating, by name, so many persons, and preferring against them charges so heavy; that Mr. HENSON offered to get affidavits from NOTTINGHAM in support of the charges; that Mr. O'Connell desired him to do this without delay; that, however, up to this day Mr. O'Connell has been waiting in vain for the affidavits, though, observe, Mr. Henson has now been in LONDON, first and last, more than two months upon this business! My good friends, it is not for me to dictate to you as to the manner in which you should spend your money: if I have no taste for keeping an ambassador, that gives me no right to complain of the existence of that taste in you; but as it was thought worth while, when I was at NOTTINGHAM, that I should be consulted on the subject; and as I was, and am, extremely anxious upon the score of this petition, I now give you my decided opinion, that, if you wish your petition to *succeed*, you will immediately recal your ambassador from the court of the Bear and Ragged Staff, and send up, upon his ten toes, some honest weaver of plain sense in his stead.

I am your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

THE HARPENDEN CASE.

THIS affair will, unless the nation has lost its character for humanity, become as notorious as anything that ever engaged the attention of Englishmen. HARPENDEN is a village in HERTFORDSHIRE, and not far from ST. ALBAN'S. Some time in February last, Mr. WAKLEY published in *The Ballot* weekly newspaper, of which he is proprietor, an account of the treatment and com-

mittal of WILLIAM WELLS, a labourer, by one HAWKINS, a justice of the peace, residing in or near that village. This fellow, HAWKINS, applied, by SCARLETT and HOLT, for a CRIMINAL INFORMATION against Mr. WAKLEY. The *rule to show cause* was granted; and Mr. WAKLEY had to pay between *three and four pounds* before he could obtain copies of the affidavits, *on which the rule was granted*. He then had to pay *three or four pounds more* for *leave to produce affidavits in his defence!* On the 2nd instant he went into court himself and met SCARLETT and HOLT, and argued against the rule. The judges, TENTERDEN, LITTLEDALE, and TAUNTON, deferred the decision until another day; and perhaps they will have decided before this *Register* will go from the press. I insert here the AFFIDAVITS on both sides; first, those of HAWKINS, the *justice*, and of JENNINGS, the *overseer*; and, then, the affidavits *in defence*. I thought I had known enough before of the state of the labourers and their families; *but here the blood runs cold indeed!* Read these affidavits, my readers; read them; and then wonder, if you can, at anything that you will ever read. There are many important subjects that press forward for attention; but this thrusts all others aside! This says to us: "*You are devils in human shape, if you remain unmoved by this!*" I thank Mr. WAKLEY for what he has done in this case; I wish with all my heart that the case may come to A TRIAL. I wish to see SCARLETT and HOLT in the hands of Mr. WAKLEY upon this occasion. I wish to see them dealt with by a man of *real talent*; and here they have one. But I wish to see this thing TRIED: that is what I wish; for the result of that trial will show *precisely how we stand as to the laws related to the treatment of the working people*. There is a *treadmill*, it seems, even in *the little village of Harpenden*! Oh! this *trial* would do an infinity of good; and, amongst other things, prove to all those who do not now know it, that Mr. WAKLEY is *one of the very first men that ought to be chosen to fight the people's battles in Parliament*.

Affidavits in Accusation.

AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN HAWKINS.

"That from the month of March 1831, this deponent hath been and acted as one of the justices of the peace for the said county, and that deponent is the person mentioned as "a new magistrate (Hawkins)" in the defamatory libel. That at or about Easter, 1831, Joshua Jennings and Wm. Kingston, in the said libel mentioned, became overseers of the poor of the same parish for the year then ensuing. That deponent has been informed, and verily believes, that some time after the said Joshua Jennings became one of such overseers of the poor as aforesaid, he attended, and stated to his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Hertford, at one of their weekly meetings at the Court-house at St. Alban's, in the said county, that the said above-mentioned widows'-houses or church-houses were then occupied by able-bodied men and their wives and families, as paupers, paying no rent for the same; and that they refused to quit and give up possession thereof, and that the same were very much dilapidated and out of repair; and that the church-wardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish were desirous of preparing the said houses, according to the purpose for which they were erected, for the reception of certain poor widows of the same parish, who would very soon be ready to occupy the same houses; and that thereupon the said justices then and there present, authorised the said church-wardens and overseers of the poor to remove the said then occupiers of the same houses therefrom, for the purpose aforesaid. That he, this deponent, was not present at the said meeting. That the said Joshua Jennings attended on the said 25th day of July at this deponent's said residence, and on oath, in the presence of the said William Wells, gave evidence before this deponent, that the wife and five children of the said William Wells, for some time previous to the day of the date of the same warrant, were resident in one of the said widows'-houses, or church-houses, as paupers, and were entirely supplied with food and other necessaries at the expense of the said parish of Harpenden; and that the said William Wells had for some time previously been absent from his said wife and family of children, and that the said William Wells was able to maintain his said wife and family by work, but that he had neglected to do so, and that the said wife of the said William Wells had stated to the said Joshua Jennings, during the said absence of the said William Wells from his said wife and family, that she the said wife of the said William Wells did not know whither the said William Wells was gone. That the said William Wells being unable to make any sufficient defence to the said charge, he, this deponent, convicted the said William Wells of the said offence, as an idle and disorderly person, according to the statute in that case made, and

delivered to the said constable a warrant of commitment under the hand and seal of this deponent, directed to the said constable and to the keeper of the said house of correction, at Hertford, in and for the said county of Hertford, bearing date the said 25th day of July, commanding the said constable to convey to, and the said keeper to receive in his custody in the said house of correction, the said William Wells, there to be kept to hard labour for the space of one calendar month. And deponent at the same time, with the approbation of the said Joshua Jennings, ordered the said constable to refrain from executing the said warrant of commitment, if in the course of a week or a fortnight then next, the said William Wells provided for his said wife and children, whereby they might cease to be chargeable to the said parish of Harpenden, by occupying one of the same widows'-houses or church-houses as paupers, as aforesaid, and by being maintained from the public funds of the same parish. That on the 19th day of August last, Joshua Jennings, as such overseer of the poor aforesaid, complained and made oath to this deponent that George Jennings, being a person able wholly to maintain himself and his family by work or other means, did wilfully neglect so to do, by which neglect his wife and three children had become and then were actually chargeable to the parish of Harpenden, contrary to the form of the statute in that case made; and that the said Joshua Jennings also then and there informed deponent that said George Jennings had gone away and left his wife and family residing as paupers, and entirely maintained at the expense of the public parochical funds of the same parish, in one of the same widows'-houses; and that the wife of the said George Jennings had informed said Joshua Jennings that she did not know where her husband then was. That deponent thereupon issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said George Jennings, to answer the said complaint, but that the said George Jennings was not brought before this deponent in pursuance of the said warrant. That on the 26th day of March last the said George Jennings was fully committed by this deponent to the common jail of the county of Hertford, charged on the oaths of John Plasom and others with having, on the 24th day of the same month, feloniously killed a wether sheep, the property of Richard Oakley, with intent to steal, and with having feloniously stolen part of the carcase thereof. That the said William Wells is the person in the said several libels mentioned by the name of Wells, and that deponent verily believes that the said George Jennings is the person in the said several libels alluded to and therein described as one other of the three poor men therein mentioned, and who is therein stated to have been incarcerated by this deponent. That he hath never issued any warrant of apprehension or commitment (except as before mentioned) against the said William Wells or the said George Jennings, or against any of the poor or helpless persons alluded to in the said several libels."

AFFIDAVIT OF JOSHUA JENNINGS.

"That from about Easter, 1830, to about Easter, 1831, Richard Oakley and William Sygrave were the overseers of the poor of the same parish of Harpenden, and that he, deponent, assisted the said Richard Oakley in performing the duties of his said office; and that during that period the said George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, a convict felon returned from transportation, with their respective wives and families, and William Stockings, were removed by the said overseers of the poor from the said widows'-houses or church-houses, in which they were then resident as paupers, but were again admitted to reside therein; and in the summer of the year 1830 the said William Wells was also allowed to take possession of one of the same houses with his wife and family, but that a short time previous to Easter, 1831, the said several above-mentioned residents in the said houses were directed by the said overseers of the poor, or by this deponent on their behalf, to quit the same premises, which they neglected and refused to do. Deponent Joshua Jennings further saith, that a short time after the appointment of deponent and William Kingston, at or about Easter, 1831, to be overseers of the poor of the same parish for the then ensuing year, he deponent gave notice to the said William Wells, George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, to remove with their respective families, from the said widows'-houses or church-houses, which they refused to do; and that in consequence thereof deponent attended at one of the said weekly meetings of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Hertford, held at the Court House, at St. Albans aforesaid, and stated that the said widows'-houses or church-houses were then occupied by able-bodied men with their wives and families, who refused to quit the same premises, which were much dilapidated; and that the then churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish were desirous of preparing the same houses according to the purpose for which they were erected, for the residence of certain poor widows of the same parish, who would soon be ready to occupy the same; and that the said justices then present thereupon authorised deponent to remove the said several persons so residing as paupers in the said widows'-houses or church-houses, and to appropriate the same for the reception of poor widows of the same parish; whereupon deponent afterwards, to wit, on the 19th day of May last, with the concurrence of the other churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish, turned the said William Wells, George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, then being able-bodied men not receiving relief from the said parish except by such residence in the same houses together with their respective

families, out of the same houses which were much damaged, but which have been subsequently repaired at the expense of the said parish to the amount of 60*l.* and upwards, and five of which houses are now in the occupation of such poor widows as aforesaid. That on the 23d day of June last, Charlotte the wife of the said George Jennings, being advanced in pregnancy, the said George Jennings, and his said wife and family, were again admitted into one of the said houses. That about the middle of the month of July last, Mary, the wife of the said William Wells, being near to her confinement, and the said Mary Wells, and her said family then residing, as deponent hath been informed, and verily believes, at Redbourn, in the said county of Hertford, he, this deponent, received a message from the said Mary Wells, as he was informed and verily believes, stating that the said Mary Wells meant to return to Harpenden to be confined; and that the said Mary Wells accordingly brought back her said family to Harpenden, when deponent refused to receive her, and that the said Mary Wells and her said family having for two or three nights slept in an out-house, deponent, on the 18th July last, again admitted the said Mary Wells and her said family into the said widows'-houses or church-houses, and supplied her with necessaries proper for her situation. That a short time previous to the 23d day of July last, the said Mary Wells informed deponent that her said husband, William Wells, was absent from her, and that she did not know where he was gone to, and that she, the said Mary Wells, and her said family of children, who were then living in one of the said widows'-houses or church-houses as paupers, as aforesaid, had no means of subsistence, and that they required relief from the said parish, whereupon the said Mary Wells and her said family, by the authority of this deponent, received their daily food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That, on the 23d day July last, deponent attended at one of the said weekly meetings of the said justices, and gave evidence to the aforesaid facts against the said William Wells, and that the said William Wells was a person able wholly to maintain his family by work or other means, and that he neglected so to do, whereby his said wife and family of children became chargeable as aforesaid, whereupon Daniel Goodson Adey, Esq., one of the said justices, issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said William Wells, in pursuance whereof the said William Wells was, on Sunday the 24th of July last, apprehended, and on the 25th July aforesaid, was taken by the constable of the same parish to Byelands aforesaid, when deponent attended, and gave evidence on oath before the said John Hawkins of the several matters aforesaid against the said William Wells. That previous to the 19th August last, Charlotte, the wife of the said George Jennings, who was then living with her family of children as paupers in one of the said widows'-houses or church-houses, informed this deponent that the said George Jennings had left his said wife and family several days previously, and that she did not know whither he was gone, and that she, the said Charlotte Jennings and her said family required relief from the said parish of Harpenden, whereupon deponent authorised the said Charlotte Jennings and her said family to receive their food from the said poor-house, which they accordingly did. That on the 19th day of August, he, deponent, attended before the said John Hawkins, at Byelands aforesaid, and made complaint against the said George Jennings of the aforesaid facts, and that the said George Jennings was able wholly to maintain himself and his family by work or other means, and that he neglected to do so, whereby his wife and three children became chargeable as aforesaid; whereupon the said John Hawkins issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said George Jennings; and said justices thereupon convicted said George Jennings, and said Samuel Reynolds Solly thereupon issued his warrant, bearing date said 26th day of August, for the commitment of said George Jennings to said House of Correction, in and for the said county of Hertford, and said Samuel Reynolds Solly thereupon directed that said warrant of commitment should not be executed, if within seven days then next, the said wife and family of said George Jenning, were removed from the said widows'-houses or church-houses, and ceased to be chargeable to the said parish of Harpenden. That on the said 26th day of August, said John Mico Winter and Samuel Reynolds Solly authorised the said warrant of commitment issued by said John Hawkins against said Wm. Wells to be executed forthwith. That by the direction of deponent, said two warrants of commitment against said William Wells and George Jennings respectively, were not, nor was either of them, executed, until the 27th of August last, until which time, said William Wells and George Jennings, and their respective wives and families continued to reside as paupers in said widows' or church-houses."

Affidavits for the Defence.

AFFIDAVIT OF WILLIAM WELLS.

"That he has worked in said parish of Harpenden for several years last past, almost exclusively, at Turner's-hall, near Harpenden aforesaid. That, in the year 1830, he resided in and occupied a small cottage at Karesmangreen, belonging to a person of the name of Bunn, who required deponent to leave the same, to enable him, said Mr. Bunn, to live in it himself. That when he received notice from said Mr. Bunn to leave said cottage, he, deponent, used his utmost endeavours to obtain either another cottage or lodgings in his parish of Harpenden aforesaid, but without succeeding in doing so, and there being certain houses belonging to said parish at that time vacant, he, deponent, applied to Mr. Oakley,

the then overseer, to allow him, deponent, to go into one of them with his wife and family, until he, deponent, could procure them a place to live in. That said Mr. Oakley having refused to let him, deponent, and his family, go into one of the unoccupied parish houses, and being obliged to leave the cottage at Karsmangreen, which he rented from Mr. Bunn, he, deponent, and his family proceeded to the Church-green at Harpenden and lodged themselves upon the public green without shelter. That when he and his wife and family, consisting of his wife and four children, took up their lodging on the Church-green aforesaid, he found in the cage on the Church-green, another family called Parrott, consisting of the husband, wife, and five children, whom deponent understood to be unable, like himself, to procure a house, a habitation, or lodgings of any description for themselves. That he and his wife and family, and the other family above named, continued on the said Church-green in the cage some time, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, but he, deponent, leaving his family in the day-time, to follow his daily labour at Turner's-hall-farm aforesaid, and returning in the evening to them on the Church-green at Harpenden aforesaid. That owing to the sufferings of his children, he told Mr. Oakley, the then overseer, that an application would be made to the bench of magistrates at St. Alban's, for an order on the overseers, to admit deponent and his family, and the other families, into the parish houses then uninhabited. That he, deponent, and said Parrott, did apply to the magistrates in petty sessions, at St. Alban's, and in the presence of Mr. Oakley, the then overseer, he, deponent, then represented to them the situation in which he, deponent, and the other parties were placed, and their inability to procure a place to reside in, when said magistrates requested said Mr. Oakley to find deponent, and said other family, lodgings. That he and his wife and family, and Parrott and his wife and family, were allowed to occupy one of the church-houses, and subsequently Barber and his wife and family were allowed to live in the cage, and at that time George Jennings and his wife and family were living in the tread-wheel-house adjoining the poor-house. That himself and family, Barber and family, and Jennings and family, continued to occupy the places aforesaid, until the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston came into office about Easter, 1831. That some time previous to himself and his family being admitted into the church-house, his wife was allowed by the parish the sum of 2*s.* per week in consequence of being a cripple through an accident, which allowance had been reduced, and was at the time he, deponent, and his family, were admitted into the church-house, only 1*s.* per week. That in consequence of himself and family being allowed to occupy one of the church-houses as aforesaid, the said Mr. Oakley withheld the weekly allowance of 1*s.* from his, deponent's wife, and said he should retain it as rent for the occupation of the said house. That some time in the month of May following, he and his family being compelled to leave the church-house, and not being able to procure any place in Harpenden wherein to dwell, were obliged again to live on the church-green, exposed to the weather both by day and night, and continued so for about a fortnight, during which time deponent worked daily in a field belonging to Joshua Jennings, the overseer, who paid him for such work on the Friday evening, at the poor-house, about fourpence per pole. That having procured lodgings at Bedbourn, they went and resided there for about five weeks. That whilst he was living at Redbourn aforesaid, he was engaged in the work of hay-harvest at Mr. Wimbush's, at Whetstone, and was obliged to be absent from his wife and family from the Monday morning till Saturday night, when he invariably returned to his wife with his wages, with one exception, on which occasion he sent his wages to his wife by a fellow-labourer. That his wife being near her confinement, the landlord of the house in which she was lodging at Redbourn with her children, refused to permit them to remain there any longer, and deponent was therefore compelled to remove them to Harpenden. That, on his removing them to Harpenden aforesaid, his wife endeavoured to obtain a house or lodgings to live in, but without success, and she was therefore obliged again to lodge herself and children on the public green at Harpenden aforesaid, without shelter. That his wife and family continued on the green for six days. That his wife and family removed from Redbourn to Harpenden on Tuesday, the 12th of July, but he deponent, on the Sunday evening previous, gave to his wife the whole of his then last week's earnings with the exception of 3*s.* 6*d.*, which he retained for his own immediate wants for the succeeding week. That, on the following Saturday night, or early on the Sunday morning, he went to Harpenden, where he found his wife and family without a habitation, and he, deponent, after remaining the whole of the day with his wife, about midnight on Sunday again left her, but not without first giving to her the sum of 7*s.* 6*d.*, the whole of his wages for the previous week with the exception of 3*s.* 6*d.*, which he retained for his own use. That he was in the habit every summer of going to hay-harvest to Henly-hill, Barnet, or Whetstone, and when the hay-harvest was over in that part of the country, he used to return to Mr. Bates, at Turner's-hall, where he, deponent, was regularly employed. That he again reached Harpenden very early on the Sunday morning, the 24th day of July, when he found his wife had been confined on the previous Monday; that he walked from Whetstone to Harpenden to see her, intending to return the same evening; that he saw her and gave her upwards of 10*s.* 6*d.*, being the whole of his earnings, with the exception of a small sum of money which he retained for his own support for the

ensuing week. That on the same day one Joshua Lines, the constable of Harpenden, arrested deponent by virtue of some warrant, and was about to take him, deponent, to the cage, but at deponent's request he was taken to the overseers', the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston, of whom he, deponent, demanded to know why he was to be taken to the cage, but the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston refused to tell deponent for what he had been taken into custody, and ordered the said Joshua Lines to lock up deponent in the cage where he, deponent, was confined from the Sunday until the Monday morning, without being allowed any food whatever. That on Monday morning he, deponent, was taken by the constable to the residence of John Hawkins, Esq., a magistrate for the county of Herts, who resides in the said parish of Harpenden, and was followed there by the said Joshua Jennings, and when the said Joshua Jennings reached the house of the said John Hawkins, he was in the company of the said John Hawkins, with whom the said Joshua Jennings retired into the parlour of the said John Hawkins. That shortly afterwards he was taken into the presence of the said John Hawkins, who said to deponent as soon as he entered the room, "I will give you a month's hard labour at Hertford," and on deponent's requesting to know for what, was told by the said John Hawkins that it was "for neglecting deponent's wife and family, and letting them become chargeable to the parish;" and deponent saith he immediately replied that his wife and family had had nothing from the parish; whereupon the said Joshua Jennings said they were chargeable to the parish while they lived in the church-house, and defendant then offered to pay rent for the house until he could get another, which the said Joshua Jennings refused to accept, but offered to allow the warrant to stand over for a week or two. That at the time he was taken to the prison at Hertford he was engaged in full harvest work, with his regular employer, Mr. Bates, of Turner's-hall, near Harpenden, and maintaining and supporting his family without any relief whatever from the parish, and that he continued to reside in the church-house, belonging to the said parish, not from his inability to pay the rent of a dwelling, but because he, deponent, could not procure any tenement or lodging for his said wife and family. That he offered not only in the presence of the said Mr. Hawkins, but at other times, to pay rent for the occupation of the said church-house until he, deponent, could obtain another place to put his wife and family into. That he did never absent himself from his wife and children and leave them chargeable to the parish of Harpenden; on the contrary, he, deponent, when he left his wife to proceed to the hay-harvest, always provided her, from time to time, with money sufficient for the maintenance of herself and children, and deponent feels confident in his mind that she never applied to the parish for relief during his absence, nor ever declared she did not know where deponent, her husband, was gone. That he was taken to the prison at Hertford by the said Joshua Lines, the constable, who apprehended him, deponent, on the warrant, in the first instance, as hereinbefore mentioned; and on the return of the said constable to Harpenden, he, deponent, sent back to his said wife, who was at that time confined, the sum of 5*s.* 6*d.*, being all the money he had, with the exception of 2*s.* 6*d.*, which deponent retained for his personal use during his confinement in prison. That when he was about leaving the prison at Hertford, on the expiration of the term for which he had been committed, he was taken before Mr. Lloyd, with other persons who were discharged at the same time, when said Mr. Lloyd said to deponent, he hoped he should not see deponent there again; and that he understood deponent had been sent there for abusing the overseers, and neglecting his wife and family, which he deponent denied, and told the said Mr. Lloyd he had been sent there because he could not get a house for his wife and family, whereupon the said Mr. Lloyd said he had not got the warrant, but should see Mr. Wilson, who was the governor of the prison. That the said Mr. Lloyd then inquired who it was that committed deponent to prison; and on deponent's informing him it was Mr. Hawkins, of Harpenden, the said Mr. Lloyd replied he did not know that gentleman, and had never heard of such a commitment in his life, or words to that or the like effect.

AFFIDAVIT OF ELIZABETH WELLS.

"That she has been the wife of the said William Wells about thirteen years, who has for several years last past worked at Turner's-hall, in the said parish of Harpenden. That her said husband occupied a cottage at Karsman's-green of Mr. Bunn, who requiring the same for his own occupation, gave notice to the said William Wells to leave the same. That after her said husband received notice from the said Mr. Bunn to leave the said cottage, she, deponent, and her said husband, made great efforts to obtain a house or lodgings for themselves and family to live in, but were unable to obtain either, in consequence of the small number of tenements in Harpenden aforesaid fit for the reception of working labourers. That owing to the impossibility of either her husband or herself obtaining a dwelling as aforesaid, her husband herself and children, were compelled to lodge themselves on the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, where they remained some time, until the overseers of the said parish were requested, by the magistrates assembled at St. Alban's, to find them a lodging. That her husband, herself, and family, were, with a person of the name of Parrott and his family, allowed to occupy one of the church-houses at Harpenden; and they continued to occupy the same until

Mr. Joshua Jennings and Mr. William Kingston become overseers of the said parish at Easter 1831. That shortly after the said parties had come into office, she, this deponent and her family, were forcibly expelled by the said overseers from the said church-house, and were again obliged to lodge themselves upon the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, exposed to the inclemency of the weather both by night and by day. That herself and family were exposed both by day and by night on the said public green for upwards of a fortnight, during all which time she was continually making inquiries for, and endeavouring to procure, a lodging for herself and family; but being unable to meet with any, her said husband, the said William Wells, took lodgings for her and their family at Redbourn, in the county of Hertford, to which they all removed in the beginning of the month of June. That when he went to lodge at Redbourn aforesaid her husband went to Whetstone, near Barnet, to hay-harvest, for Mr. Wimbush, and she used generally on the Sunday to be visited by her husband and receive part of his wages from him, or he used to send it to her. After living five weeks at Redbourn aforesaid, she was compelled to leave her lodgings there, in consequence of her landlord refusing to permit her to continue by reason of the near approach of her confinement; and she therefore proceeded to Harpenden, and again used her utmost endeavours to procure either a house or lodgings for herself and children, but was not able to obtain either. That she again lodged herself and children by day on the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, and by night she retreated, with her children, to an open and exposed hovel, in a field belonging to Mrs. Kingston, at Harpenden, where deponent and her children slept upon the straw laid down for the cattle, having her bedding upon the green, which she was unable to carry, owing to her being very ill, and very near her confinement; and she, deponent, and her children, continued thus to live, by day on the green, and by night in the hovel, for six days. That on Monday, the 16th of July last, whilst she was sleeping in the said hovel, at about three o'clock on that morning, she, this deponent, was taken with the pains of labour; and, in the course of the day, she managed to get to the Church-green with her children; and that, when there, she was visited by Mr. Smallman, the workhouse-keeper. That, about eight o'clock on the evening of the 18th of July, she was allowed to go into one of the church-houses, in which she was delivered in less than half an hour after she was admitted. That shortly after she was delivered, and when she was very ill, a woman of the name of Dallas brought to her, deponent, sixpence, saying, the workhouse-man had given it to her, with directions to buy deponent some tea, and whatever else she wanted. That the bed belonging to deponent's husband, and on which she had been lying on the Church-green, was in such a wet and damp state that it was totally unfit for deponent and the infant to lie upon; and the parish officers were therefore obliged, by the direction of the parish surgeon, to let deponent have a bed from the workhouse. That, at the time of her confinement, her husband was working at the hay harvest, for Mr. Wimbush, at his farm at Whetstone; that she well knew her husband was working there, because he had given to her his wages on the day preceding that on which she was delivered; and this deponent, therefore, most positively denies that she, shortly previous to the 23d day of July, or at any other time, told Mr. Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers of the said parish of Harpenden, that her said husband was absent, and that she did not know where he was gone; or that she told the said Joshua Jennings that she and her family of children had no means of subsistence, that they required relief from the parish, or that she, deponent, and her family, received their food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That the only relief she received from the said parish of Harpenden, during her confinement, was the sixpence hereinbefore adverted to, and a jug of gruel, which was never used either by herself or her children—for neither of which she made an application, having the means of providing them herself. That she herself paid the midwife for attending her, deponent, upon her confinement; and that she supported herself and children the whole of the ensuing week, without receiving any food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That, about two years back, in consequence of a thorn having forced itself into her great toe, she was attacked with a locked-jaw and fever, and was confined to her bed many weeks; and the fever having settled in her left-hand, she became and was some time a cripple, and incapable of using it; and she now, at times, has no use whatever of it. That, during the severe part of her illness, she received assistance from the parish, which was gradually reduced, first to two shillings per week, then to one shilling per week; and finally it was withdrawn altogether, on deponent and family being admitted into the church-house, Mr. Oakley, the overseer at that time, declaring he should retain the said one shilling for the rent. Both deponents further say, that after the said William Wells was discharged from prison as aforesaid, both of them made many efforts, and used much exertion, to get a house or lodgings, and lost several days' labour in doing so, but they did not succeed. And said Joshua Jennings came to deponent's, at the church-house, in which they resided, and desired them to leave the same; and threatened deponent, William Wells, to send him again to prison if he did not at once quit the house. That the only relief they and their families ever received from the said parish, previous to the said William Wells being committed to prison, was on the occasion of the said Elizabeth Wells being laid up with the locked-jaw and fever, and the sixpence and jug of gruel at her

confinement; and on one occasion being admitted for a fortnight into the workhouse, about three years and a half ago."

AFFIDAVIT OF CHARLOTTE JENNINGS.

That she is the wife of George Jennings, late of Harpenden aforesaid, labourer, to whom she has been married upwards of seven years. That her said husband was employed as a labourer, by three or four respectable farmers residing at, or in the neighbourhood of, Harpenden aforesaid. That at Easter, 1831, she was residing with her husband and three children in the Treadwheel-house at St. Harpenden aforesaid, and on the 1st of May one of her children was buried. That on the 19th of May, herself, husband, and two children, were forcibly driven from the said house, by the constable of the said parish, acting under the orders of Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers. That at the time herself and family were driven from the said Treadwheel-house, three other families, viz. Barber, Wells, and Parrott, were in like manner driven from other houses belonging to the said parish. That the whole four families, consisting of eight grown persons, and sixteen children, were obliged to go upon the Church-green of Harpenden, where they took their stations, and remained exposed, both by day and night, to the inclemency of the weather. That whilst there, they were seen by Mr. Launder at that time living in the town of Harpenden, who permitted deponent and her children to sleep four nights in his dog-kennel. That not only herself and husband, but also the other families, endeavoured to get houses to live in. That Parrott succeeded in getting a house in a few days. Wells and family, in about a week, went to Redbourn. Barber and family continued on the green, or in Mr. Kingston's hovel, about a month, when they were allowed to go into Butcher Freeman's barn; and deponent and family continued on the green, or in Mr. Kingston's hovel, or Mr. Freeman's barn, from the 19th of May to the middle of August. That Mr. Freeman at first refused to allow the deponent and family to go into the barn, because she was near her confinement. And deponent further saith, that she was taken with the pains of labour in Mr. Freeman's barn, very early in the morning, and fearing Mr. Freeman would be angry, she went to the Church-green, and whilst there, she was seen by the workhouse-man, who having learnt in what state deponent was, went to Mrs. Wells, who was in one of the church-houses, and asked her to make room for deponent, which she did, and deponent was admitted accordingly. And deponent further saith, that her husband, said G. Jennings, from the time he and the family were from the Treadwheel-house, until he was sent to prison on the 27th of August last, maintained and supported this deponent and his family, without any relief from the parish. And deponent further saith, that at and after her confinement, and until her husband was sent to prison, she and her children were entirely supported by her husband, from whose wages she also paid and discharged the claim of the midwife, except one shilling, which is now due to her. And deponent most positively denies that, previous to her husband's being sent to prison as aforesaid, or at any other time, she informed the said Joshua Jennings that her husband had left her, and that she did not know whither he was gone, and that she, this deponent, required relief from the said parish, and she also most distinctly denies that she and her family received their food from the poor-house of the said parish. She knows her husband did not, nor did she, this deponent herself, make any application whatever to the said Joshua Jennings for any relief whatsoever, and the only relief she, this deponent, received, was food for eight days out of the fourteen that her husband was in confinement. That in two or three days after her husband was discharged from prison, herself and family were again turned into the street by the overseers of the said parish, the said Joshua Jennings declaring her husband should be again sent to prison, unless they quitted the said house; in consequence thereof, herself and family were again obliged to lie exposed upon the Church-green, where they remained until they were permitted by the landlord of the Cock-inn to go into his stable, for which this deponent's husband paid one shilling per week, and they remained in the said stable until a week before when her husband procured the house in which she now resides."

AFFIDAVIT OF ALFRED WILLIAM NICHOLLS.

"That he has known William Wells, late of Harpenden, but now residing at Wheathempsted, in the county of Herts, labourer, for the space of four years last past, and that he believes him to be a hard-working, honest, and industrious man. That he well remembers the said William Wells and his wife and family being exposed on the Church-green of Harpenden aforesaid, and that he and his wife did, while so exposed, on several occasions, make application to him, deponent, to let him a tenement which he, deponent, had the possession of, and referred him, deponent, to Mr. Smith, a schoolmaster at Harpenden, who would become answerable for the rent, but the said tenement was occupied, and continued to be so, or he would have let the same to said William Wells; nor did he, deponent, know of any tenement or lodgings to let, otherwise he would have recommended him, said Wm. Wells, to the same. That he was also applied to by George Jennings and George Barber, two other persons who were exposed on the said Church-green, at Harpenden aforesaid, to let them the same tenement, but the same reason prevented him complying with their request as prevented deponent letting the same to the said William Wells. That he has no doubt said William Wells, George Jennings,

and George Barber, were unable to procure a dwelling in consequence of the scarcity of small tenements for labourers in Harpenden aforesaid; and deponent saith, that at this time said William Wells and his family, said George Barber and his family, and the wife of said George Jennings, are all living out of said parish of Harpenden, in consequence of their inability to get a residence in Harpenden aforesaid. That he knows John Hawkins, of Byelands, in said parish of Harpenden, Esq., that he frequently attends the public vestries of said parish, and is the only magistrate living in the same. That he knows some of said church-houses are occupied by widows, who are in them by compulsion, and not by desire, and that they would willingly leave them if the overseers would continue their weekly allowance if they resided elsewhere, but they are not now appropriated exclusively to widows, inasmuch as one of them is, and has been for a length of time, occupied by a man and his wife, with the authority of said overseers."

AFFIDAVIT OF WM. WELLS, BUILDER.

"That he recollects William Wells, a labourer (but no relation to deponent), and his family, together with two or three other families, being turned out of certain parish-houses, and being exposed on the public green, near the church at Harpenden aforesaid, about May 1831, making applications to him, deponent, to know whether he, deponent, could let them tenements, or tell them where they could get a habitation in which to dwell. That he well knows certain parish-houses in Harpenden aforesaid, called church-houses; that they were put into good and substantial repair in the month of July 1830; that he, deponent, was employed by the officers of said parish to do part of the repairs thereof, and his bill of charges for and in respect of such repairs was paid by said parish accordingly. That he does not believe said church-houses were dilapidated and out of repair at the time when said families were turned out of the same, because said houses were repaired in July 1830—were put into good and substantial order and condition. That said church-houses, previous to their repair in 1830, were not devoted to the exclusive occupation of widows, but on the contrary thereof; deponent saith they have been occasionally occupied by families, and a rent has been set aside for the same. They are now occupied by widows, some of whom reside therein against their desire; but they were compelled to go into the said church-houses in consequence of the weekly allowance made to them having been discontinued until they went to reside in said houses, as deponent has been informed and verily believes. That he knows said John Hawkins, of Byelands, Esq., who is an inhabitant of this parish, and who has occasionally attended, and acted as chairman, at the vestry meetings of the said parish."

AFFIDAVIT OF SARAH KING.

"That she had been a widow six years, and from the time of the death of her husband up to September last, she was living with her daughter in the parish of Harpenden. That shortly after the decease of her husband, the officers of the parish of Harpenden aforesaid, made an allowance to her of 1*s.* 6*d.* per week, which was subsequently increased to 2*s.*, which amount she now receives. That when she was residing with her said daughter, she was found with fire, candles, washing and lodging, free of expense, and the 2*s.* she received from the said parish weekly, provided her with tea and other articles of food. That in September last, Mr. Joshua Jennings and Mr. Wm. Kingston gave notice to deponent that she must occupy one of the church-houses, which she objected to do, as she was very happy with her daughter, and derived comforts from her said daughter, which she, deponent could not enjoy in the church-house. That in consequence of her declining to inhabit one of the church-houses, the said overseers discontinued to her the said allowance of 2*s.* per week, and they refused to make any more payments to her in respect thereof, until she went to live in one of the said houses. That she was therefore obliged to go into one of the said church-houses, much against her inclination, and she is now compelled, out of her said allowance of 2*s.* per week, to provide herself with every necessary, and the most expensive of which she was furnished with by her daughter, when she resided with her, and she continues to live in the said house only in consequence of the threats of the said overseers to discontinue her allowance if she leave the same."

AFFIDAVIT OF —— COX.

"That she inhabits one of the houses at Harpenden aforesaid, called the church-houses, and has lived there about ten months. That previous to going to reside in the said church-house, she was living in a cottage the property of Captain , rent-free, at the same time receiving an allowance of 2*s.* per week, as a widow belonging to the said parish of Harpenden. That before she went to reside in the said church-house, she was told by Mr. Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers of the said parish, that she must go into the same, which she at first declined, as she was very comfortable in the cottage belonging to the said Captain , and was paying no rent for the same; but the said Joshua Jennings having withheld the weekly allowance of 2*s.* from her, she was obliged to go into the said church-house against her inclination."

AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN STANT SMITH.

"That he well remembers William Wells, of Harpenden, aforesaid, labourer, and his wife and family, being exposed on the Church-green of Harpenden aforesaid. That the window of deponent's chamber commanded a view of the said Church-green, and that when he went to bed the feelings of deponent were much harassed by observing the dreadful manner in which the family of the said Wm. Wells was exposed to the weather. That feel-

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ings great desire to be spared the pain he was nightly subjected to by witnessing the distress of the said family, he, deponent, made some inquiry into the character of the said William Wells, and finding he was considered to be an honest and industrious labourer, deponent sent for and told the said William Wells he would consent to pay the rent of a dwelling if he could procure the same, and desired the said William Wells to refer any person who had a house to let to him, deponent, who would be answerable for the rent and see it paid, and deponent has no doubt the said Wm. Wells used great exertion in endeavouring to procure a habitation for himself and family which he did not succeed in meeting with."

AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN MISSENDEN.

"That he is the landlord of the Cock-inn, at Harpenden aforesaid, and that in the months of either October or November last, there being three families consisting of about sixteen individuals, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, in the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, he, deponent, from feelings of humanity, allowed the whole of them to take shelter in one of his stables attached to the said Cock-inn, and permitted them to remain there for some time."

BERKSHIRE ELECTION.

Mr. HALLETT has been beaten; and, the moment that I saw that BURDETT was relied on, I was sure that it would be so. There was that fellow, WALTER, too, the printer of the Bloody Old *Times* newspaper! When I came into town, on Monday, I told people that Mr. HALLETT would lose. "Why do you think so?" said they. "Why," said I, "I met "DADDY BURDETT, in the park, just "now; and that's a cock that gets out "of the way the moment he sees dan-"ger; and he sees it farther off than "any other cock in the world."

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

I told them, at Winchester, that the barking lawyer, M'DONALD, would bark himself into the receipt of public money! *I told them so.* He has made tools of the freeholders, and now he laughs at them. Will they choose another *Mac*? *Macaulay* too, has got a place! Will the people of LEEDS choose this fellow now? In the next Register I will put forth my "*Exhortation to Electors*," and will name some men.

From the ***LONDON GAZETTE.***

FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

ALEXANDER, H., Brentwood, Essex, corn-dealer.
WHILE, J., Maddox-street, Hanover-square, artificial florist.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

RAMSAY, J., Devonport-street, Commercial-road, master mariner.
WARD, J., Upper Ground-street, Surrey, iron-founder.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

LAVERS, W., Nicholas-lane, wine-merchant.
WICKS, P., Maidstone, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLMAND, R., Wem, Salop, victualler.
BARLOW, J., Leek, Staffordshire, victualler.
BATTERSBY, H. and C., Hindley, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.
COOPER, J., Ryde, and St. Helen's, Isle of Wight, corn-factor.
DICKINSON, I., Ulverston, Lancashire, scrivener.
DINGLEY, W., Birmingham, victualler.
EDWARDS, A. T., Idol-lane, Tower-street, bricklayer.
ELLIOT, J., Chatham, grocer.
FULLER, G. F. jun., late of Ramsgate, grocer.
FUSSELL, W. F., Baltonborough, Somersetshire, tanner.
LOVE, J., Havant, Hampshire, ironmonger.
LUNN, W., St. Mary-at-Hill, clopseller.
MARSHALL, J., Bradford, Yorkshire, ironmonger.
PACKWOOD, W. jun., Warwick, grocer.
SANDERS, J., Birmingham, druggist.

TUESDAY, JUNE 5, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

COOMBS, A. and W., Bennett's-hill, bankers.
DUNSDON, T., Worcester, pastry-cook.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BLAKEY, J., Habergham Eaves and Burnley, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
EMDEN, S. Bucklersbury, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BARTRAM, C., Bankside, oilman.
BATES, W., Leas, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
BATTYLL, R. C., Doctors'-commons, tavern-keeper.
BAWDEN, J., Devonport, painter.
BILHAM, J., Old-st., St. Luke's, lic. victualler.
BLAGBURN, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, upholsterer.
BRYERS, S., Chester, silversmith.
CLARKE, P., Pontesbury, Shropsh., maltster.
FOXWELL, W. V., Clapton, Gloucestershire, cattle-dealer.
GOLDSCHMIDT, A., C. W. Stokes, and E. Meyer, Great St. Helens, merchants.

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HALSALL, E., Bristol, watch-maker.
HIGGINS, E., Dudley, Worcestersh., hatter.
LOCKETT, W. H., Manchester, wine-merchant.
LOCKWOOD, T., Huddersfield, woolstapler.
LOCKWOOD, T. jun., and J. Cockburn, Huddersfield, woollen-cloth-manufacturers.
RITCHIE, J., East-lane, Walworth, baker.
SIBEL, J. S., Norwich, veterinary surgeon.
STONER, T. and T. jun., Berwick, Yorkshire, corn-millers.
WALKER, J., Tavistock-sq., schoolmaster.
WARINGTON, T., Guilford-st., wine-broker.
WEST, J., W. Taylor, and T. Walker, Newport, Monmouthshire, corn-merchants.
WHITE, W. F., Norwich, furnishing-ironmong.
YARINGTON, W., Swaffham, Norfolk, money-scrivener.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

RITCHIE, W., Paisley, provision-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 4.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat, and Scotch and Irish oats, have been moderately good: of English, Irish, and foreign flour, rather great: of English and Irish barley, English and Scotch malt, Scotch flour, English oats, beans, and peas, and seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

As this day's market was not very numerously attended by either London or country buyers, and most of these were disposed to deal sparingly, the trade was, with each kind of corn, as also malt, pulse, seeds, and flour, exceedingly dull, at but little, if any, variation from last Monday's prices.

Wheat	51s. to 65s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	24s. to 28s.
—— fine	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
—— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
—— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
—— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	25s. to 27s.
—— Poland	23s. to 25s.
—— Feed	18s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	56s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	45s. to 47s. per cwt.
—— Sides, new	49s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	127s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	67s. 0d. to 75s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
—— Carlow	—s. to —s.
—— Cork	—s. to —s.
—— Limerick	—s. to —s.
—— Waterford	84s. to —s.
—— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
—— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 64s.
—— Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
—— Edam	49s. to 54s.
—— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	60s. to 70s.

SMITHFIELD.—June 4.

This day's supply of beasts and porkers was limited; of sheep, lambs, and calves, tolerably good. The trade, though not to say brisk, was throughout much brisker than on many past market days; with beef, prime small mutton, and veal, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with lamb and pork at fully Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 1,969; sheep and lambs, 19,620; calves, 210; pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 8.

The arrivals this week are good. The prices are rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann., shut.

TO WORKING MEN AND OTHERS.

MR. COBBETT will deliver a Third LECTURE on Passing Events, in the INSTITUTION, Theobald's-road, on Tuesday Evening next, June 12, 1832.—The Doors will be opened at Seven; the Lecture commence at Eight o'Clock. Admission to the public, 6d.; to Members of the National Union of the Working Classes, 3d.—"Rules and Objects" of the Union sold at the Doors, One Penny each.

WARD OF CRIPPLEGATE WITHOUT.

COURT OF JURORS.

AT a SPECIAL MEETING of the COURT OF JURORS, held at the Crown Tavern, May 4, 1832, JOHN DENNY, Esq., Foreman, in the Chair,

It was resolved unanimously,—That the following Address be presented to Michael Scales, Esq., the rightful and legally-elected Alderman of Portsoken Ward:—

The Members of the Court of Jurors, freemen of London, cannot refrain from assuring you of their high esteem for the determination you have displayed in maintaining the rights of the freemen of the City of London,—rights which, independent of their manifest justice, have been solemnly recognised by an Act of Parliament passed in the 11th year of the reign of George the First. The iniquity of the Court of Aldermen in refusing to swear you into an office, to which you have been twice elected by a large majority of votes, is a clear denial of justice; and while it violates that sacred principle in your person, robs the free-

men of the City of London of their legal right to elect their own Aldermen, and thereby renders insecure every right they possess, either prescriptively or by enactment.

The Court of Jurors rejoice in your avowed determination to resist injustice, by seeking a reversal of the decree of the despotic Court of Aldermen, whose vile assumption of arbitrary power is unprecedented since the passing of the above-mentioned Act of Parliament.

The Court of Jurors cannot conclude without expressing their regret at the great expense to which you have been exposed by the legal proceedings consequent on the nefarious conduct of the Court of Aldermen, as well as stating their sincere wishes, that the freemen of this great city will make a common cause with you, in endeavouring to bring to a successful issue a case which so vitally concerns themselves, and which, if neglected, will demonstrate to the world, that in the land which is reputed to be the birth-place of freedom, an English constituency may be the slaves of their own representatives.

By order of the Court,
J. DENNY, Foreman.

REPLY OF ALDERMAN SCALES.

44, *Aldgate, May*, 1832.

Gentlemen,—I have read with delight your bold, clear, and comprehensive address to me. It has almost effaced the recollection of my sufferings in the cause of my fellow-citizens.

When we take notice that amongst twenty-two aldermen there is not one who has not actively persecuted me at the risk of sacrificing your elective rights, it lessens our opinions of sworn representatives, and shows human nature in its lowest and most despicable light.

Where have been those brawlers about "freedom," "rights," and "liberties," Waithman, Wood, and Co., who have cozened and deceived their confiding fellow-citizens so many years? Dumb as beetles, when the rights of all the freemen of London are at stake; and, like poor Yorick's skull, without one word wherewith to mock their own grinning.

Where are the champions of "civil rights," and the heroes in the "cause of liberty," amongst your representatives in the Court of Common Council? Like Brutus's boy *Lucius*, sleep appears to have laid his leaden mace upon them. Fie on them! they are things rank and gross in nature. We shall have plenty of twaddle and bow-wows as the city saint, *St. Thomas*, approaches, when their fellow-citizens will once more confide in them, and they, if elected, will once more laugh at the credulity of the electors.

Yet, as the freemen of London are governed by annual parliaments, let every freeman look to his own vote, and men will spring up who will honestly and fearlessly defend their rights and privileges against an imbecile, yet despotic, Court of Aldermen. I regret very much that I am compelled to attend before prejudiced judges in the Court of King's Bench this day, and cannot have the pleasure of meeting you as I intended; for although entire strangers to me, your sensible and public-spirited address proves you rank foremost amongst the freemen of London in the knowledge of your civil rights, and imitating the noble example of the Ward of Portsoken, have had the courage to come forward publicly to defend them.—I am, Gentlemen, Jurors, and Freemen of the Ward of Cripplegate Without, with the utmost respect, your most obedient humble servant,

MICHAEL SCALES.

To the Court of Jurors of the Ward of Cripplegate Without.

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealers, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS, Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of men of business.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers and Newsmen throughout the Empire.

"The 'Mark-Lane Express,' a new paper devoted to the agricultural and commercial interests, as well as to general intelligence and politics. It is well printed, and apparently well conducted, and promises to be a useful newspaper to persons in trade."—*Edinburgh Chronicle.*

"An excellent weekly paper, which should be in the possession of every corn-merchant and general trader."—*Lancaster Herald.*

"A new agricultural paper, very appropriately named, and very well conducted."—*Mechanics' Magazine.*

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 16TH, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

"IF you do not NOW do your duty; if you "do not NOW drive from you with disdain "tax and tithe-eaters of every description; "if you, who will have the votes, do not NOW "do this, you will deserve to be burdened like "asses to the end of your days, and to suffer, "in all manner of ways, the effects of the "hatred of those from whom the votes are "withheld, and whom you will have so in-"famously betrayed."—LECTURE AT HULL, *March* 1, 1832

TO THE

ELECTORS OF ENGLAND.

LETTER I.

REFORM FESTIVALS.

1. *City of London Wardmongers.*
2. *Irish Reform Bill.*
3. *My own Reform Festival.*

IT is not yet settled what is to be the day on which the fellows, called "THE CORPORATION OF LONDON," mean to squander away three thousand pounds of our money, in treating and applauding the men who have brought in and passed a bill as reluctantly and as grudgingly as ever fellow went to a wedding with a halter about his neck; and who have, even in that bill, shown as great a hatred of the liberties of the people as it was possible for them to show without producing open revolt and a blowing-up of the system: the day is not yet named when these bell-wethers of the flocks of folly mean to make the display of their own vanity, gluttony, and subserviency to men in power, and at the same time, of their total disregard of the rights, liberties, and interests of the hundreds of thousands of industrious people committed to their charge: the day is not named, when this united band of fellows, called "*Aldermen and Common-councilmen*," who have expended and are yet expending, thousands and thousands of pounds of our money, in order, by chicanery and the delays of the law, to rob the people of PORTSOKEN WARD of that right of being represented in the Court of Aldermen, which their forefathers enjoyed for seven hundred years, up to these brilliant days of GALLOWAY and FIGGINS and KEY and CHARLEY and WAITHMAN; those united bands who, at the close of an election, being compelled by law to declare Mr. SCALES *duly elected*, meet afterwards and declare that he shall *not sit*; who, when he appeals to the law to make them do their duty, is met by sheer *weight of purse*, and that purse filled, not out of their own means, but out of taxes wrung from us the citizens of London, and from the people of Portsoken Ward amongst the rest: the day is not yet named, when this united crew, who thus make us pay for obtaining the means of robbing us of our rights; the day is not yet named, when this crew are to meet to squander away three thousand pounds of our money, under pretence of rejoicing at the overthrow of the miscreant boroughmongers, who, miscreants as they are, never were guilty of an act of such audacious and insolent oppression as this gluttonous crew are, at this moment, in the act of committing against us the oppressed citizens of London; for, though we know well that the infamous boroughmongers robbed the people of their rights by a mockery of elections, we never heard of the people being directly taxed for the *express purpose of paying for the robbery*, as is the case of the people of PORTSOKEN WARD at this very moment, who, having elected one man to serve them in the Court of Aldermen; having elected one man by a *hundred and sixty-nine votes* against

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twenty-five votes, behold the man of seventy-five votes seated, and the man of a hundred and sixty-nine votes not suffered to sit: the day is not yet named when this united gang mean to squander away three thousand pounds of our money in guttling and guzzling with Grey and Brougham and Melbourne, and the rest of them (who, as all the world knows, have passed, even this bill, with the greatest reluctance), and in feasting all the hands of pensioners and placemen that can be mustered up for the occasion: the day is not yet named when these united crews are to meet and congratulate each other on the hitherto success of their efforts to convert the city of London into a group of wards, far *more rotten* than even Gatton or Old Sarum: the day is not yet named for the feastings of this crew, who are expending our money to rob the people of Portsoken Ward of their rights, for these two reasons especially; first, because Mr. Scales defeated their intended *magnificent job* for the SLAUGHTERING OF CATTLE BY STEAM, which was to have cost us *sixty thousand pounds*, and for the "*plans*" and the printings relative to which we actually paid *eight hundred pounds*; and second, because, when Mr. Scales was Common-councilman, and when a motion was made in the Common-council, to petition for *parliamentary reform*, Mr. Scales moved as an amendment, "That it would be highly inconsistent "in this Court to agree to any such pe-"tition until it had *reformed itself*, see-"ing that it was *now* less enlightened "and far more corrupt than the House "of Commons;" a truth more clear or more notorious than which, never came from the pen or lips of mortal man: the day is not yet fixed, I say, when this crew, who expended *twenty-six thousand pounds of our money* in feasting Wellington and the despots, are to expend three thousand pounds more of our money in feasting the men who have given us a Bourbon-police with swords at their girdles, who, in time of peace, have raised the standing army to the war-standard, who are, at this very moment, proposing what they call a *Reform Bill*, which is manifestly intended in every part of its provisions to narrow, instead of extending, the suffrage of Ireland, and to make that country (containing about a third part of the population of the whole kingdom) infinitely worse represented than it was before: the day is not yet fixed when this crew are to spend our money in what they call "*celebrating the triumph of the cause of reform.*"

But throughout the country pretty generally there are to be rejoicings; and I will, by-and-by, state the manner in which I shall testify *my joy* upon the occasion. I rejoice, not because we have our rights, for the Reform Bill gives us, in fact, only *a part* of those rights. I rejoice in the triumph of the principle of reform, and in the demolition of the rotten boroughs, though it is clearly intended to make others in their stead; an intention, however, which will be blown to air before there will be a chance of carrying it into effect. I see in this Reform Bill, regarding the Boundary Bill as a part of it, every thing that is given up to the people, given up as a man would give up drops of blood from his heart; I see in it, at every turn, the foulest partiality towards the aristocracy and the church; I see, running through the whole of it, a series of endeavours to prevent the working-people from having the smallest chance of possessing influence in elections; endeavours, as anxious, as persevering, as spiteful, and as malignant, as if the working-people, who create every thing, were so many devouring wolves or poisonous reptiles. Why then did I wish this bill *to be carried?* Because one of two things would be the consequence: it would produce that change in the manner of governing the country which is absolutely necessary to be produced; or, failing in that, it would give the nation some vantage ground to stand on in order to work out its freedom and salvation.

But, let it always be borne in mind, that by the word REFORM, we always meant reform for Scotland and Ireland as well as England, both of which have, heretofore, been far worse

treated, in this respect, than we have been. My readers will do me the justice to remember the numerous cases in which I have said, "by the word *England*, I mean *Scotland* and *Ireland* also;" and, in this case particularly, I have, over and over again, said, that I must consider all the bills as one enactment, and act with regard to them accordingly. Now, the Scotch Reform Bill by no means does full justice to Scotland. This is not the place to enter into details upon the subject; but the Scotch bill still leaves the working people of that country wholly stripped of the means of self-defence. By applying the rent standard of England to Scotland monstrous injustice is done to Scotland. But, it is with regard to *Ireland* that the atrocious and insolent injustice appears to be intended to be done; and, if that injustice be done, I will not even stop *to try this reform*, before I exert every power of my body and my mind *to effect a further reform*; for, if this injustice be done to Ireland; if Ireland be, openly and without any disguise, still to remain the absolute slave of the boroughmongers, it would be base in me to pretend to believe that it would be right to wait to give this reform a trial. The Irish Reform Bill, as brought in by STANLEY, is like STANLEY himself, presumptuous, insulting, and offensive to the very senses; and, it will, if persevered in, produce every evil, naturally to be expected from the resentment of a most unjustly treated and most grossly insulted people.

I beg my readers to pay particular attention to this matter. They have always observed me anxiously labouring to convince them of the importance of Ireland. If Ireland were like a Swiss canton; if it were like NOVA SCOTIA or CANADA, on which so many millions of our money are thrown away; if it were like either of these, then this contemptuous treatment of it might be a matter of less moment. It is like no such a thing: it is a country with a poulation half as great as that of England and Wales: it is a country of immense production; of lands fertile in corn and in cattle; it is a country of great trade; and it is a country that must and will be treated in the same manner as England is treated; or it is a country that will keep England, and most justly keep England, in a state of constant turmoil, ruin, and misery. Almost as soon as the present Ministers came into power, we saw *an augmentation of the standing army take place*, and every man of sense felt indignant accordingly. What! were we not burdened sufficiently already? "Oh, but *look at Ireland!* Look at the situation of Ireland!" Well; here was another million, or, perhaps, two millions, added to the expenses of the year, only because Ireland was not treated in the same manner as England was. The standing army altogether costs about ten millions a year, exclusive of the dead weight. One-half of the whole of this expense is incurred to make the Irish people submit to a government more oppressive than that which exists in England. And are we now to *rejoice* at the "*triumph of reform*," when this reform, taken altogether, will make more manifest than ever the design to make a clear distinction between Englishmen and Irishmen? the design, the deliberate contrivance, for keeping the latter in a state of abject subjection by means of the purses and arms of the former! Are we to *rejoice* at this? It is natural enough for the guttlers and guzzlers of that combined crew who make use of the purses of the citizens of London to oppress and degrade their brethren of PORTSOKEN WARD; it is perfectly natural in this crew to celebrate a reform, resembling that of which they are giving us such a very pretty specimen; it is perfectly natural in them to exult in this new mark of degradation inflicted on our brethren in Ireland; but it would be unnatural and monstrous in any other body of persons calling themselves Englishmen or Scotchmen.

It was only last night, 13th June, that the Tories joined the Whigs most cordially in preventing the success of Mr. O'Connell's exertions to amend the bill for Ireland, brought in by the hated STANLEY, of whom and of whose conduct Mr. O'Connell is re-

ported to have spoken in the following terms :—"To whom had the task of "bringing forward the Irish Reform "Bill been entrusted? The English "Reform Bill had been brought in by "an Englishman—the Scotch Reform "Bill had been brought in by a Scotch-"man—but the Irish Reform Bill had "not been brought in by an Irishman. "It had been entrusted to the charge of "a person in whom no party in the "empire had confidence—to the right "honourable Gentleman opposite had "been fitly entrusted a measure which "was calculated to destroy the inde-"pendence of Ireland. Wise and politi-"cal statesmen were the present mem-"bers of his Majesty's Government! "They wished to tranquillize Ireland; "and how do they attempt to achieve "that object? By committing towards "that country an act of the grossest "injustice. That act he would strenu-"ously oppose; and although the right "honourable Gentleman might defeat "him in that House, the people of Ire-"land would defeat that right honour-"able Gentleman elsewhere. They "would commit no violence—they "would not infringe any law—they "would take up no arms—they would "engage in no processions; but if the "whole constitution were not previously "destroyed—if one rag of the constitu-"tion were left, on that they would "stand, and defeat the attempt to en-"slave them."

Upon this occasion the base and treacherous *reporther* has had recourse to his old trick; namely, of publishing monstrous *fool-lies* under the name of "*Hunt*," he now tells us, that this "*Hunt*" uttered upon this occasion the following words: "he recalled to the "remembrance of the Irish members, "the conduct they had pursued *towards* "*him* when he was supporting princi-"ples the same as those which they "now supported. When *he had asked* "*for an extension of suffrage*, not one "of them had *stood by him*, though he "had said then that the Ministerial "measure of reform would *not satisfy* "*the people of England*, as *they now* "*said that the Irish Reform Bill would* "*not satisfy the people of Ireland.*" "When he said this, he was told that "he *was no reformer*, and that he "*wished to impede the progress of the Re-*"*form Bill.*" Now, as to this "*Hunt*," I know nothing, nor do I care anything; but I well remember what this base *reporther* did in those days, when people called him the "LIAR" *par excellence*. I well remember that. I very well remember all his lies about "re-actions," and about the people's "*coolness*" in the cause of reform; and I well remember, that most people believed that he had sold himself to the Tories; and, for my own part, I had not the smallest doubt, that all his new suits of clothes were bought by the Tories; and that he was kept by them as much as my horse is kept by me; and that WETHERELL and PEEL looked upon him as an animal that it was necessary to feed and to groom, in order that he might be able to do their work in this paragraph-grinding way, just as they would have fed and have groomed a stupid old rip that goes in a bark-mill. This reporther tells the Irish members, that they ought to have supported him, when he was asking for England what they are now asking for Ireland. Stupid wretch, they are not asking for what you, in your filthy paragraphs, used to be asking. You used to be asking for *universal suffrage*, because you knew that was the way to get nothing; and they seeing that you were a tool of the Tories, despised your lying and base publications. They, like men of sense and virtue, were for getting something.

You, stupid and lying *reporther*, pretend, that there is inconsistency in them, in not being satisfied with the Irish Bill, though they were satisfied with the English bill! Why, you worse than a "*new-negro*," they expressly say, that they are not satisfied with the Irish bill, *because it is not like the English bill.* There is one favour that I have to ask of Dr. Black; and that is, that he would let me *see you* with my own eyes. I am sure your colour corresponds with the Doctor's name. I am sure that you are a black; and not a

very *shining* one either; but one of those dingy devils whose skin in point of colour resembles a soldier's shoe that has been *blacked by contract*. It is not fair for the Doctor to keep you out of sight, and to suffer you to annoy us in this way. You say, that, when you were brawling about universal suffrage and re-actions, you were told, that you wished "to impede the progress of the Reform Bill!" The devil you were! So, these dunderheaded Irish members thought that the Tories being told, that the people of England were indifferent to the Reform Bill; that the Reform Bill would not satisfy the people of England; that there was a great re-action relative to the Reform Bill; that the bill might be rejected without producing any discontent amongst the people; the dunderheaded Irish members thought your everlastingly repeating these lies, was a sign that you "*wished to impede the progress of the Reform Bill!*" Oh! what simpletons they must have been! Stupid beast: dost thou not see, that every one must perceive, that if the Irish members had sold themselves to the Tories, as you manifestly did yourself, and "*stood by you*," as you call it, there would have been NO REFORM-BILL AT ALL; that the fifty-six rotten boroughs would still have been in existence; that Blackburn and Bolton and Manchester and Oldham and Ashton and Stockport and Rochdale, and all the working millions of Yorkshire, and of the Midland, would still have been without the possibility of a chance of having any more than so many flies, an influence in the choosing of members of Parliament? The Irish members did not sell themselves to the Tories: we have to thank several of them, and particularly Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. SHEIL and Mr. GRATTAN, for the part that they acted with regard to the English bill; and the corporation of London, instead of at this time being engaged in preparing benches and tables for the guzzling and the gormandizing, ought to be engaged in rousing the whole of this metropolis and its vicinity to send up petitions and remonstrances against this unjust and insolent bill of the insolent STANLEY. The words ought to be in the mouth of every Englishman: "*I will not receive with any expression of joy that right which is withheld from the people of Ireland!*"

It is a curious thing, and eminently entitled to our attention, because it is an indication of what is to take place for the future: it is a curious thing, to see the Tories cordially joining the Whigs in this case; to see CROKER and STANLEY chuckling together, like a *German frow* and her paramour grinning through a horse-collar! It must be an excellent Reform Bill, that CROKER *so cordially approves of*; and Stanley must be a fine minister for Ireland to be honoured with CROKER's praises of his conduct. Here, as clear as day-light, we have a view of the intended game for the future, which, in two words, is this: the Whigs are to support and carry on the present system of taxes, tithes, standing-army, Bourbon-police, and all the rest of it; and, in all this they *are to be supported by the Tories, together with all the* POLITICAL UNIONS, *the leaders of which they can get into their pay*! This is manifestly the scheme; and it is for those in whom the right of voting will be, to defeat this at once stupid and tyrannical scheme. The factions have, indeed, a committee sitting, with matches some, and others, with fire brands, in their hands! There is the *magazine!* There it is, of immense magnitude, and consisting of combustibles of prodigious force. *There it is*! One touch from a match, or a brand, blows into the air all the schemes of Whigs and Tories; sends the LIAR to be the BEAR in the Zodiac, makes a GEMINI of STANLEY and CROKER, converts little HOBHOUSE into the CRAB, and sends some one of the GERMAN FROW, in the character of VIRGO, to cry "*Py-a-proom*" in the celestial regions. In plain English, there is the *Debt*; with that *Debt something* must be done; do what they will with it, *unless they adopt my propositions*, they blow the thing into the air. If they do *nothing*, the nation will go on sinking lower and lower in misery; discontent will

daily increase; the people will demand a further reform; they now know the means which they have to employ in order to obtain it: if they be driven to employ those means, the thing explodes in *that way*. So that the Gemini, the *Siamese* youths, Croker and Stanley, by remaining stuck together, will only secure an identity in political destruction. I cannot dismiss this part of my subject without expressing my pleasure at observing, that both the National *Political Unions* in London have presented petitions to the House of Commons in support of the efforts which Mr. O'Connell is making in behalf of his country. The same will, I hope, be done at Birmingham: I am sure it will at Manchester; and I think this duty will be neglected in no town in England, excepting *this city*, where we have, hitherto, at any rate, suffered ourselves to be led by the odious oppressors of the people of Portsoken Ward.

I shall, by-and-by, have to speak of the precautions which electors ought to take at the forthcoming elections, in order to secure proper persons to represent them in Parliament, that we may not be cheated out of the fruit of our exertions, as the brave people of France have been cheated out of theirs. But, before I come to this matter, I must speak of the manner in which *I myself propose to keep the reform-festival*. This is a matter of no slight importance, if duly considered. As a pretext for spending the people's money on guttling and guzzling, it is despicable. It is unworthy of any reformers, except those who have made such a glorious reformation in Portsoken Ward, and the only appropriate judgment upon them for which would be, that they should go forth, from their gormandizing and guzzling kennel, "*lepers white as snow*," which, by none of us that know them, would be mistaken for a mark of their purity; for we, all of us well knowing that they are taking the money from our pockets, and employing it for the purpose of inflicting ruin on one of the ablest and most public-spirited of all our fellow-citizens. No: I shall not wait for our "Charley" and Augustus Figgins the printers'-tinker, and the profector for slaughtering cattle by steam, and the "*Church-and-King*" reforming Lord Mayor; I shall not wait for these to tell me when or how to express my satisfaction. I shall choose my own time, my own place, and my own manner; and these will be as follows:

I have always been of opinion that we owe the Reform Bill more to the COUNTRY LABOURERS than to all the rest of the nation put together; because if they had remained quiet under their sufferings; if they had not resolved not to be reduced to potatoes, and if they had not acted *as they did*, in order to preserve themselves from this state of horrible degradation, Wellington would not have been turned out, Grey would not have come in, the Parliament would have acted upon Wellington's insolent declaration, and we should have had no Reform Bill at all; though, in time, we must have had a terrible and violent revolution. Every man, therefore, who really wishes for the settlement of our difficulties to terminate in peace, must feel gratitude towards these country labourers. I feel this gratitude in a peculiar degree; because, taking England throughout, I know more of their toils, their sufferings, and their virtues, than any other man. I therefore shall spend my day of triumph amongst them; and for the reasons that I am about to give, I shall do it in Hampshire, and in a hamlet called Sutton Scotney, which is in the parish of Wonston, and which is situate at about seven miles from Winchester, seven miles from Stockbridge, seven miles from Andover, seven miles from Whitchurch, twelve miles from Basingstoke, fourteen miles from Odiham, twelve miles from Alton, and seven miles from Arlesford. And which little hamlet is on the road from London to Salisbury, going through Basingstoke and Stockbridge. At Sutton Scotney the labourers of ten parishes met, when they sallied forth in November 1830, to remonstrate with the farmers, the parsons, and the land-

owners, with regard to the wages that had reduced them to a state of half-starvation. But this spot is more dear to me, and it ought to be dear to every Englishman, for a reason other than this. It was at this spot that was signed, that petition *for parliamentary reform*, which the labourer, JOSEPH MASON, carried to the King, at Brighton, in the month of October 1830, the interesting circumstances relating to which, are as follows.

The general notion in London has been, that the country labourers are ignorant creatures; that they have no sentiment at all relative to political rights and liberties; that, like cattle, they know when they are hungry, and that their rising and committing acts of violence, resemble, in point of motive, the feelings which animate cows, or oxen, when they break out of a barren field to get into a rich pasture. Such, too, are the opinions which our Ministers and members of Parliament have entertained towards these producers of the food and the wool and the wood of the country. Proceeding upon these opinions, they have adopted schools without number, and the distribution of millions of pamphlets, the main object of all which has been, to persuade the labourers, that God never intended anything but potatoes for them to eat, and, that it is grievously sinful in them not to be content with such diet, though they see the fields and the meadows covered with corn and with cattle, created by their own labour. It has also been fashionable, amongst even the working classes, to look upon the country labourers, particularly those here in the South, as being totally ignorant with regard to public matters, and as being utterly unable to be made to understand anything about the political causes of their misery; and of course not knowing the least in the world about Parliamentary Reform.

Such opinions were never entertained by me for any one moment of my life. I, from my childhood, have known the country labourers well; and, in conversation as well as in writing, I have always maintained, that they well understood the *nature of their sufferings*, and the *causes of their misery*; and that the day would come, when they would endure that misery no longer. Now, then, for the circumstances connected with this petition, which I have spoken of above.

In the month of September, or early in October, 1830, when scarcely a petition had recently been sent up *for parliamentary reform*, the labourers of the parishes of WONSTON, BULLINGTON, and BARTON STACEY (the whole three containing a population less than one thousand five hundred souls) met at the hamlet of SUTTON SOOTNEY, where they agreed to *a petition to the King*, and subscribed two or three pence a piece, to pay the expenses of a man to carry it and present it to the King at BRIGHTON, where the King then was. The man chosen to go on foot this distance of *sixty miles*, was JOSEPH MASON, of BULLINGTON, of whom I shall have to say a good deal by-and-by. The following, word for word and letter for letter, is a copy of this memorable petition, with a copy of the names of all those who signed it.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned persons, belonging to the working and labouring classes of the parishes of Wonston, Barton Stacey, and Bullington, near Winchester, together assembled within their respective parishes,

Showeth,

That, ready and proud to acknowledge your Majesty our lawful Sovereign, we are willing to pay every respect and submission so far as reason and justice dictate, flattering ourselves that this is all your Majesty expects or demands.

That, Kings and Government were instituted for the happiness, welfare, and for the better regulating civil society; to protect the weak against the strong, the rich against the poor, the poor against the unjust encroachments of the rich, in short, to watch over and protect the welfare and happiness of the people, and this we doubt not will be your Majesty's endeavour, so long as your Majesty sway the royal sceptre.

That, relying on this, and availing ourselves of the liberty the laws of our country afford

us, namely, that of "petitioning the King," we humbly implore your Majesty to cast an eye of pity to the misery and wretchedness that at this moment pervade every part of this country, and of which your Majesty's petitioners have their full share. That many of us have not food sufficient to satisfy our hunger; our drink is chiefly the crystal element; we have not clothes to hide the nakedness of ourselves, our wives, and our children, nor fuel wherewith to warm us; while at the same time our barns are filled with corn, our garners with wool, our pastures abound with cattle, and our land yields us an abundance of wood and coal; all of which display the wisdom, the kindness, and mercy of a great Creator on the one hand, and the cruelty, the injustice, and the depravity of his creatures on the other. Nearly to this state of misery have your Majesty's humble petitioners long lived, anxiously looking forward for better days; but to our great sorrow and disappointment, we find oppression daily press heavier and heavier on our shoulders, till at length we are driven to the brink of despair. This misery and wretchedness does not proceed from any fault on the part of your Majesty's petitioners, as we use every exertion in our power to subdue those bitter evils; but experience tells us that "all is vain." Some of your Majesty's wealthy subjects impute this prevailing depression to an "over-population," which we positively deny, seeing there is an abundance for the lowest of your Majesty's subjects, if possessed of the ability to purchase. But your Majesty's petitioners more reasonably and justly impute it to a misapplication of the produce of talent and industry; and this proceeds from a misrepresentation in the Commons House of Parliament.

That not one of your Majesty's petitioners have ever been allowed to exercise his right of voting at an election; that right, by the present system, being confined to the rich; in consequence of which, men have been returned to serve in Parliament in whom the people have no confidence; who consult not the people's welfare and happiness, but have entered into unnecessary and unjust wars, to defray the expenses of such wars, and other useless purposes, have laid and are still laying on us, without our consent, an immense weight of taxes, directly contrary to the law of the land, which says, "that money shall not be taken out of the pockets of the people in the shape of taxes without their consent, or the consent of their representatives." Such is the language of the supreme law of the land, and is as binding upon every branch of the Government, as the common law is on the subject: and though now we are at the distance of sixteen years from war, the taxes continue but little abated.

That, in consequence of this misrepresentation in the Commons or People's House of Parliament, we have to complain that upwards of 50,000,000*l.* annually are extorted from that part of Great Britain called England, and of which sum the middle and labouring classes pay the greatest part; whilst the Government of the United States of America cost the 12,000,000 of people they govern not so many thousands, in consequence of which the people so governed, live in the greatest state of ease and happiness. We complain that this tax lie most heavy on those articles which are the necessaries of the poor man's life; such as malt, hops, tea, sugar, tobacco, soap, candles, &c. &c.: which cause the price of those articles to be twice their real value; that our wages at this time are not more than nine shilling a-week, (at Barton Stacey but eight shillings) out of which we have to pay, one shilling for the rent of our house, and one for fuel, leaving but seven shillings per week, or one shilling per day for the support of a man, his wife, and three children. That at this time the tax on a bushel of malt, or a pound of tea, amount to as much as the labouring man's wages do in two days and a half. We complain that part of the money extorted from us go to pay the interest of a debt, part of which was contracted by the unnecessary wars, and a part by our fathers' fathers' great grandfathers. We complain that another part of the fruit of our labours go to pay grants, pensions, sinecures, &c. &c., wantonly heaped on the heads of the aristocracy and their relations, whose names are known only by the vast sums they receive, and who has never rendered the country any service whatever. We complain that (according to the statement of Sir James Graham), 113 of his late Majesty's Privy Councillors receive amongst them 650,000*l.* per annum, some of whom are members of the Commons House of Parliament, this being contrary to Magna Charta, which says, "That no person who has an office, or place of profit under the

King, or who receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons." We complain that notwithstanding a peace of sixteen years, we have a standing army of nearly 100,000 men, fed and clothed out of the fruit of our labour; part of which force is kept to compel us to pay the dreadful burdens heaped on our shoulders; we complain that, among this force, is twice as many officers as is necessary, such as generals, admirals, colonels, captains, &c., who receive immense salaries, and who, chiefly, are in some way or other related to the aristocracy; we complain that we never had a voice in the legislature, though, by the law, we are all liable to serve as soldiers, and shed our blood in the defence our country, in any war the legislature please to engage; we complain, that that property, commonly called church-property, is applied to very bad and useless purposes, purposes which have no concern whatever with religion; that whilst many poor clergy have scarce enough to maintain the dignity of their calling, others have four, five, six, and seven livings and places of profit; and whilst some of the bishops have revenues amounting to from ten to thirty, thirty-five, and 40,000*l.* annually; that notwithstanding these immense revenues, the bishops, and other rich men in the church, are often calling on us to "subscribe liberally" towards funds for erecting and enlarging churches and chapels, and for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. As to the uselessness of this church-property, we would cite one instance; that in this parish of Barton Stacey, the great-tithes, which in most part are sold from the church, are worth nearly 1,000*l.* per annum, the small tithes 450*l.*, and which belong to the Dean of Winchester. A curate is hired for about 100*l.* per annum, and who does duty twice on every Sabbath day; that the 1,350*l.* between the money collected and the curate's salary has no more concern with religion than the sturdy ox has with the petty affairs of the bees; nearly half as much as all the labourers in the parish earn, and which is as much loss to the parish as though taken and thrown into the sea; we complain that trial by jury, so highly valued by our ancestors as to be deemed almost sacred, has been, in many cases, abolished from our courts of justice, placing it in the power of magistrates to imprison and otherwise punish us, and who are chiefly members of the aristocracy, officers under the crown, or clergy of the established church, who, notwithstanding, live on the fruit of our labour, often insult and haughtily treat us; so that Sir John Pollen, who is the present member for Andover, in the vicinity of which town we live, and a magistrate, did, at a meeting in that town, call us "poor devils;" and who, he said, "had hardly a rag to cover them." We complain, that, notwithstanding the misery and half-starvation to which we are reduced, the law, under severe imprisonment and heavy fine, forbids us to take for our own use the wild birds and animals that inhabit the woods and fields, or the fish that swim in the water; those being kept not for the service, but for the sports of the rich.

That this unnatural state of things, this misery, this wretchedness, this woe, this degradation, this want, this half-starvation in a land of plenty, proceed from a misrepresentation in that which ought to be the Commons House of Parliament, the members of which are returned by the rich, contrary to the will of the people. That at the election for this county, held at Winchester in August last, one of the members was returned against the will of nineteen-twentieths of the county; a person in whom we have no confidence; who has, in all cases of importance to the poor, voted on the side of oppression, and who was obliged to leave the place of election in disguise for fear of the just-enraged people who had assembled.

Having now laid our sufferings before your Majesty, and the fountain from whence they spring, we humbly implore and earnestly pray your Majesty to exercise your royal authority, so far as to cause a radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament. Many projects have been made to this effect, even by some of its members, but on a principle calculated to yield us but little or no redress, showing partiality, and which has been proceeded on with such coldness as to denote insincerity on the part of its projector. The mode of reform (sweet word) which your Majesty's humble petitioners would recommend as highly beneficial to the country at large, and to which no honest, fair, and upright man can object, is that of *annual Parliaments*, *universal suffrage*, and *vote by ballot*, but above all we prize the ballot. Till this takes place, we, your Majesty's humblest of petitioners, can never have the full enjoyment of our

hard-earned little; not daring to look forward for better days, for the least alleviation of our miseries, or for the enjoyment of those blessings which a merciful God has in profusion thrown round about us.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

WONSTON.

Enos Diddams
Andrew Diddams
William Snow
Jacob Bay
George Diddams
Henry Wooderson
John Wheeler
John Mills
John Wigmore
Samuel Leach
John Hoar
George Berriman
Thomas Taylor
Edward William Hoar
William Taylor
Richard Pike
Charles Lester
Charles Leach
John Berriman
Joseph Groves
William Ramble
William Lewis
William Ralph
William Norris
William Pearce
William Fisher
Thomas Newman
Joseph Newman
Thomas Wheeler
John Reuolds
James Whicher
George Gamester
Michael Chives
Richard Dollery
Nathaniel Newman
James Taylor
Charles Collis
William Meaday
Henry Pitter
John Lewis
Charles Goodfellow
Robert Groves
James Groves, jun.
Joseph Carter
James Leach
Charles Leach
John Rumble
Charles Marks
William Rudun
Charles Newman
Stephen Newman
John Pearce
James Wits
Thomas Butcher
Thomas Stock
John Newman
George Newman
George Judd
Richard Ventham
Edward Tarrant
Thomas Judd
Charles Diddams
Henry Taylor
Peter Mason
William Rye
George Ball
John Smith
John Hopgood
William Goodall
Thomas Self
Thomas Stub
William Jones
John Tomkins

BULLINGTON.

Robert Mason
Thomas Malt
James Pierce
William Gerome
James Tribbeck
James Ray
Stephen Grist
George Hatcher
William Perry
Thomas Dudman
James Clifford
Stephen Grist, jun.
William Scarlet
George Ford
Daniel Rudwic
George Clifford
William Brown
Jacob White
Richard Ventham
William Dudman
Francis Ray
William Goodal
George Goodal
James Taylor

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Charles Taylor
Stephen Maton
John Silcock
Joseph Silcock
Joseph Diddams
John Bastin
John Wheeler
George Wheeler
Peter Wheeler
Richard Withers
Thomas Baverstock
Emanuel Baverstock
Ambrose Courtney
John Courtney
John Sackley
Joseph Mason
William Taylor
William Sackley
Edmund Sackley
Samuel Sackley
James Maton
Henry Benham
Henry Knoles
Phillip Parsons
Charles Anbal
James Tarrant
James Allen
Charles Perry

BARTON STACEY.

James Diddams
Charles Blackman
Thomas Tatnage
Henry Hunt
Robert Anthony
Thomas Beryman
John Dore
Charles Stubs
James Ball
John Joyne
Joseph Beryman
William Renolds
William Mills
John Mackmaster
Nathaniel Panton
George Dazel
John Pane
William Peepal
James Wield
George Cannon
Isaac Farmer
James Wheeler
William Gerger
Thomas Pitters
Thomas Annal
George Guyatt
Robert Elliott
James Ball
James Antony
John Adams
James Panton
Benjamin Caselman
William Lock
Thomas Beryman, jun.
Richard Mills
William Roe
Anthony Antony
Edward Antony
David Cosetman
Robert Hays
Charles Hutchener
James Rolf
Charles Davis
Henry Bugis
Daniel Diddams
Charles Ball
William Pane
John Pane
George Pane
John Guyatt
John Carter

May God speed your petition.

Mr. Thomas Alexander
Mr. James Prictow

When JOSEPH MASON arrived at Brighton, he went to the residence of the King, expecting, and justly expecting, to exercise his right "to petition the King!" In this only he was in error; that is, thinking the right existed, and was something real and not a sham. Instead of being permitted to petition the King, he was told, that which is contained in the following copy of a note sent to him by HERBERT TAYLOR, to help pay whose enormous salaries he had been working all his life-time.

Pavilion, Brighton, October, 21, 1830.

SIR,—I have received your letter of yesterday, inclosing the petition which you have been deputed by certain persons belonging to the working and labouring classes of the parishes of Wonston, Barton Stacey, and Bullington, near Winchester, to present to the King, and I beg to acquaint you, for the infor-

mation of those who have signed this petition, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the proper and official channel of such communications to his Majesty. I therefore return the petition to you, and I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. TAYLOR.

Mr. Joseph Mason, Bullington, Hants.

To come to London, and then to go home, was another hundred and twenty miles, or thereabouts. He, therefore, went to a gentleman at Brighton, whom he knew to have been born and brought up at WINCHESTER, gave him the petition, and the insolent note of HERBERT TAYLOR, in order that the former might be sent to the Secretary of State. This gentleman sent the two papers to his brother, who lives in London, and he brought the papers to me, to know how *he was to get them to* PEEL. After looking at the papers, and hearing the whole story, I said, "Give me the petition: let it not be disgraced by being "hawked about in that manner: a time "will yet come when Englishmen may "petition something other than HERBERT TAYLOR and PEEL." When Joseph Mason was drawing up this sensible petition, and when he was tramping a hundred and twenty miles on the business of presenting it, he little thought of that condemnation to death, and that transportation and slavery for life, to which he was to be sentenced in about two months from the day on which he presented himself at the palace of "the King's *most excellent* Majesty" at Brighton! He little thought, that being one of a crowd who extorted a few shillings from a farmer or a parson, and of which he neither extorted nor took any part, would be to commit an act of "*highway robbery*," for which he should be dragged from his wife and child, condemned to death, and sent into slavery for life! Such, however, was the result; and the Englishman who can hear the story without feeling his heart swell, and feeling the blood boiling in his veins, deserves to perish from hunger, and to be food for the fowls of the air.

In about a month after JOSEPH MASON'S failure to get his petition to the hands of "His *most excellent* Majesty," those risings for increase of wages, which had begun in EAST-KENT, had extended themselves into HAMPSHIRE, and they finally reached the parishes, in about the centre of which lies the hamlet of SUTTON SCOTNEY. Of the part which this petition-carrier took in these risings, I shall have to speak by-and-by; but first let us see who and what he was. His parents had, for generations, been labourers; he was born in one of these parishes. He had a brother whose name is ROBERT, who was not married. JOSEPH was married and had one child. They lived in the parish of BULLINGTON with their mother, who had been a widow a good many years, and who found, in the great and skilful labour of her sons, in their rare sobriety, in their great industry and excellent moral character, safe protection from want, from all need of parochial relief, and from all those miseries which are the lot of mothers who have children of a different description. Besides the work which these two young men did for the farmers in the neighbourhood, they rented a piece of ground, consisting of about three acres and a half, which they cultivated mornings and evenings, and at times when they had no other work. They kept a cow, fatted a pig or two, and therefore as there was but one child in the family they were a great deal better off than the labourers in general. Therefore it was not mere hunger that induced them to take a part in the risings. They were induced, even if voluntary, to do it from a sense of duty towards their poorer and more unfortunate neighbours. The object of the risings was, not to commit acts of violence on anybody, and no act of violence were committed; not for the purpose of committing acts of plunder, for no acts of plunder took place: but, solely for the purpose of obtaining a sufficiency of food and of raiment, and of fuel to make life bearable to those, whose labour produced all the food, all the raiment, and all the fuel. Yet, for taking the mildest and most inoffensive

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part in these risings, these two excellent young men were, under the Special Commission which GREY advised the King to give to Vaughan, Parke, Alderson, Wellington, Denman, Sturges Bourne, and Serjeant *Wilde*, condemned to death, and transported for life.

In order to do justice, as far as I am at present able, to all the parties concerned, I will here refer to an account of the trials in Hampshire, as afterwards published by the Curate of the Parish of STOKE CHARITY. I will draw no conclusions myself, and offer no opinions; but will simply state the facts as published in the account of the trials.

JOSEPH MASON, aged 31; ROBERT MASON, aged 22; were first indicted for what they called robbing one Callender, *Sir Thomas Baring's bailiff*. There were six others indicted along with them; there were a thousand persons or more in this rising; but, as far as one can judge from the report of the trial, the whole burden of the inquiry was about the *two Masons*. The jury, however, acquitted them both. In their defence, both of them denied ever having touched any money; and both said, that they were pressed by the rest of the people, and compelled to go with them; and there was no evidence brought to shaw that this was not true. Having escaped here, they were almost instantly clapped into another indictment; and, the next day were put upon their trial for robbing W. DOWDEN. Here JOSEPH was caught; but ROBERT escaped. On the same day, however, he was clapped into another indictment, when the *Reverend* JAMES JOLLIFFE, curate of BARTON STACEY, swore, that he was *robbed of five shillings*, and that ROBERT MASON was one of the robbers. This parson swore that he gave the five shillings out of fear. ROBERT MASON said, in his defence, that he had not taken the money, nor participated in it; that he had been compelled to go along with the rest; and "that if the lawyer "who had said so much against him "had been in the road, with a smock-"frock on instead of that gown, and "a straw hat instead of that wig, "he would now be standing at "the bar as he was; that an "honest man he had always been; an "honest man he still was, and an "honest man he would ever remain." Mr. WM. WICKHAM and Mr. JAMES WICKHAM, the two principal landowners in the neighbourhood, gave him, as they before had given his brother, the best of characters. Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS did the same; the jury most strongly recommended him to mercy; but, like his brother, he was condemned to death, and transported for life. Always when these MASONS were tried, up came the story about the *Brighton petition*! When Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS was examined, they asked him about the *meetings* at SUTTON SCOTNEY; and WILDE asked whether they did not meet once a week to read a *certain weekly publication*. The infamous *Times* newspaper, which from first to last sought the blood of these people, represented Mr. DIDDAMS as having said that the *sovereign* people sent a petition to the King, and that *sovereign* people subscribed seventeen shillings to carry the man to Brighton. The same bloody newspaper endeavoured to make the public believe that the riots in Hampshire had been instigated by me. It constantly connected my name with these transactions; and when men were going to be hanged, it was observed, that they "*did not confess their connexion with Cobbett and Carlile.*" Mr. DIDDAMS and others were very closely questioned about the certain weekly publication read by the MASONS to a company of labourers at SUTTON SCOTNEY. I know that there was a regular canvass amongst the prisoners in the jail at Winchester, to find out whether any one would acknowledge that he was acquainted with me, or had been influenced or instigated by me. I know, that this canvass was carried on by a church-parson: and I know, that that parson has since got a good fat church-living, with regard to which, God willing, as well as with regard to other church-livings, I shall have, not to *say* something, but to *do* something one of these days. Just at the same time the curate of *Crowhurst* was at work, upon the soul of a poor fellow, who had

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set five fires with his own hand, and who, by confessing against me, saved his life; though HENRY COOKE, of MICHELDEVER, was *hanged* for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him *any harm at all*. The conspiracy was at that time going on against me; from the effects of which conspiracy I was, in a great measure, preserved by the excellent conduct of the people of BATTLE and the neighbourhood, whose goodness I never shall forget, and amongst whom I should have spent the day devoted to the reform festival, had not the labourers of Hampshire suffered so much more, and had not the remains of HENRY COOKE lain buried near to the spot whereon we shall keep the festival.

The profligate and bloody people, who conduct *The Times* newspaper, were, at the time I am speaking of, everlastingly engaged in efforts to prepare the public mind for my destruction. I had no means of counteracting their efforts; and innumerable persons really believed that I was at the bottom of all those affairs which were called "*riots*;" but which I have never called riots, and never will. The truth is, however, that I was an utter stranger to the neighbourhood of SUTTON SCOTNEY, which I had never even passed through but twice in my life. And as to the MASONS, or any other person living in any of those parishes, I had never known and never heard of any one of them in my life. Judge of the imbecility as well as the malignity of the beasts, who could expect to find *letters from me in the cottage of the Masons!* Here then, I leave this matter *for the present*; but it is only for the present; for if it shall please God to spare my life, and vouchsafe to me the use of my senses; and if the people at MANCHESTER, or any other place, shall think fit to put me into Parliament, I pledge myself that this is not the last that shall be heard of JOSEPH and ROBERT MASON, and of HENRY COOKE.

Such is the history of the bearer of the petition to Brighton. I have heard a great deal about the conduct of several parties, who had a hand in this transaction, and who have hugged themselves in the thought of never hearing of it again. I am not in a situation at present to bring this matter forward, with *proper effect*; but, unless some very large improvement upon BARING's Bill should shut me out of a situation in which I should be able to do it, these parties, who now hug themselves in the thought of their security, shall find that the sending of the Brighton petitioner across the seas, does not preclude an inquiry into the cause of that sending.

For the present, however, this is what I shall do with regard to the Reform-festival. I shall give a dinner at SUTTON SCOTNEY, to all the hundred and seventy-seven men, who have not been transported, and who signed the above petition. When I was at Nottingham, I purchased a ham that weighed *seventy-two* pounds, which I have had properly cured. This ham with two or three fat sheep, which I will have killed, shall be the meat for our dinner. I will have bread baked for the occasion; and I will have half a gallon of good strong beer for each man; Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, whose name stands at the head of the petitioners, shall be our chairman; and we will drink to the health and speedy return of Joseph and Robert MASON; and we will say and do all those other things which, on such an occasion, will be most meet.

The guttlers and guzzlers, who have made a "*reform*," in PORTSOKEN Ward, may appoint what day they please for the swallowing of our earnings. My Reform-festival I will hold on *Saturday, the 7th of July*, that being the anniversary of the day in which I defeated the liberal prosecution of the Whigs, and on account of which defeat the people of these villages expressed so much joy. I invite all my personal friends, who live within a reasonable distance of the spot, to meet me, and dine with me at SUTTON SCOTNEY on that day, and particularly friends from WINCHESTER. I invite, also, all the *farmers* in the neighbourhood, whether I personally know them or not; and I will take that opportunity of giving them my opinion about the ensuing elections. I shall provide for *my* guests,

the petitioners for parliamentary reform, whose petition JOSEPH MASON took to the "King's *most excellent* Majesty" at Brighton. But, as the labourers assembled will be more numerous than my company, perhaps the farmers in the neighbourhood may send a sheep or two, and a bushel or two of flour to be baked into bread. We must have *tents*, or something of that sort. I shall send, or go down, beforehand, to cause due preparations to be made. If any one in the county wish to contribute anything towards the entertainment of the labourers on that day, he can communicate with Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, of SUTTON SCORNEY, who is a very intelligent and trustworthy man.

I intend to send this notification into every part of the county; and all my friends in the county, who can afford to travel to a distance, will confer a personal favour upon me, by meeting me at the place, and on the day appointed. I shall be very happy to see all the farmers of the neighbourhood present: I am very desirous to lay before them my view with regard to the tithes; and I am still more desirous of seeing farmers and labourers meet together in harmony, and to testify towards each other feelings of hearty good-will. I should now proceed to point out to the electors certain things which they ought to do at the ensuing elections; but this is the first of a series of addresses to them; and I must not make these addresses too long. I hear, that some gentlemen in London (not the borough-monger *corporation*) are about to meet, and to issue their advice to all the electors of the kingdom relative to the pledges which they ought to demand, and relative to the sort of men that ought to be chosen. I, therefore, as well as for want of room, put off till next week what I have to say about particular men; but, in the mean while let me advise the electors everywhere, not to listen for a single moment to any man who will not at once pledge himself to the abolition of tithes; to the repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, and the soap-tax; to the repeal of the corn-laws, to the repeal of the stamp-laws and the assessed taxes; and to the repeal of the shameful Septennial Act. I advise them not to listen a moment to any man who will not pledge himself to these; nor to any man who is, in any way whatever, a receiver of taxes, or the father or the son of a receiver of taxes. I told the people in Hampshire, at the county meeting, in October last, that Sir JAMES MACDONALD was "*pleading for a thumping place:*" and he has *got the thumping place!* But he was a greedy eater of the taxes before; and therefore, none but fools have been deceived by him. I trust, that the people of PORTSEA, the people of WINCHESTER, the people of the whole county, will take care what they are at with LOAN-MONGERS. Let them take care of these, above all things; for these are the most dangerous of all possible creatures: they have jaws more grinding than those of death, and a maw more devouring than hell itself.

WM. COBBETT.

NOTICE.

Mr. O'CONNELL will meet the reformers of London, at twelve o'clock on Saturday, the 16th instant, at the Institution of the Working Classes Theobald's-road, Red Lion Square, to lay before them the wrongs of Ireland, as contemplated in Mr. Stanley's Reform Bill; to appeal to their *justice*, and to implore their aid on the subject.

This is just what I wanted to see. We want Mr. O'Connell to come and plead the cause of his country *to us*, and not to those who will not attend to him.

This is a matter of a vast deal more importance than any other that is now before the nation, and I do hope that we shall take it up with as much earnestness as if it were a private concern of every individual man of us. We see both the factions united cordially to do that to Ireland which they have not dared to attempt to do to England. Had the Irish members acted only coolly with regard to our bill, we never should have had that bill. It becomes us, therefore, now to assist Ireland to the utmost of

our power. The labours of Mr. O'CONNELL, in this case, have been Herculean indeed. The saucy and empty STANLEY seems to wonder why the Irish people should so cling to him. They would, indeed, be monsters of ingratitude if they did not. The mass of wrongs which this hated STANLEY has now prepared for infliction upon Ireland, is sufficient to drive the most patient people in the world to acts of rebellion. The clear and flagrant distinction which the two bills exhibit, marks out the Irish as an inferior and degraded people; and it is clearly intended to give the boroughmongers a monopoly of power and emolument in that country; it is clearly intended to perpetuate that abominable, cruel, and insolent church-ascendancy, which has been the ruin of Ireland for two centuries, and which has contributed most largely to the beggaring of England and Scotland. Let us go and hear, from the lips of Mr. O'Connell himself, a description of the new wrongs which, *Stanley and Croker united*, have now prepared for Ireland. Pray, reader, mark, that, in this act, the Government are supported by those who threw out the Reform Bill *once*, and would have thrown it out twice, if it had not been for the people. We triumphed for ourselves. Let us now assist the Irish to triumph, without the generous assistance of whose members, observe, *our bill never could have been carried*. Will the united crews of aldermen and common-councilmen, who are making rotten-boroughs of the wards of the city; will they stir upon this occasion? Not they indeed. But the Livery, of whom they make slaves to a very great extent, ought to bestir themselves. The guttlers and guzzlers hate *Common-Halls*; and for a very good reason; but a Common Hall ought to be assembled immediately; and Mr. O'Connell, *who is a Liveryman of London observe*, ought to go to the Common Hall: and, in that centre of the metropolis of England, lay the case of his injured country before us. At any rate, let us go and hear him to-morrow, at the place and time mentioned above.

DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

Bolt-court, 15. June, 1832.

THE following petition from the National Union of the Working Classes in London, is, as I hear, to be presented to BARING'S HOUSE to-night. That is right. If it *will* sit, it ought to have *something given it to do.*

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the National Union of the Working Classes and others,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That, when the Reform Bill was first brought into your honourable House, it was expressly stated by the member who brought it in, and the statement was assented to by the House, that the question, as to the *future duration* of parliaments, was reserved in order to be discussed after the said bill should be passed; that, this being a matter of very great importance in the eyes of your petitioners, they inform your honourable House, that they have discovered no intention in any of your honourable members to bring forward this vital question for discussion.

That your petitioners think it right to remind your honourable House, that, in the BILL OF RIGHTS, enacted at the epoch which is termed the "glorious revolution," it is declared, that "frequent parliaments ought to be held," that, in the sixth year of William the Third, chapter 2, it is declared, that, "by the "ancient laws and statutes of this king-"dom, frequent parliaments ought to "be held, and that frequent and new "parliaments tend very much to the "happy union and good agreement of "king and people;" that, upon this ground, the said act proceeded to provide, that, for ever thereafter, no parliament should have duration for any longer time than that of three years.

That, however, notwithstanding this declaration and enactment, this solemn compact with the people of this kingdom, notwithstanding these, in the very

first year of the reign of the first king of the House of Hanover, the parliament which had been assembled under this solemn compact, the parliament which had been chosen to sit for three years, were guilty of a daring violation of the compact, enacted that they would continue to sit for four years longer, and enacted that all future parliaments should sit for seven years.

That your petitioners regard this last-mentioned act as the most copious source of all the wrongs which this nation has endured from that day to this; that from it sprang those rare specimens of infamy commonly called rotten boroughs, together with all those enormous burdens, and all those curtailments of English liberty, which have finally transformed a land of freedom and of happiness into a land of toiling slaves.

That the pretences, under which this solemn compact was thus audaciously broken, were, first, that frequent elections caused vast and unnecessary expense; and, second, that they gave scope to the workings of a Popish faction to do injury to the Protestant religion; that these pretences were as false as the hearts of the perfidious tyrants by whom they were put forward; but that, at any rate, no such pretences can now be urged by your honourable House, seeing that the Reform Bill, which has just been passed, has, in part, been passed for the express purpose of diminishing the expense of elections, and seeing, that, by the recent Catholic Bill, your honourable House has truly declared, and has enacted, that in all cases, and for all purposes whatsoever, Catholics are as worthy of trust as Protestants.

That therefore your petitioners, fully agreeing in the declaration contained in the act aforesaid, of the sixth year of William the Third, that "by the "ancient laws and statutes of this king-"dom, frequent parliaments ought to "be held, and that frequent and new "parliaments tend very much to the "happy union and good agreement of "the king and the people," beseech your honourable House to be pleased to repeal the said act of the first year of George the First, commonly called the Septennial Act, and to reduce the duration of parliaments to one year.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Well, if BARING will have *further reforms* let us have *all at once!* As to this matter, however, it was to be discussed and settled *right away*. It was a thing merely deferred till after the Reform Bill should be passed; merely put off for more convenient discussion. Therefore it was matter of surprise that nobody ever thought of taking the question up. The people seemed content to leave it for a reformed Parliament to discuss; but, since BARING will go on with his further reforms, let him, in God's name, go on with this.

I trust, in short, that we shall have no chafferng about this matter; but that a *bill will be brought in at once*, and be passed pretty nearly as quickly as SIDMOUTH, CASTLEREAGH, CROKER, RYDER, and Co., passed the bill in 1817, for *gagging* the REFORMERS or *shutting them up in dungeons!* They can work pretty fast when they have a mind to it. To repeal the Septennial Act is not the work of an hour. I would draw up the bill for a pot of beer, and think myself richly paid. A couple of WHEREASES reciting the substance of the Triennial and Septennial Bills, and just about three lines of enactment, would do the thing completely, and in a style so regular as to make a special pleader burst his very soul with envy. I should like to have the bringing in of this bill; but for decency's sake, I hope I shall be spared the trouble; and I can tell BARING's house one thing; and that is, that if they are a mind to sit there much longer without bringing in and passing such a bill as this, they would do well to get something to stuff their ears with, and to cram it in pretty tightly.

RICARDO.

FOLKS will exclaim, "What the devil are you going to rake that fellow up for?" Not for *his* sake, but for the benefit of the vagabonds who have still the impudence to cite him as "AN ORACLE," as that empty fellow, BROUGHAM, called him in 1819. This RICARDO, when PEEL'S-BILL PEEL had his *destroying bill* before the House, said, "This question" (of returning to cash payments) "is one of immense "importance in principle, but in the "manner of bringing it about is trivial, "*and not deserving half an hour's consideration of the House.* The difficulty is only that of *raising the currency three per cent. in value.* A most "fearful and destructive depreciation "had at one time taken place, but from "that we *have recovered*, and he was "happy to reflect that we had so far "retraced our steps. We had nearly "got home, and he hoped his right "honourable Friend (Peel) would lend "him his assistance to enable them to "reach it in safety. He would venture "to state that, in a very few weeks, all "alarm would be forgotten, and at the "end of the year we should all be surprised that any alarm had ever prevailed at a prospect of a variation of "*three per cent. in the value of the circulating medium.*" So; this question, the bill relating to which has caused more *ruin and misery* than ever were before produced by any hundred measures in any country in the world; this question, which has been agitating this whole kingdom and its colonies from 1819 until the present day; this question, which still agitates the country, and shakes it to its very centre, and is at this very moment the subject of discussion with a committee of the House of Commons, the result of which discussion men are looking to with the anxiety with which affectionate children flock round the physician to know his decision respecting the state of a beloved parent; this question, in short, which every one now sees, involves that of the existence of the Government itself; THIS QUESTION, the dogmatical and underhanded dog said, was "*not deserving half an hour's consideration of the House!*" And yet BROUGHAM, and others like him, still hold this fellow up as an *authority!* They do it as they have done many other things, for the sole purpose of *contradicting me!* Verily I say unto them: Stupid and malignant and greedy wretches, your will now, speedily, have *your reward!*

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THIS same dogmatical dunderheaded devil, who "*got half a million,*" Dr. BLACK told us, "by merely *watching the turn of the market,*" said, upon another occasion, "No scheme for the "amendment of the poor-laws merits "the least attention, which has not "THEIR ABOLITION for its ultimate "*object.*" This, then, is, I suppose, the "*ultimate object*" of BROUGHAM'S and GREY'S present "POOR-LAW COMMISSION," with STUBBS BOURNS at its head, and a parcel of Scotch *feelosofers* at its tail and in its middle! And do these fellows think that we shall let them keep *those parcels of our money, which will be given to them under this pretence!* That is the question for *them* to put to themselves. A reformed Parliament will dismiss them pretty quickly: but do they think that it will let them *keep any of our money received by them on this account?* That is the question that they ought to discuss. I know that they can do nothing to the poor-laws: the chopsticks will take care of that: but do they think that they are to *pocket our money* on this account? We *shall see* how this will be! There are, I think, seven of them; and it has been the invariable practice for the Government to give twelve hundred pounds a year to each of the fellows employed upon such jobs. So that here there would be eight thousand four hundred pounds a year for these fellows; and this we should have to pay merely for the purpose of screening, of hiding, *the presumption of* BROUGHAM, who had the egregious

folly to *pledge himself to bring in a poor-law bill!* I told him, when he made the pledge, that he would never dare to bring it in. Now he pretends, that *previous inquiry* is necessary; and thus the industrious people of this country, and even the poor themselves, are to give thousands upon thousands of their earnings to this bunch of hangers on, in order to disguise the real state of the matter with regard to this man's capacity for bringing in a bill. NASSAU SEIGNOR, COULSTON the *reporther*, and the rest of the bunch, are pretty fellows for pointing out what is to be done with regard to the claims of millions upon all the real property in England and Wales. My God! How soon will a reformed Parliament sweep away all this rubbish: or, how soon will such a Parliament be swept away itself? How soon, oh God! will NASSAU SEIGNOR, and COULSTON the *reporther*, be crying water-cresses through the streets, or engaged in some other laudable and useful concern?

BARCLAY'S BREWERY.

MY readers have heard, perhaps, that this affair was *burnt down the other day.* I see that the impudent parties have advertised, "that the public need not be uneasy; for that their STOCK was not consumed!" No: the devil is in it if it was; for we should be in an alarming state, indeed, if *water* would burn. That is the principal part of their *stock*, I believe. The public need not be at all uneasy; for, as long as there are horse-ponds with a good black run from a yard, there will be no want of a "*beverage*" a pretty deal more wholesome than the stuff called London porter.

PLEDGES.

THERE wants to be something done to produce *uniformity* in this respect. There wants a set of pledges to be tendered to those who offer themselves as candidates; and this, in order to make it *general throughout the country*, should be begun by the people of this great city: not by that couple of bunches of the oppressors of PORTSOKEN Ward; not by "CHARLEY" and his lord mayor, but by the people of this city; for it is the people of the city, and not the *livery alone*, who are to elect the members the next time; and we have got four members to choose, whom I am very sure we shall not choose without pledges. The Lord Mayor, "*Charley's*" own lord mayor, as much like one another in all things as if, like STANLEY and CROKER, they seemed to be the produce of the same *ventre*; so much alike, that, for fear of not taking one for the other, it might be necessary to tie a string round the wrist of one of them. "*Charley's*" own lord mayor has put out a bundle of balderdash, which he calls an address to the citizens of London; and we are, it seems, soon to have one, *even from "Charley" himself.* Let us, therefore, get our pledges ready, and tender them to the parties when they apply for our votes. If nobody else will call a public meeting for this purpose, I will in a very short time. There are men in the city who ought to do it, and who are able to do it with effect; and I trust that they will do it without loss of time; *for there is no time to lose.*

COUNTY OF SURREY.

I CARE a great deal about the conduct of all the counties at the ensuing election; but I cannot help feeling particular anxiety about that of the county of Surrey, and more especially the western division of that county, in which my little feet first met the earth. In my next *Register* I shall offer my advice to the *counties* as well as to the *boroughs.* If necessary I shall think it my duty to go and hold meetings in the several towns in the county of Surrey; and, in the mean while, let me express my hopes that the county in which I was born will not disgrace itself by choosing a fool, or an arrogant tyrant, merely because he has land or money; let me hope that it will choose no man who will not pledge himself to the abolition of tithes, to the repeal of the malt, hop, and soap-tax, and then to a repeal of all

the stamp taxes and the assessed taxes; and then the Corn Bill may be repealed, even *to the great advantage of the farmer.* I have heard that Colonel WOODROFFE intends to offer himself for the western part of the county. He is a man that must have great experience, and may be very fit, provided *he receives nothing out of the taxes*; for that man who would give his vote to any one, be he who he may, who receives anything out of the taxes, that man ought at once to be hung up upon the most extended limb of the highest tree in the county, there to be food for kites and carrion crows. Such a man is a base betrayer of his trust, is a vile traitor to every man who has not a vote, and he deserves every species of punishment that his poorer and oppressed neighbours can inflict upon him.

POLITICAL UNIONS.

THESE bodies will soon be distinguished into Government Unions and PEOPLE'S UNIONS. The Government will soon have its creatures to lead some of them; and care should be taken to denounce these creatures as soon as they are perceived. The *Globe*, as it is called by its owners, and the ball of horse-dung as I call it, which is conducted by brazen, broad-faced, lying TORRENS, who accused me of being the cause of the fires in the country, and who expressed his sorrow that COCKEY DENMAN had not been able to get a verdict against me: this round lump of filth, which revolves about the Government as a sort of conservator of its rotten reputation, observed, the other night, that the "Unions in Scotland "will *dissolve themselves*, now that the "Reform bill is *passed*." Oh, to be sure! They will not meddle with the Irish Reform Bill! They will not attempt to meddle with the subject of *Triennial Parliaments*! This is a pretty hint: a hint as broad as TORRENS's face: a little too broad. But my readers may be well assured, that this is a trick which we shall very soon see played off. STANLEY and CROKER, the Gemini of the political Zodiac (for, poor LORD GREY really seems to be nothing), will very soon prevail upon some of the leaders of the Unions to begin to talk about dissolving themselves; seeing, that all the purposes for which they were formed *are now accomplished!* I am not afraid of the Unions *in Scotland*, however; at the reform meeting at BANFF, "*Cobbett's Gridiron*" (dreadful sight to loan-mongers!) was carried, the other day, as one of the ensigns at the reform meeting! At GLASGOW, a meeting is advertised "To appoint a committee to correspond with *Mr. Cobbett on the subject of his return to Parliament*;" a circumstance, by the bye, omitted to be noticed by the perspicacious Dr. BLACK, whom by ——, I will cashier from his dignity, if I find him so dull-sighted again; the notification being in a most conspicuous place in the last number of the *Glasgow Chronicle*. From PAISLEY, to which I have always given the surname of sensible, I have not yet heard; but I beseech the voters there, not to make promises to any body until they shall have read my next *Register*. TORRENS, and his roundabout lump of filth, may be assured, therefore, that the *Scottish Unions* will not be in a hurry to dissolve themselves. The danger from this sort of trick lies *nearer home*. I won't say where; but I must say, that I do not like the very slow and cautious movements of a couple of Unions that I could name. In short, according to the old saying, if you will touch the kettle you must have some black; and if you will come in contact with the Ministry, you must become more or less corrupt.

The following address I very much approve of, it will speak for itself. Mr GRUNDY is just the man for a member of parliament, and I have too good an opinion of the people of BURY to believe that they will not choose him.

WM. COBBETT.

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TO THE ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF BURY.

A requisition from a number of the electors of Bury having been presented to Mr. EDMUND GRUNDY, of Park-hills, requesting him to allow himself to be put in nomination as a candidate for this borough, the following answer has been received:

GENTLEMEN,—I should be unworthy of your notice, and display a great want of respectful feeling, did I not state to you how sensibly I am impressed with your kindness and good opinion, in requesting me to allow my name to be put in nomination at the ensuing election, as a candidate for the representation of the borough of Bury. I value less the intended honour, than the assurance of your approval of my political principles,—principles I have held and fearlessly avowed for a quarter of a century, in times of political peril, as well as in the *sunshine and the fashionable days of reform*. I have no wish, nor any pretensions or ambition, to be a member of Parliament. My habits are very domestic; my own fireside and the society of my family are to me the greatest sources of happiness. My engagements in life forbid my entertaining any such idea. The expenses attendant on being sent to Parliament, in addition to the necessary expense of a large family, would be such as my very limited pecuniary means would scarcely warrant.

These are my views and feelings on the subject of your request, but understanding that the inhabitants of the borough of Bury are very much disappointed, and in my judgment very properly so, with what are called the *pledges of Mr. Richard Walker*, and being wishful that they should have an opportunity of recording their votes and opinions on the great questions before the public, if you, and a majority of the electors, are wishful to send to Parliament a man of my well-known principles, and if you can find none in your opinion more fit, I will not object to being put in nomination, and will, if elected, faithfully, and to the best of my ability, discharge the duties imposed on me by your choice.

Although my principles are well known, it is right I should give *specific pledges* as to the great measures which, as your representative, I would support.

I would vote and protest against any further payment of public money to sinecurists, useless placemen, and pensioners.

I would vote for the repeal of all taxes bearing especially on the poor, and I would protest against the imposition of any property-tax, or other tax, for the purpose of keeping up the present amount of revenue; being convinced that the grinding load of taxation is the great source of our distress. I am also an advocate for shortening the hours of labour in all our manufactories.

A sufficient weight of taxation having been removed to enable the farmer and farm-labourer to live comfortably without the protection of the Corn Laws, I would vote, not for a *revision* but a total *repeal* of those obnoxious laws.

I would vote and protest against every monopoly in Government, church, and commerce; maintaining the principle that all good citizens have a right to the enjoyment of every privilege in the state.

I would vote for a repeal of the law of primogeniture.

I would vote against the maintaining of a large standing army in the time of peace—supporting at the same time such measures as would endear the Government to the people; ruling through their affections, and not by the sword.

I would vote for the repeal of all laws infringing on the civil and religious liberty of the people; and I would use my utmost endeavours to secure the beneficial measures I have mentioned, not only to England and Scotland, but to Ireland. Oppressed, insulted, wretched Ireland should have my best endeavours to procure for her all the advantages that I would aim at for England.

I am a decided advocate of *universal suffrage*, but would vote for *household suffrage*, if more easily attainable. I

would also vote for *short parliaments*, and the *vote by ballot*, deeming the latter essential to the prevention of bribery and corruption at elections.

I shall take an *early* opportunity of meeting the inhabitants of *Bury*, and stating my views at greater length.

I am, gentlemen,
Your very obliged and obedient servant,
EDMUND GRUNDY.

Park-hills, June 11th, 1832.

TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL.

Oh, oh! I told my readers that they would be at work to pass a *series of bills*, for the purpose of defeating the effects of the Reform Bill. They are at it: busy as bees in a tar-barrel. Now, then, we shall see whether the *National Political Union* be the property of *Charing Cross* PLACE and HOBHOUSE, or whether they speak the voice of any part of the people. We shall now see what that stanch advocate of *morality*, Major REVEL will do; and "*Nunchy*," WAKEFIELD, and ERSKINE PERRY, and that famously *Reverend* reformer, who thought it improper to oppose the bill of the amiable loanmonger BARING. But, "peace to all such." WHAT WILL THE BIRMINGHAM UNION DO! But, stop. I must first insert the proceedings in the House of Lords, which developes a project for, in great part, *annulling the Reform Bill!* Pray, reader, first read this debate. It is very short. Do mark the thing well. Mark the *absence of Ministers*. But, read for God's sake, every word of it.

BILL FOR RENDERING UNNECESSARY THE VACATING OF SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY MEMBERS ON THEIR APPOINTMENT TO CERTAIN MINISTERIAL OFFICES.

The Marquis of NORTHAMPTON moved the second reading of the Bill for repealing so much of the Act of Settlement passed in the reign of Queen Anne, as rendered it necessary for members of the House of Commons to vacate their seats on being appointed to certain ministerial offices under the Crown. This measure was intimately connected with the great measure of reform which had lately become the law of the land. This measure was certainly one of very considerable importance, and he felt the weight of the consideration, that it, to a certain extent, interfered with the Act of Settlement. But he thought that such a measure as this became highly expedient since the settlement of the great question of reform, and he was happy that that question had been settled by the Government which had brought in the measure. It was certainly much better that the question should have been settled by the authors of the Reform Bill, who deemed the measure expedient and necessary, than by others who were adverse to it. At the same time, he intended to propose some amendments in the Reform Bill, and this was one of them; and he had been induced to postpone it only on the understanding that it would be carried into effect by a specific bill. The arguments which had been urged in support of the expediency of members vacating their seats on their appointment to office, appeared to him to have very little weight, and then the inconvenience was often very great. When a member of the other House of Parliament was appointed to a high ministerial office, he must often be in some degree ignorant of the details of the office, and it might be of very great importance that he should not be prevented, by attending a distant election, from directing his immediate attention to these details. This inconvenience was often great, even in the event of the appointment of an individual to office, but the inconvenience must be greatly increased on the change of an entire administration. Then it might often happen that matters of the very highest importance might require immediate attention at the very moment when, by vacating his seat and attending to his re-election, the newly-elected Minister could not attend to those matters. Suppose, for instance, that business of the utmost importance, in respect of the foreign relations of the country, were depending

at the time of the appointment of a new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—suppose that matters of the greatest importance in relation to our colonial affairs were depending at the time of the appointment of a new Colonial Secretary; and suppose that the Home Secretary were changed at a moment of great excitement, such as took place about three weeks ago—in all these cases it was obvious that the necessity for vacating their seats, and having themselves re-elected, must be attended not merely with inconvenience, but with serious danger. This necessity might also interfere with the free choice of the Crown, since some Members of the House of Commons, the most fit for office, might be induced to decline accepting office on account of the necessity for vacating their seats. The inconvenience to the public might also be very great—more particularly at a period of dangerous excitement. Suppose a new administration were appointed, and that they should not be able to keep their seats for a week after the re-election of those of the House of Commons which formed part, then another administration must be appointed, and another vacating of seats and re-election must take place. In this manner delay after delay would take place, and the business of the Government might be suspended for weeks, even when an important measure like the Reform Bill was depending. Such were the mischief and inconvenience of the present system, and that mischief and inconvenience would be greatly increased under the operation of the Reform Bill. As to the arguments against this alteration, it had been said that this was a great constitutional provision, and that it ought not to be infringed. But a great change in the constitution had been already made. Then it was said that it was important that members of the House of Commons should be returned to their constituents on taking office, because they became less independent. In his opinion they not only did not become less independent, but they became more independent, for instead of followers of parties, they became leaders. Besides, when the members were originally elected, the electors must be pretty well aware whether their chosen representative was likely to take a prominent part in the public councils. Then it was said that vacating and re-election was a good test and criterion of popularity. But the criterion was absurd and fallacious, for popularity and unpopularity with a particular set of electors was no criterion of general popularity. This was already manifested in the case of the President of the Board of Trade, and several other cases which happened in the course of the last election. That could never be a good criterion which so often led to erroneous conclusions. The bill was meant to apply to certain great offices of state, and to the principal law offices, all which were set out in the bill. There was another office—that of the secretary at war (or the secretary for Ireland), which had not been included in the bill, but which might be inserted in it in case it should be deemed expedient.

The Duke of Wellington admitted that it became necessary to adopt some measure of this kind in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill. But this was not the only measure that must be adopted, and it went only half way towards effecting its own object. There were a variety of points in reference to which new measures must be adopted in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill, but then they ought to be proposed as measures of Government instead of being brought forward by individuals. The necessity for such measures arose from the passing of the Reform Bill, and therefore they ought to be introduced by the proposers of that measure, who ought to be responsible for them. He admitted that the noble Marquis was right in his statement of the inconvenience that attended the present system; but then they ought to proceed with caution and considerable deliberation before they altered it; more especially when the alteration was proposed to them by an individual unconnected with the Government; and it ought also to be considered, that this bill went to repeal part of the Act of

Settlement. He really thought that the noble Marquis ought not to have proposed the second reading of this bill at a time when the Minister was not in the House, and he hoped that he would still consent to postpone the second reading till there should be a full House, unless he should think proper to abandon it altogether, and leave it to the Government, which was responsible for the consequences of the Reform Bill. He admitted that the measures were necessary in this and many other points, in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill; but they ought to be left to the Government.

The Earl of RADNOR did not see the force of the noble Duke's argument, as to leaving this measure to the Government, and as to the impropriety of proposing the second reading in the absence of the Minister. But he agreed with the noble Duke in the expediency of postponing it; and, for his part, he thought it would be better to withdraw the bill altogether for the present. No great inconvenience had as yet been felt from the present system, and it might be better to wait till inconvenience should arise before they proceeded to apply remedies. Sufficient for the day was the evil thereof. He admitted that this was a measure of great importance, as interfering with the Act of Settlement, and, therefore, it ought to be narrowly and maturely considered. He hoped the noble Marquess would consent to postpone the second reading, if he did not postpone it altogether. No great inconvenience had as yet resulted from the present system; and as to the instances referred to by the noble Marquess, these had occurred at a general election, to which the present measure had no application.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: This topic had undergone considerable discussion in the committee on the Reform Bill, while the noble Duke was absent, and it appeared to be the general opinion on both sides that it was expedient some such measure as the present ought to be adopted. It had been suggested in the committee by the noble Marquess, and he must do him the justice to say that several noble Lords had expressed an opinion that a remedy should be applied, although not as a part of the Reform Bill, but by a separate bill. He at present gave no opinion on the subject, but certainly this was a matter of considerable delicacy and importance, as being connected with a great constitutional question. The inconvenience of the present system, however, appeared to him to be considerable, and therefore they would have to balance between the advantage of altering the system and the danger of interfering with a great constitutional enactment. In the mean time he thought that it would be expedient to postpone the second reading.

The Marquess of NORTHAMPTON said, that the case of the election for Preston supported the view which he had taken. As to the inconvenience of the time and form in which he had brought forward the present proposition, he explained that he did himself think that it might have been more conveniently made part of the Reform Bill, into which he had intended to move the introduction of a clause to the same effect as the bill before their Lordships. But in consequence of indisposition he had been unable to give timely notice of that intention; and therefore, yielding to suggestions from both sides of the House, he determined to bring forward his proposition in a separate bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR must acknowledge that nothing could be more fair or candid than the course which the noble Marquess had followed. At the same time he could not help thinking that, although the principle of the bill might conveniently enough be discussed at a future stage, and although the object of the noble Marquess at present was only to advance the bill a step further, leaving the discussion open for the committee, yet he thought that it would be the better course, in the present state of the House, there being so few of their Lordships present, to postpone the second reading to a future day. The object of the statute of Anne, which it was the wish of the noble Marquess to repeal, was to secure that the persons whom, being Members of the other

Houses of Parliament, the Crown should choose for its servants or responsible advisers, should be such that, on going again for the suffrages of their constituents, they would be found to retain their confidence. Now he (the Lord Chancellor) must confess, that he had *not been able to give the subject so much consideration that he could have formed a distinct opinion as to the expediency or the inconvenience of that statute.* He should hope, therefore, that the noble Marquess would consent to postpone his *motion until after the next week*, as a great part of the intermediate time would most probably be occupied by the discussion of the Irish Reform Bill.

The Marquess of NORTHAMPTON said that it was not his fault that so many Members of their Lordships' House considered the bill of so little importance that they did not attend to discuss it. He had given sufficient notice that it was his intention to bring on the discussion that evening. However, in accordance with the suggestion of the noble Lord upon the woolsack, he would move that the second reading of the bill be postponed to Monday week.

The motion having been agreed to, the House adjourned at half past seven o'clock.

Do, for God's sake, observe, how BROUGHAM looks at it *askance!* Did you never see a dog, that had been whipped for fowl-killing, look sideways at the poultry in the presence of his master! He would fain have a snap; but, he is looking towards *Bolt-Court* with t'other eye. Well, as I said once before, when I and my brothers were little children, and used to run about the house, tearing at our mother's gown or apron in order to worry her into giving of us apples or something or other, she used, when we had tired out her most exemplary patience, to exclaim, "Be quiet, you plagues of Egypt, do!" Little did she think of what her poor son William was destined to undergo; what worse than the seven plagues of Egypt he would have to endure! Here am I, actually tied by the leg, watching these divers sets of reformers; here I have been, in this stifled-up, stinking place, in all this fine weather, ever since the 1st of April; and here it seems I am destined to remain. It is got to be now worse than ever. I used to be able to leave them for a week. I want to go down to GODALMING now; and I can't. It will soon come to that pass, that I shall not dare to go to KENSINGTON. I shall be like the fellow that got his finger in the tap-hole of the barrel, and who was obliged to sit there, because he could not take it out; could not trust a spicket or cock, lest his wife should come and take more than would "do her good." I shall be like the Quaker in Long Island, during the rebel-war, who had two maiden sisters, and one of the three sat upon the money-chest, day and night, for seven years, during the time that there was a British soldier upon the island. This Quaker, whose name was HICKS, acknowledged to me that the story was true, saying, "D'ye see, friend Cobbett, I liked "uncle George's people very well; but "they could'nt keep their hands off "dollars." Pretty much the same it is with the Lords and the loanmongers, who find it extremely difficult to keep their hands off our Reform Bill. However, *the people are ready for them:* the people have not been gaping like *Martin Marall.* The rotten wardmongers of London do not seem to have perceived the anti-reform bill was coming on. FRANCIS PLACE'S Union do not seem to have perceived it: it seems to have escaped even the all-searching eye of the BIRMINGHAM Union; but it has not escaped the NATIONAL UNION *of the Working Classes in London*; and that my Lords will see, by the following petition, which was yesterday I believe in the hands of a peer, with a request, that he would present it as soon as possible. Foh! away with the nonsensical stuff about freedoms in an oak-box; about statues, and medals, and buttons, and badges, and symbols! Away with all this stuff, which never yet was otherwise than laughed at by crafty tyrants, to whom nothing is so terrible as plain sense from plain men, of which we have a specimen in the following petition, which petition ought

to put all pretenders to superiority to the blush.

To the right honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the National Union of the Working Classes and others,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That your petitioners, having read in the 73rd clause of the Reform Bill, that "all the laws, statutes, and usages now "in force respecting the election of "members to serve in Parliament, are "to remain in full force, except so far "as they are altered or repealed by this "act;" having read these words in the Reform Bill recently passed by your right honourable House, it is not without surprise, accompanied with a feeling still more unpleasant, that your petitioners already behold no less than three bills before the two Houses of Parliament, which bills propose to alter or abrogate some of the laws, statutes, and usages now in force, respecting the election of members to serve in Parliament; and that in every instance these said bills have a direct tendency to counteract the beneficial effects of the Reform Bill aforesaid.

That of these bills, the one of the most pernicious tendency, and proposing the most direct attack upon the rights and liberties of the people, is a bill (for the bringing of which into your right honourable House leave has been granted) to prevent the vacating of seats by members appointed to places of profit by, or receiving pensions from, the Crown.

That, in the twelfth and thirteenth of William III., an act was passed, usually called the *Act of Settlement*, because it settled the succession to the crown in a new dynasty, diverting it from the House of Stuart to the House of Brunswick; that, in this act, which is, in fact, the title of the present family to the throne, divers provisions were made, for the purpose (as expressed in the preamble of the act) of "preserving the rights and liberties of the people;" that, amongst these cautionary provisions was the following: "That no per-"son who has an office or place of pro-"fit under the King, or receives a pen-"sion from the crown, shall be capable "of serving as a member of the House "of Commons."

That, in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne, this solemn compact with the people was broken by a parliament who repealed this protective act; that the scandalous transactions which took place in consequence of this repeal produced, in the sixth year of the reign of Queen Anne, an act, containing a provision, that members accepting of places of profit under the King, or receiving pensions from the crown, should thereupon *vacate their seats*, and be re-elected before they could again sit in the House; that this last-mentioned law, though enfeebled by false and dishonest constructions, is still in force; that it is one of the laws embraced in the aforesaid 73rd clause of the Reform Bill; and, that the bill above-mentioned, to bring which into your right honourable House your petitioners understand that leave has been granted, will, if it become a law, totally abolish all the protection intended to be secured to the people by that act which placed the present family upon the throne; that it will enable the crown to fill the House of Commons with placemen and pensioners, and will make its members the natural enemies instead of the faithful representatives of the people.

That your petitioners shall never think that they have done their duty towards their country and their children, until they have done their utmost to cause the compact between this reigning family and the people to be adhered to, and until they see, accordingly, all placemen and pensioners, and all persons receiving public money under whatsoever name, excluded from the House of Commons, as your petitioners can form an idea of nothing more unjust or more monstrous, than that men should be empowered to impose taxes, a portion of which they themselves are to receive.

That your petitioners would have been, agreeably to the said 73rd clause of the Reform Bill, well content to leave this matter to a reformed Parliament,

but that perceiving that your right honourable House appears to be disposed to proceed in a bit-and-bit manner with regard to these laws, they pray that your right honourable House will be pleased, not only not to pass any bill to prevent the vacating seats as aforesaid, but that you will be pleased to restore to this burdened and suffering people the provisions contained in the Act of Settlement, thereby again shutting out of the House of Commons all pensioners, placemen, and others holding offices of profit, or pensions, such measure being, in the firm conviction of your petitioners, absolutely necessary to rescue them from that ruin and misery under which they have so long groaned, and also to preserve and uphold the just rights and prerogatives and true dignity of the Crown.

That your petitioners have no need to seek authorities in the examples of foreign states, seeing that a reference to our own laws and to the example of our fathers is quite sufficient; but that, if there were found hypocrisy sufficient to affect to see injury or inconvenience in the shutting of placemen and pensioners out of the House of Commons, your petitioners could point out to your right honourable House a country, peopled by the descendants of Englishmen; a country retaining the common law of England, and all the forms of the Government of England; a country surpassing, in the race of prosperity and happiness, all the nations of the world; and your petitioners could state to your right honourable House, that, in that country, the abovesaid provision of the Act of Settlement is in full force; and that no person who is in the receipt of public money, under any name whatsoever, can be a member of either of the houses of the legislature.

Again, therefore, your petitioners most earnestly pray, that your right honourable House will, with as little delay as possible, be pleased to pass an act to repeal the acts aforesaid of the 4th and 6th of Queen Anne, to restore to its full force the act of compact between the House of Brunswick and the people, and thus afford protection to the people against the votes of those who, now, first impose taxes upon the nation, and then put a portion of them into their own pockets.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

FRENCH BOOKS

FOR SALE, OR RATHER TO BE GIVEN AWAY.

By an accident I became possessed of the following French books. I have had them five or six years. They were sent to me in mistake, and I was finally obliged to keep them, in the stead of a parcel of my French Grammars (printed at Paris), in the year 1825. They were the subject of disputed claim for two or three years; "the *honourable* Board of Customs" made them and the Grammars a subject for a display of their literal and judicial powers! In other words, this crew of Jacks-in-office, who allow a case of the Grammars to be *imported into London*, would not allow a case of the *very same Grammars* to be imported *into Liverpool!* When I moved my shop from Fleet-street into this court, the case of books was *removed*: they had a change of domicile, at any rate. Luckily for those who will have the good fortune to get these books, the case containing them was *large*, and I wanted the *room*! So that, at last, out they have come for sale, or, rather, for making presents; for I have looked for the greater part of the books in the CATALOGUE OF DULAU AND CO. of Soho-square; I have seen the *prices* of the same books in that CATALOGUE; and I have here put against each book JUST HALF *the prices specified in the catalogue*. There is but *one copy* of each work; and therefore "*first come first served.*" The books are all in excellent order, having never been exposed to dust or to handling. My descriptions of them are perfectly correct. I wish to get these books out of my way, but I will never sell any one of them to anybody for *less* than is here stated.

"ANNALES DU MUSEE D'HISTOIRE "NATURELLE; par les Professeurs de cet "Etablissement. Ouvrage, orné de Gra-"vures." This work consists of 20 quarto

volumes, handsomely printed with innumerable Engravings, and handsomely bound, gilt, and lettered. It contains papers, written principally by thirteen professors of natural history, belonging to the famous museum of the *Garden of Plants* at Paris; and all these papers are on subjects connected with natural history. The professors were Messieurs Hauy. Faujas-Saint-Fond, Laugier, Vanquelin, Desfontaines, A. L. Jussieu, A. Thouin, Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Lacépède, Lamarck, Portal, Cuvier, and Vanspaendonck. The work began in 1802, and comes up to 1813. Price 20*l.*

"MEMOIRES DU MUSEE D'HISTOIRE NATURELLE; par les Professeurs de cet Etablissement. Ouvrage orné de Gravures." This work consists of 10 4to. vols., in all things precisely like the preceding (of which, indeed, it is but the continuation), except that instead of calling it the "*Annales*," the professors, on the return of the Bourbon family to France, appear to have sought, by a complimentary dedication to the king, to gain his favour; and, to flatter him, they newly christened an old-established work. This, however, does not take any thing from its intrinsic merits; it is amusing to the lovers of natural history, and instructive to those who are practical in their researches, or who are gardeners or farmers. This work is in 10 vols., and comes down to 1823. It is in form, paper, print, and binding, precisely like the preceding; and the professors are the same, with the exception of two, Messrs. Cordier and Brongniart, who have succeeded to Messrs. Hauy and Faujas-Saint-Fond. Price 10*l.*

"HISTOIRE NATURELLE DES OVIPARES ET DES SERPENS. Par M. le Comte de Lacépède, Garde du Cabinet du Roi, &c. &c. &c." This work is in two vols., 4to., the first containing 650 pages and forty-two plates, and the second 527 pages and twenty-four plates. The plates in this work are engravings of the different animals described in the text; and it is a work, as the title indicates, giving some account of every oviparous (egg-born) animal, and of every serpent. The paper is not very handsome, but it is thick and strong, like the generality of French paper; the print is excellent; the plates are not badly executed, but there appears to have been so many copies printed off that these have become very much used, and the impressions are somewhat dim.—Printed at Paris, 1779. It is sewed. Price 3*l.*

"TRAITE ELEMENTAIRE DE CONSTRUCTION APPLIQUEE A L'ARCHITECTURE CIVILE; contenant les principes qui doivent diriger, 1°. le choix et la préparation des materiaux; 2°. la configuration et les proportions des parties qui constituent les édifices en general; 3°. l'exécution des plans déjà fixés: suivi de nombreux exemples de distribution puisés dans les plus célèbres monumens antiques et modernes, &c. Par M. J. A. Borgnis, ingénieur." 1 vol., 4to., containing 646 pages of print. Published at Paris in 1823.—The paper and print are good. The work appears to be a complete elementary one on architecture, and it has 30 illustrative plates handsomely executed, and in a form to correspond with the book. Price 1*l.* 4*s.*

"HISTOIRE NATURELLE, Générale et Particulière des Reptiles; ouvrage faisant suite à l'Histoire Naturelle générale et particulière, composée par Leclerc de Buffon, et rédigée par C. S. Sonnini, membre de plusieurs sociétés savantes. Par F. M. Daudin, membre des Sociétés d'Histoire Naturelle et Philomatique de Paris." 8 vols., 8vo. Published at Paris in the tenth year of the French Republic. A complete history of reptiles, with numerous plates giving front views, side views, and even *inside* views of each reptile described in the text. The paper is coarse, the print good. There are 97 plates altogether, not highly-finished engravings, but all that is required for the purposes intended. This work is sewed. Price 4*l.*

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The Appendix of this work is sufficiently described above, but the text is not. It is the political history of every country for the year, giving a full account of the proceedings of the parliament of every country, beginning with France, and ending with Brazil. The work is an annual one, and it was begun in the year 1818, so there are now 12 vols. published. The one I speak of is for 1825. Price 6*s.* 9*d.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 76.—No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 23RD, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Kensington, 21st June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

YOU, who remember what I suffered for expressing my indignation at the flogging of the poor young fellows of the Local Militia, at the town of ELY, under a guard of GERMAN bayonets; you, who recollect that transaction, and who recollect that Messrs. LEIGH and JOHN HUNT, and Mr. DRAKARD, the editor of the *Stamford News*, were all most severely punished soon afterwards for expressing their horror of the military floggings; you, who recollect this, will be delighted at the *address to the King* from the House of Commons, agreed to on the 19th instant, beseeching the King to *suspend the flogging of soldiers* until the next session of Parliament. I shall presently have to insert the debate which took place on that occasion, and the very interesting statement made by Mr. HUME; but it is necessary, first, to give a history of the cause of the discussion which led to the adoption of the address.

It was stated, some time back, that some soldiers of the regiment of SCOTS GREYS, lying at BIRMINGHAM, had joined the POLITICAL UNION there, and had caused their names to be enrolled. This circumstance having been mentioned in the London *Weekly Dispatch*, a soldier of the SCOTS GREYS, whose name is SOMERVILLE, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Dispatch*, which that editor, in his excellent paper of the 17th June, gives to his readers in the following words:

"Sir," says Mr. Somerville, "as a private in the Scots Greys, I have certainly the means of knowing fully the opinions that pervade the rank in which I serve. It was surely true that a few sent their names to the roll of the Political Union; but let no man think that those who refrained from doing so cared less for the interests of their country. I, for one, made no such public avowal of my opinion,—for I knew it to be an infringement of military law; but I was one who watched with trembling anxiety the movements of the people of Birmingham. We knew well the position in which we might be placed should events require the physical action of the community; for, while we ventured to hope that any collision between the civil and military forces would be prevented by the moral energies of the former, we could not help betraying a fear that the unprincipled and lawless might take the opportunity of the turn in affairs to commit outrages on property,—in which case we should have certainly considered ourselves as soldiers, bound to put down such disorderly conduct. This, I say, we should have certainly felt to have been our duty; *but against the liberties of our countrymen we would have never, never, never raised an arm!* The Scots Greys have honourably secured a high character in the defence of their country, and they would be the last to degrade themselves below the dignity of British soldiers in *acting as the tools of a tyrant*. The Duke of Wellington may, if he sees or hears of this, assure himself, *that military Government shall never be again set up in this country*."

This letter was published in the *Weekly Dispatch*; and it appears to have been suspected that Somerville was the author of it. A report got abroad that he was the author. Soon after this report began to prevail, we are informed by the editor of the *Dispatch*, that "SOMERVILLE was picked "out from the ranks, and directed to "perform, with an unbroken horse, an "exercise which, even with the best-"trained horses, is one of some diffi-"culty. He was unable to perform the "exercise, and dismounted: he was "*ordered to mount and try again*; he "replied that he *would not*, for that the "thing was *impracticable*. Here was "*disobedience*, undoubtedly; but how "far it was a disobedience deserving of "punishment will depend on the an-"swers which can be given to two or

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"three questions which naturally suggest themselves. Was the feat which "Somerville was ordered to perform "*really practicable or not?* Was it ordered in the regular course of exercise, and as a thing *needful to be done*? "Did *any other soldier* of the regiment "do that which Somerville failed in "doing? *Was any other soldier asked* "*to attempt it?*"

For this disobedience of orders, SOMERVILLE was imprisoned, in order to his being tried by a court-martial for his disobedience. It appears, from the statements in the DISPATCH, that SOMERVILLE is a man of excellent character; that this was his *first offence*; that he was rather exemplary than otherwise in his general behaviour. After he had been imprisoned for this disobedience of orders, it is stated that he was brought before Major WYNDHAM, his commanding officer, and questioned by him relative to the letter in the DISPATCH, of which he at once acknowledged himself to be the author, re-avowing all the sentiments that it contained. Directly afterwards he was taken before a court-martial, tried for the *disobedience of orders*, and sentenced to receive TWO HUNDRED LASHES; one hundred of which were laid upon him, and the other hundred reserved for future infliction; or, at least, no mention is made of that other hundred having been matter of *pardon*, of which I shall speak by-and-by, when I come to notice what GRANT and little HOBHOUSE said upon this part of the subject. I will now insert this most interesting debate, and then subjoin such remarks as the occasion appears to me to demand.

MILITARY FLOGGINGS.

Mr. HUME presented two petitions—one from the National Political Union, St. George, Westminster, taking notice of the flogging of a soldier of the Scots Greys, and praying inquiry; the other was from Mr. Smith, the Editor of the *Weekly Dispatch*. This latter detailed the case of —— Somerville, a private in the Scots Greys, who had, under colour of another offence, but in reality for having declared certain opinions in the *Dispatch*, been tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to receive two hundred lashes. The sentiments he had declared were these.—"As a private of that regiment, I have certainly the means of knowing fully the opinions which pervade the rank in which I serve. It was surely true that a few sent their names to the roll of the Political Union; but let no man think that those who refrained from doing so, cared less for the interests of their country. I, for one, made no such public avowal of my opinions—for I knew it to be an infringement of military law; but I was one who watched with trembling anticipation the movements of the people of Birmingham. We knew well the position in which we might be placed should events require the physical action of the community; for while we ventured to hope that any collision between the civil and military forces would be prevented by the moral energy of the former, we could not help betraying a fear that the unprincipled and lawless, who are ever either more or less to be found, might take the opportunity of the turning of affairs to commit outrages on property, in which instance we would certainly have considered ourselves, as soldiers, bound to put down such disorderly conduct. This, I say, we would certainly have felt to have been our duty; but against the liberties of our country, we would have never, never, never raised an arm! The Scots Greys have honourably secured a high character in defence of their country, and they would be the last to degrade themselves below the dignity of British soldiers in acting as the tools of a tyrant."

"On the arrival of the *Dispatch* at Birmingham, where the Scots Greys were stationed, it became known to Major Wyndham, the commanding-officer, that A. Somerville was the writer. That shortly afterwards he was sent for by Major Wyndham, and privately subjected to a series of interrogatories with respect to the letter which he was reported to have written; that Major Wyndham demanded of him whether he was not the author of the 'libel on the Scots Greys, which had appeared in the *Dispatch*,' to which Somerville at once frankly answered he was the writer of the letter alluded to, but that he did not consider it any libel.

"That on this Major Wyndham broke out into a strain of great abuse of the letter, declaring the sentiments it contained to be abominable and inflammatory—calculated to encourage the Political Unions, which, he said, were illegal, and the mob, to break the peace, which it was the duty of the military to preserve; that Somerville had, in writing it, been guilty of treason to the King, by whom he was paid; that soldiers had no right to form opinions on any political subject whatever; and that their only duty was obedience.

"That Somerville replied, that he could not see how there was any treason in saying that the Scots Greys would never fight against the liberties of their country; that he considered soldiers were not paid by the King, but by the people, and sworn only to be faithful to the King in his capacity of Head of the People; that he thought it had been admitted by his Majesty's Ministers that there was nothing

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illegal in the Political Unions, constituted as they had hitherto been; and that so far from wishing to encourage the mob to violence, he had said, in the letter complained of, that he and his comrades would, under any circumstances, consider it to be their duty to put down all outrages on property.

"That Major Wyndam still persisted in pronouncing Somerville to have been guilty of most unjustifiable conduct, and dismissed him with these emphatic words:—'But, my lad, you are now where you will repent of it.'

"That five minutes after this preliminary interrogation, Somerville was arraigned before a court-martial, for the disobedience of orders before mentioned, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes on his bare back.

"That two hours after, one hundred of the number of lashes awarded were inflicted upon him in the presence of the assembled regiment, and that he now remains in confinement, awaiting the infliction of the remainder of this most cruel and ignominious punishment.

"That Somerville had never before been tried or punished for any offence whatever, having always conducted himself with unimpeached correctness and steadiness."

Mr. Hunt prayed the indulgence of the House, while he brought this subject under the notice of the House. He was sure that it was not more reprobated by humanity than it was injurious to the service. He regretted that it was not taken up by those able men who formerly had brought this question under the notice of the House. He could say nothing on this subject from his own authority; and should say it before the House on the authority of facts stated by others. He had heard with disgust and horror of the treatment of our army. Fifteen years ago he remembered that two privates of the 15th Dragoons, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, he believed, put themselves to death to escape flogging. He should advert to a letter addressed to the honourable Baronet, the member for Westminster, by a man who had been 40 years in the army, and a drummer for eight years, and during those eight years he had been employed thrice a week in flogging others. This letter was addressed by Mr. Shipp to Sir F. Burdett, and was called "A Voice from the Ranks." Mr. Ship was ready to substantiate all the facts he had mentioned on oath at the bar of the House. There were officers, members of the House, well acquainted with Mr. Shipp, but there were better amusements than listening to such debates, and they were not present. Sir John Malcolm knew Mr. Shipp. The honourable Member proceeded to quote from Mr. Shipp's letter, which stated that he never had been flogged himself. Flogging he described as well calculated to eradicate every honourable feeling. He had never known more than one man recover his honourable feelings who had once been flogged. The honourable member proceeded to quote several cases of severe punishment, to show that it hardened men. In one instance a man received 300 lashes, and then snapped his fingers at the colonel, and told him he should never get another day's work out of him. (Some laughter.) Honourable gentlemen might laugh, but if they had not hearts as hard as stone, he would make them laugh, before he had done, at the other side of their mouth. He proceeded to read several other cases from Mr. Shipp's work, proving that men of high character, who had suffered flogging for breaches of discipline, because degraded in vice, or sunk in despair, sought refuge from disgrace in drunkenness, and not unfrequently in suicide. He had frequently brought this subject before the House, and found his proposition resisted; but he now begged to say, that he was ready to prove his statements either at the bar of the House, or in committee. When it was considered that a soldier of the Scots Greys, of the name of Somerville, was sentenced to receive 200 lashes for an offence which he never committed; that he had received 100, and was lying in the guard-house, subject to receive the second hundred when he has recovered the effects of the first——

Mr. R. Grant said, by law this could not be.

Mr. Hunt said, he spoke from a petition before the House. But at least this case happening so recently, made the subject more worthy the immediate attention of the House. He then proceeded to read from Mr. Shipp's work, when he was interrupted by

Mr. Robinson, who said that the hon. Member had promised to state facts; but he was occupying the whole time of the House in reading written pamphlets. He submitted to the Speaker whether or not this was in order.

The Speaker said, he could not correctly define the limits within which a gentleman would be allowed to read. He could only say, that since he had been placed in that chair he had never heard so much time occupied in reading, and so short a time in speaking. The hon. Gentleman would of course consult the feeling of the House, and would regulate by his own discretion the time to be devoted to reading.

Mr. Hunt did not wish to inflict any punishment on the House, or overstep the bounds of discretion; but on a point of so much importance, he thought it necessary to draw the attention of the House to the facts stated by Mr. Shipp, and he had avoided troubling the House with any of his reasoning. He was not aware there were any limits, for some years ago he was sitting in that gallery, when Sir John Cox Hippesley occupied upwards of two hours in reading a pamphlet, written by himself, on the subject of Catholic emancipation. He then proceeded to a statement of Mr. Shipp, that an abuse had crept into the army, which he (Mr. Hunt) considered illegal; namely, giving the soldier the option of receiving a certain number of lashes, or

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abiding the sentence of a court-martial. In Jersey, it appeared that some soldiers were sentenced for desertion to receive each 1000 lashes; and, as if that were not sufficiently horrible, the serjeant was to count five between each lash. Nine lashes, of which the cat was composed, with three knots on each lash, would make 27,000 lashes the result of 1000 stripes, and the whole punishment occupied three hours and twenty minutes; the sufferers fainted several times under the lash. Not a drop of water was allowed to the soldiers during this torture. He deprecated the practice, not merely on account of its inhumanity, but because he believed it to be productive of the most injurious moral effects on the character of the soldier, and to be subversive of all real discipline. He should, therefore, bring forward a proposition, which he trusted would meet with the support of his Majesty's Ministers. He had long been anxious to get rid of this punishment. The present Speaker was Judge Advocate for seven years during the war, and when he left that situation the standard of flogging was very different to what it was when he first took that situation. The commanders seemed then to consider it a feather in their caps to report that they had very little occasion to resort to corporeal punishment. He hoped that was the case now, but he regretted much to hear of such cases as that recent one at Birmingham, and those which were constantly occurring in Birdcage-walk. He appealed most sincerely to the Secretary at War, who had at different times exerted his talents on this subject to support his motion, which was, that *an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he might be graciously pleased to suspend all corporeal punishment in the army until next session of Parliament*; that would give them an opportunity of trying the experiment. He desired no credit for himself, and was ready to yield all to his Majesty's Government.

Mr. HUME seconded the motion. Experience had proved the necessity of adopting such a plan. The statements of Mr. Shipp were well worthy the attention of the House, as he doubted not they were perfectly correct. He was one of the most gallant soldiers the army ever had, (cheers,) and had led five forlorn hopes in India. Mr. Shipp admitted, however, that when he left the army the system was somewhat improved.

Mr. R. GRANT—How long is that?

Mr. HUME—About nine years.

Sir J. HOBHOUSE had nothing to complain of in the tone in which the hon. Member for Preston had thought proper to bring forward his motion. The statement of the honourable Gentleman, however, had been made up of facts relating to the previous state of the army—the honourable Gentleman appearing altogether to have lost sight of the present state of the army. But independently of this consideration, there were some of the honourable Gentleman's facts in which he was mistaken; for instance, it was inaccurate to suppose that a soldier had the option given him of receiving punishment without a court-martial, or of taking the chance of a court-martial with a higher rate of punishment. Such a thing might have been once; but he could take on himself to say that no such thing now existed. Neither was it correct to say that soldiers were secretly punished; the courts-martial at which they were tried were public proceedings; and as to their punishment taking place in secret, that was frequently the case with sentences pronounced by civil courts; and had nothing to do with secrecy of prosecution or of trial. With respect to the general question, however, he was not able to discuss with the hon. Gentleman: because it was well known what his opinions were—he had taken an opportunity of publicly declaring those opinions since he had taken office. And his honourable Friend the Member for Middlesex was mistaken if he supposed that he (Sir J. Hobhouse) had changed his opinions in any degree. Allusion had been made to the case of a soldier at Birmingham; but it was quite an *error to suppose that soldiers were ever punished by instalments*. Now, with respect to the form of the motion, he had some doubt as to that; the *King might, if he pleased*, do what was proposed in this motion, but it *would be exceedingly irregular, and without precedent*; and after the articles of war had once passed this House, and been signed by his Majesty, he did not conceive that the right way of producing an alteration in them was by an address to the Crown. The hon. Gentleman was mistaken if he supposed that nothing had been done towards showing a disposition on the part of the War-office *to lessen the amount of the punishment*. With the consent of the Judge Advocate-General and of the Commander-in-Chief, he had succeeded in having the new articles of war so drawn up, that the greatest number of lashes that could be inflicted by *an ordinary court-martial* was reduced from 300 to 200, and by a garrison court-martial from 500 to 300. This showed the spirit by which he was actuated; and he *therefore trusted that, after the statement he had made, the honourable Gentleman would not press his motion any further*.

Mr. ROBINSON thought that the system of flogging in the army was objectionable, and he was prepared to support the motion of the hon. Gentleman.

Colonel EVANS also supported the motion, and thought that it was in time of peace that they ought to endeavour to make the experiment.

Mr. KEMMIS recommended that the power of inflicting the lash should be taken away from regimental courts-martial, and that instead they should have the power of sentencing to imprisonment and hard labour.

Mr. R. GRANT doubted whether the House *could accede to this motion in point of form*.

Colonel DAVIES said that when he first entered the army, there was a horrible system of punishment, which he thanked God was

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done away. He perfectly agreed with the hon. Member for East Looe, who recommended that *regimental* courts-martial should be deprived of the power of inflicting corporeal punishment; and he hoped that in the next Mutiny Bill a provision would be introduced to *that effect*. He said it with great regret, but he was apprehensive *that the discipline of the army could not be maintained if corporeal punishment were wholly abolished.*

Sir John Boarke hoped, that at a time when the character of the Commander-in-Chief, and the disposition of officers generally to reduce the number of corporeal punishments were so well known, and when in the returns to the War-Office the colonel of the regiment in which the smallest number of punishments had occurred obtained the greatest credit, the hon. Member for Preston *would not press his motion.*

Mr. Hunt replied; and pressed for the adoption of the motion, in order to show the disposition of the House.

A division then took place.

For the motion	33
Against it	15
Majority	—18

I need not make any remark upon the conduct of this Wyndham (one of the Egremonts, I suppose); I offer no opinion as to the effect which Somerville's *politics* might have in the producing of this work upon his back. I will not insult your understandings, my friends, by attempting to suggest to you the conclusions which you ought to draw in this case; but, in the first place, cordially thanking the Editor of the Dispatch, for the part which he has here acted, and especially, for this his excellent petition; and, in the next place, expressing my boundless gratification at the result of the debate, I proceed to make some remarks on what was said, agreeably to the report during the debate.

The *reporther*, whom I have had so often to call LIAR, *new-negro*, and *beast*, has at last put forth a publication, which really does make atonement for a considerable part of his enormous sins. These paragraphs which he gives us under the name of Hunt, are excellent; they are principally the words of *others*, to be sure; but, in my opinion, they are all the better for that; they are good in themselves: they were well-timed: the matter was well stuck to, and the result was such as to earn for this *reporther* a great deal of sensible and well-founded praise, which I give, not only ungrudgingly, but with great pleasure. Faith! we were wrong in being impatient to get rid of this Parliament! It seems to be destined to "*work well*" yet. To be sure, it has its death before its eyes. It has a cancer that must kill it at no very distant day: it sees that it is time for it to make up its long account: it is somewhat like a person, placed in a situation too delicate to be named; but, no matter, if it "*work well*," as it has done in this case, let us not lament that it is not already dead.

The little *Secretary at War*, who, peeping out under the armpit of his great master, used, like Sancho, poking his head out from under the shield of Don Quixote, to squall so incessantly against military flogging, seems to have been devilishly put to it. "He had done a *good deal*;" he had "*reduced* the three hundred lashes of the regimental court-martial to *two hundred*;" he had reduced the "five hundred lashes of the garrison court-martial to *only three hundred*;" without, however, prescribing *the weight of the cat*, the *length of time between the lashes*, and without any limit as to the number of times that a punishment should be inflicted. He *denied* that Somerville could be brought out to receive the *other hundred lashes*. Grant said, that it was *contrary to law*; and little Hobhouse said, that Hunt was mistaken in supposing that punishment could be inflicted by "*instalments*." Now, I, who was eight years in the army, who was a serjeant-major six years of the time, have seen men receive their flogging at *twice*, at *thrice*, and I remember a man, named Valentine Hickey, who received his flogging at *four* instalments; and I am sure, that *no law* has ever been passed to prevent that practice. When a man was *pardoned* a part of his punishment, which was very frequently the case, he ceased to be a prisoner, and the pardon was announced to him.

Hunt was mistaken, in one respect; but it was a mistake on the other side; for, he said, that each of the nine lashes

had *three* knots; whereas, each of the nine lashes has *nine* knots; and he omitted to state, because he did not know, and indeed, could not know, that, in addition to the pain of the flogging, *the flogged man has to* PAY THE DRUM-MAJOR FOR THE USE OF THE CATS! If that be not the practice now, the practice is changed; for I, having the paying of two companies of the regiment for several years, have, many times, had to pay the drum-major for the cats, and to charge the sums to the flogged men, in their two-monthly accounts.

Besides, it is all nonsense to talk of the number of lashes. The whipcord may be large or small. Ours used to be as thick as the very thickest twine made use of to tie up stout and heavy parcels. The knots were about the size, as nearly as I can recollect, of a dwarf marrow-fat pea; and the length of the lash was, I think, about fifteen or sixteen inches. These lashes were tied on upon a stick or handle of about eighteen or twenty inches long. Then, observe, besides the weight of the cat there is the *length of time between the strokes.* If the operator go on quickly, he has not the power to lay on a blow so heavy. The drummers used to do the flogging; they were always *stripped for the work*, and each, by turns, laid on his twenty-five lashes, and then another came. Besides these things there is the strength of the operator to be considered. All the difference in the world between a lash laid on by a boy and a lash laid on by a stout man. So that the whole is arbitrary; it is a matter, that it is utterly impossible to subject to the regulations of law; and it as childish to talk about the number of lashes, as it would be for me to talk about the number of plum puddings that I mean to give to the chopsticks of SUTTON-SCOTNEY, without specifying any thing as to the weight of them.

Little HOBHOUSE pressed HUNT hard: if one were to judge of the debate from the report, he was almost ready to go upon his knees to him to withdraw his motion. Colonel DAVIES, good man, the patriotic member for WORCESTER, is reported to have said, that the discipline of the army could not be supported without *some flogging.* He, too, wished the motion to be withdrawn. HUNT stuck to his motion, and insisted upon a division, in order, as he said, to show *the disposition* of the House! Fortunately the House showed, that it had in this case a good disposition. There were not many members present, to be sure; but there was a majority of two to one against the flogging, though the Secretary at War wished the motion to be withdrawn.

And, now, what will the Ministry do? The address *must go the King*; or else all is become a mockery; and the King will give an *answer of course!* If I were Minister, I should look upon myself as being *that which I will not describe*, if I did not advise the King to give an answer expressing his readiness to act agreeably to the wishes of the House, and the wishes of the people in this repect; for, there is now, not one single man in the whole kingdom, of common mercy, who does not feel a deep interest in this matter. And do the Ministers duly estimate the effect which will be produced *upon the soldiers* by this vote of the House of Commons? It is now only eight-and-forty hours since the vote passed; and there is not a barrack-room in the kingdom, in which it has not already been talked of. If the Ministers will be pleased to look at the very faithful, the very plain, the perfectly unornamented facts, which I have related above with regard to the manner of flogging, will they not perceive, at once, that it must of necessity be, with every soldier, a matter next in importance to the salvation of his soul? Must they not perceive, that every soldier will be now looking to WHAT THE KING SHALL NOW DO; and must they not perceive what must inevitably be the ultimate result, if the King *do nothing* in consequence of this address! It is not for me to say, and I will not say, what I think that result would be: but I will say this, that if I had a desire to behold that which the Ministers must have the strongest desire to prevent, I should wish the King to be

advised to treat this address with neglect, and to suffer the flogging to go on.

Let me now, my friends, beseech you to turn your eyes back a little; to survey the times that we have passed through; the perils amidst which we have lived, and the sufferings that some of us have undergone, only for speaking with disapprobation, and in a tone of lamentation, of that which is now execrated in a manner the most fearless. Let me first call your attention to the act of Parliament; an act of "*well-working*" Parliament, which made it DEATH to do little more than speak to a soldier. Our children will not believe that their fathers lived under such laws; and this law you will observe, is *still in existence*. The first act was passed on the 6. June, 1797. It was renewed at the time of its first expiration. It was first enacted, as all such acts have been, to last until the commencement of the then next session of Parliament; when that time arrived, it was continued for the life of the then King; and, in 1817, at the same time when the reformers were gagged, or dungeoned, it was MADE PERPETUAL; and, here it is.

An Act for the better Prevention and Punishment of Attempts to seduce Persons in his Majesty's Forces, by Sea or Land, from their Duty and Allegiance to his Majesty, or to incite them to Mutiny and Disobedience.

[*6th June*, 1797.]

"Whereas divers wicked and evil-disposed "persons, by the publication of written or "printed papers, and by malicious and ad-"vised speaking, have of late industriously "endeavoured to seduce persons serving in "his Majesty's forces by sea and land from "their duty and allegiance to his Majesty, "and to incite them to mutiny and disobedi-"ence;" be it it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, any person who shall maliciously and advisedly endeavour to seduce any person or persons to commit any act of mutiny, or to make or endeavour to make any mutinous assembly, or to commit any traitorous or mutinous practice whatsoever, shall, on being legally convicted of such offence, be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

II. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any offence committed against this act, whether committed on the high seas, or within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, shall and may be prosecuted and tried before any court of Oyer and Terminer or jail delivery for any county in that part of *Great Britain* called England, in such manner and form as if the said offence had been therein committed.

III. Provided always, and it is hereby declared and enacted, That any person who shall be tried and acquitted, or convicted of any offence against this act, shall not be liable to be indicted, prosecuted, or tried again for the same offence or fact, as high treason, or misprision of high treason; and that nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to extend, to prevent any persons guilty of any offence against this act, and who shall not be tried for the same as an offence against this act, from being tried for the same as high treason, or misprision of high treason, in such manner as if this act had not been made.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this act shall continue and be in force until the expiration of one month after the commencement of the next session of Parliament and *no longer*.

Now observe, that, under this act, the editor of the *Dispatch*, and the Birmingham Political Council, and about two hundred editors of newspapers, *might all have been hanged* by the neck until they had been dead, and their goods and chattels might have been forfeited to the King. I remember that, at the revival of this act in 1817, old Eldon said, in answer to Lord Holland, who had contended that it was not necessary, that it was "a *very good act*," and that we ought not to lose the *benefit of it*. It does not appear to be attended with much benefit now: for the newspapers reprobate, with voice unanimous, the practice of flogging; and in such a manner, too, as for it to be impossible that their language should not tend directly to incite soldiers to disobedience. But thus it always is in such cases: it has always been found, that, in the end, such laws lose their force; and, indeed, have an effect the contrary of that which they are intended to produce.

I now come to *my own dreadful case*; and I am really half afraid, that if this *reporther* had reflected on the great gratification that I must receive from reading the report of this debate, he would *never have been the cause of such a pub-*

lication. It is monstrous, to be sure, to think this; but I am half afraid that it is right to think it; for, if I had hired the fellow to do the thing, the thing could not have been done better, or give me more delight. My dreadful, my case of unparalleled cruelty, is fully set forth in the following petition, which I YESTERDAY *sent to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that he might present it to the King*, requesting the Secretary of State to be so good as to inform me *of the nature of his Majesty's decision thereon.* I will now insert the petition; and then I shall have some remarks to add to that.

To his Most Gracious Majesty WILLIAM *the Fourth, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That there was published in London, in the year 1809, a newspaper, called the *Courier*, which newspaper continues there to be published unto this day; that, in this said newspaper was published, on Saturday the twenty-fourth day of June, 1809, a piece of news, or intelligence, in the following words; to wit:

"The mutiny amongst the *Local Militia*, "which broke out at Ely, was fortu- "nately suppressed, on Wednesday, by "the arrival of *four squadrons* of the Ger- "man Legion Cavalry from Bury, under "the command of General Auckland. "Five of the ringleaders were tried by a "Court-Martial, and sentenced to receive "*five hundred lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednes- "day, and a part was remitted. A *stop-* "*page for their knapsacks* was the ground "of complaint that excited this mutinous "spirit, which occasioned the men to sur- "round their officers and demand what "*they deemed* their *arrears*. The first "division of the German Legion halted "yesterday at Newmarket, on their re- "turn to Bury."

That your humble petitioner published, at the time here referred to, a work called the *Weekly Political Register*; that, on the first day of July 1809, he inserted in the said work the above paragraph from the *Courier*, and that he, at the same time, subjoined words of his own, expressive of great indignation at the transaction, but words conveying no sentiment which he did not then think, and which he does not now think, it became an Englishman to entertain and express on such an occasion; and your humble petitioner is fully convinced, that if YOUR MAJESTY were to be graciously pleased now to read those words, taking all the circumstances into your consideration; who the punished parties were; that they were poor men, whom a novel law had forced to quit their homes, and to submit to military service; that the law had awarded a sum of money called the "marching guinea," but knapsacks had been given, or tendered to them, instead of the money; that though, perhaps, this might be for their own ultimate convenience and good, yet that, even if their claim had not been strictly legal, their youth and inexperience ought (your petitioner is sure your Majesty will allow) to have pleaded successfully in excuse for their conduct, and ought (especially as they had been compelled to assume the military garb) to have saved them from suffering punishment, severe in itself, and deemed infamous by the law of the land; your humble petitioner is fully convinced that, if your Majesty were now to read those words, taking into consideration all these circumstances, your Majesty would see in them nothing that ought not to have proceeded from the heart or the pen of an Englishman; and that your Majesty would be able to discover in those words nothing that ought to be deemed seditious or libellous.

That, however, for having written and caused to be published these words, your humble petitioner was prosecuted by an *ex officio* information; that he was harassed with this prosecution for nearly a year; that he was then brought to trial; and that he was sentenced, first, to be imprisoned for two years in the jail of Newgate; second, to pay a thousand pounds sterling at the end of the two years; and third, to be held in bonds of three thousand pounds himself, with two sureties in a thousand pounds each, to the end of seven years after the expiration of the two years of imprisonment.

That, after the verdict had been given

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against your petitioner, he just had time to return to his alarmed family at seventy miles distance from London, when he was brought back by a judge's warrant to *give bail for his appearance to receive his sentence*; that, having appeared on the first day of term according to the command of the warrant, he was at once committed to jail, and kept there until finally brought up to receive his horrible sentence; and that (a thing theretofore wholly unheard of), his then printer, THOMAS HANSARD, his then publisher, RICHARD BAGSHAW, and even a bookseller named JOHN BUDD, were all, for the self-same cause, prosecuted in like manner, and all punished by imprisonment; so that all persons pursuing the business of printing, or that of publishing, became terrified at the thought of printing or publishing the writings of your humble petitioner, who had to endure many and great disadvantages arising from this terror, which caused an augmentation in the expense of putting forth his future literary labours, and other grievous injuries which he will not here enumerate.

That your petitioner, who had long lived in the country at the time, and who had a wife and a family of six small children, was put into a part of the jail allotted to *felons* and to persons convicted of *unnatural crimes*; that, on the day after the imprisonment of your petitioner commenced, one of the former was taken out to be transported; and that, in a few days later, several of the latter were taken out to be placed in the pillory, and then brought back again to endure imprisonment in the same place that had been allotted to your petitioner, but imprisonment, he beseeches your Majesty to be pleased to observe, *of much shorter duration!*

That your humble petitioner, in order to avoid society like this, and to be able to avail himself of the consolation afforded by occasionally seeing his virtuous family, obtained, through the intercession of gentlemen belonging to the corporation of London, leave to reside in the house of the keeper, to whom he paid for this indulgence twelve pounds for every week; amounting, in the two years, to *one thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds.*

That, with any detail of the numerous other expenses, losses, injuries, and mischiefs of endless variety, attending these two years of imprisonment, and the other parts of the merciless sentence, your humble petitioner will not presume to trouble your Majesty; but will conclude with, first, expressing his gratitude to God for having preserved him and his family amidst all these terrible sufferings; and next, with appealing to the justice of your Majesty, whom he humbly begs leave to remind, that at the end of these two years of pain and of ruin, he paid into the hands of an officer of the crown a *thousand pounds sterling*, for the use of the King; and he now prays that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause the said thousand pounds to be restored to him, with the interest thereon; a prayer, the rejection of which he cannot anticipate, now that the House of Commons have addressed your Majesty, beseeching you to suspend not only *flogging*, but *all corporeal punishment* in the army.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

20th June, 1832.

I presented a similar petition to the late King, except that I did not pray to have the interest of the money returned me. Here are twenty years' interest upon a thousand pounds; so that, if I be allowed to charge only simple interest, that would make it two thousand; and it is no fault of mine if I have not settled up the account, and received the interest annually, so as to entitle me to the compound interest. If I can prove that the other parties would not settle with me, the law would certainly, in a common case, give me the interest upon interest, which would make the amount, I believe, more than three thousand pounds; so that, if his Majesty should be graciously pleased to return a favourable answer to my petition, this Government will, after all, have been acting a paternal part towards me; and, finding me not disposed to husband the fruits of my labour, took a parcel of it from me, to take care of it for me in my old age. I hope, however, that they have not committed it to the charge of the Old Lady in Threadneedle-street; for in that case, I would not give much for it, unless I could have it before the birth of any of the projects of Sir HENRY PARNELL'S committee.

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The fact is, that I never will cease, as long as I live, to endeavour to get this money; unless I get it before I cease to live. When I gave it into the hands of the officer in Newgate, I called to me a little son and daughter that I had in Newgate with me, and said to them, "Look here, my dears, I am giving this "thousand pounds to this man, that he "may carry it to the King, who will not "suffer me to be let out of this jail un- "unless I pay this thousand pounds. I "want this thousand pounds for you and "your mother. I will endeavour to in- "duce the King to give it me back "again; if I should die before I get the "money back, let me charge you never "to cease your endeavours to get the "money and to give it to your mother. "There it is; take it, and carry it to "the King." So saying, I put the thousand-pound bank-note into the hands of the fellow.

Now, I repeat this charge to my sons, who are now grown up, and possess the ability to urge this claim. All the money that I paid to the jailer: all the ruinous losses and expenses ought to be repaid me. Never was a claim more clear or more just; and we have heard enough of compensation for losses, when the losses, real or pretended, have been to uphold this present system, which is now declared to have been destructive to the nation. Millions have been given in compensation on this account; but I reckon my sufferings and losses as nothing? I want nothing but a repayment of my money with due and legal interest thereon; and that repayment I will have, or content on this score shall never be an inmate of my breast.

Oh! my God! What an *Iliad* of troubles has this cruel punishment of me and my family brought upon this THING! So great was the suffering; so abominable was the whole transaction; so deep-rooted was my resentment on account of it; so many circumstances were there belonging to it, each seeming to be more cruel than all the rest, that it has never been out of my mind for any one twenty-four hours together, from the time that the horrid sentence was passed to the present hour. Just as they took me to the horrible Newgate, a dreadful stroke of thunder seemed to make the prison shake: at that moment my wife, who had followed me up from the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, came running into the hole into which they had put me, seeming very much frightened by the clap of thunder. Taking her by the hand, I said, "Never mind: don't be afraid of "anything that God will do to us; and "as to those, who have sent me here, "be you only patient, *and I will take* "*care that they shall get nothing by* "*what they have done.*" They have got nothing by it; and, God granting me life, nothing shall they get by it; but at all events, I will have my money, if applications for it, in a legal manner, will get it me.

Just before I went out of the prison, the Westminster committee (not yet corrupted into a Rump) sent me *an address*, in which they described the cruelties which I had been made to endure. My answer to them was this: "Gentlemen, I very sincerely thank "you for this expression of your abhor- "rence of the sufferings which I have "been made to undergo, for having "expressed my indignation at English- "men having been flogged in the heart "of England, under a guard of GER- "MAN bayonets. I will be revenged on "my persecutors, by never ceasing, "while I have life, to endeavour to do "good to my country, and to restore "its liberties; and, gentlemen, be you "assured, that our days will be speedily "numbered, unless we be destined *to* "*behold the abolition of military flog-* "*ging.*" We have seen it; and though the days have been numbered of some of those who sent me that address, there are some of them still alive; and it ought to be a gratification to them, that they were amongst the persons to agree to that address, and to receive that answer, which was at once so patriotic and so prophetic; and up to the very letter of which they have seen me act from that day to this.

With regard to SOMERVILLE, whose christian name is, I suppose, ALEXAN-

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ner, as there is an A before his name, I must, from the nature of the circumstance, have a strong fellow-feeling with him. It is very curious that the first thing, the *very* first thing that I ever wrote for the press in my life, was a little pamphlet entitled the "Soldier's Friend," which was written immediately after I quitted the army in 1791, or early in 1792. I gave it in manuscript to Captain Thomas Morrice (the brother of that Captain Morrice who was a great companion of the Prince of Wales); and by him it was taken to Mr. Ridgway, who then lived in *King-street, St. James's-square*; and Mr. Ridgway (the same who now lives in Piccadilly) published it. I do not know that I ever possessed the pamphlet, except for a week or two after it was published, but I remember the title, and I remember that the motto was—

"Each wanton judge new penal statutes draw;
Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the laws."

A motto taken from Goldsmith, every word of whose two famous poems, the Traveller and the Deserted Village, I could repeat by heart, from the first year that I became a soldier.

I have a great fellow-feeling with Somerville, as, indeed, I have with all soldiers, though I have carefully kept aloof from them, from the time that I first read the above-cited terrible law. I should like Somerville as well if he were not a poet; but, while there is no harm in that, his *letter* to the *Dispatch*, and, above all things, his answer to his commanding-officer, proves him to be a man of mind and of merit; and I, above all men living, know the perils that surround a man who possesses merit, and has nothing but merit to oppose to power which has none. If I were to relate nothing but the naked facts, connected with the life which I had to lead for six years; if I were merely to describe the perils amongst which I lived, merely on account of my merit, the minds of men in general would be hardly able to bring them to consider the relation in any other light than that of romance; perils, from which, after all, I should not have escaped, had it not been for the discernment and the justice of Sir Thomas Carlton, the governor of the province, and the virtuous Lord Edward Fitzgerald, of whom I have a thousand times said, and I said it once in the presence of Pitt, that he was the only really just commissioned officer that I ever knew in the army. There, if I had nothing else to animate me in her behalf, I owe a great deal to ill-treated Ireland.

To return to Somerville. It is proposed by the editor of the Dispatch, to raise by subscription the means of legally obtaining his discharge; and I hereby request my friends, in every part of the country, to contribute each of them a trifle, for which purpose a little book shall be kept at my shop in Bolt Court, and I will pay the money over to the editor of the Dispatch, whom I do not personally know, but whose excellent conduct in this interesting case proves him to be worthy of the trust. He has the great merit of having begun the undertaking, and it is for him to conclude it. There can be no objection to the thing; because the purchasing of discharges are matters of every-day occurrence. I see that there is a penny subscription going on for this purpose at Canterbury. Kent never was yet the last in proofs of public spirit. What *a stir* is here now! How changed the minds and feelings of the people! A base hireling of a *caricaturist* of the name of Gillray, who was pensioned in the time of Pitt, exhibited me, the moment I was in prison, tied up to the halberds, and the viperous *Attorney-General*, Gibbs, *in the act of flogging me!* I will one of these days publish all the names of the jury; but, I recollect, that Tom Rhodes, the cow-keeper of Hampstead, was the foreman of the jury.

Thus, my friends, *readers of the Register*, I conclude an address, very long, to be sure; but I trust you will deem it of interest sufficient to apologize for its length.

I remain your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

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ASSAULT ON THE KING.

I TAKE the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 24th of June. This base London press surpasses everything in the world in the quality of baseness. If a thing so very serious as that of a personal assault upon the chief magistrate of a country, perpetrated with the avowed design of taking *vengeance* on him, and accompanied with the expression of a determination to obtain that vengeance; if a thing so serious as this, could possibly admit of being turned into ridicule, the account given of the transaction by the London daily press would certainly effect that object. I shall insert this account as published in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 20th of June, which I recommend to the reader's attention; and when he has gone through it, I will offer him such remarks as it shall appear to me to be proper for the occasion.

(*From the Morning Chronicle of 20th June.*)

ATROCIOUS ASSAULT UPON HIS MAJESTY.

Yesterday, 19th instant, was the first day of Ascot Heath Races, and it will be memorable from a most atrocious assault which was committed upon the person of his Majesty, while standing at the window of the Grand Stand, in the presence of her Majesty and a brilliant assemblage of friends and guests, by whom their Majesties were attended. The circumstances of this revolting act we shall now describe.

A *ruffian*, in the garb of a sailor, of most wretched appearance, with a wooden leg, suddenly flung a large flint stone directly at the King; his aim was as accurate as the effect of the blow was severe; the stone struck our venerable Sovereign on the forehead, just above the rim of his hat, which was fortunately on his head at the time. The sound was so loud that the moment the stone reached its destination, it was distinctly heard throughout the room. The King was either *stunned*, or so much astonished at the moment, as to fall back two or three paces, and exclaimed, "*My God! I am hit!*" At this moment the same ruffian threw another stone, which struck the woodwork of the window, and fell to the ground. *Lord Frederick Fitzclarence* was close to his Royal Parent, and, taking him by the hand, led him to a chair, inquiring with the utmost agitation if he was injured. The Queen, *Lady Errol*, and all in the room, were equally alarmed and *horror-struck*. Happily, his Majesty soon relieved their anxiety, and taking off his hat, and placing his hand on the spot where the blow had fallen, declared *with a smile* that he was unhurt! Providentially, his Majesty's hat preserved him from consequences which might otherwise have been most serious. The first moment of surprise and alarm being over, his Majesty received the *affectionate* congratulations of the Queen and those by whom he was surrounded, while the Countess of Errol (*his daughter*) *burst into an agony of tears*, and could with difficulty be persuaded that there was no further danger to be apprehended. While this *painful scene* was exhibited in the Royal Stand, the attention of the populace was directed to what was going on beneath. The *ruffian* had scarcely thrown the stones (which was the work of a moment) when he was seized by a gentleman, who afterwards proved to be *Captain* Smith, of the Royal Navy, a resident at Windsor, and by another gentleman, named Turner, who had been a witness to the transaction. The *Bow-street officers*, who were on the spot, rushed to their assistance, and Taunton and Gardener conducted the now passive prisoner to the *magistrates' room, under the Stand, contiguous to* that of *the King*, where he was detained in proper custody till the subsequent examination.

The intelligence of the painful occurrence spread in all directions, and a dense crowd was soon collected in front of the Royal Stand, still anxiously inquiring into the state of the King, and asking information respecting the outrage which had been committed. In the midst of this confusion, and in little more than three minutes after the occurrence, the King rose from his chair and presented himself at the window.

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The moment it was seen his Majesty was unhurt, a *simultaneous shout of joy burst from all quarters*, which was repeated when the Queen and *Lord* Frederick Fitzclarence also presented themselves at the window. Three distinct cheers were then given with such enthusiasm that the feelings of the *populace could not be mistaken*; there was a *heartiness* and *sincerity* in their expression which left no doubt of the horror and indignation with which they viewed the *dastardly* attack which had been made, although they were as yet but imperfectly acquainted with its nature or extent. Similar sentiments pervaded all classes, and repeatedly, during the remainder of the day, the like demonstrations of loyalty and attachment to the King's person were manifested whenever he exhibited himself at the window. On the first burst of these natural and *loyal sensations* the King was *deeply affected*, and could scarce refrain from *shedding tears*, while most of the female group by whom he was surrounded could not suppress *that testimony of their participation in the joy of his subjects.*

EXAMINATION OF THE PRISONER.

On the public mind being pacified, Mr. Elliott, a magistrate of Reading, assisted by *Mr. Roe, the chief magistrate*, proceeded to take examinations against the prisoner, who stood in the corner of the room, apparently but little affected by his situation. His appearance, as we before stated, was most wretched, and similar to that of those wandering mendicants, who, in the tattered garbs of sailors, are constantly imposing on the credulity of the public. He had a wooden leg of the most rude construction; and in answer to the numerous questions which were put to him, said his name was Dennis Collins, that he was a native of Cork, and had been long in his Majesty's service. He had originally served in the *Kangaroo*, and lost his leg by an accident on board the *Atalanta*. He had been admitted a pensioner to Greenwich Hospital, where he had remained eighteen months; but six months back he had *misconducted himself* towards his ward's-man, and had been turned out. From that period, which was in December, he had been without pension or means of support. He petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty for redress, but in vain; he then, on the 19th of April last, petitioned the King. This petition he took to Whitehall, and he had reason to believe it had reached the King at Windsor, for it was sent back to the Lords of the Admiralty, and he was again informed, through their secretary, that his claims could not be recognised; he then became desperate; he had no means of support; and, as he said, "he might as well be shot or hanged as remain in such a state." In this feeling it was he came to Ascot, *determined to be revenged on the King.* He admitted he threw the stone which struck his Majesty, as well as that which followed. He had no accomplices, and acted entirely from his own feelings, and without the suggestion or dictation of any person. He then produced his papers, to show that his story was well founded; and on being reasoned with on the atrocity of his conduct, he said he was sorry for it. His manner was *perfectly collected* and *rational*, and he was recognised by some of the Bow-street officers as having been before the magistrates of that establishment *for some former misconduct.* On *examining his head* there was a mark of *a wound*, which we collected from him had been inflicted by a fall. He was not intoxicated, but he admitted he had been drinking beer, which he purchased with a shilling which had been given to him by a gentleman that morning. He had walked down from London, and had slept in a shed in the neighbourhood of Windsor the preceding night. This was the substance of his own statement.

The following evidence was then taken on oath by Mr. Burnaby, the clerk of the magistrates:

Captain George Smith, of the Royal Navy, being at Windsor, deposed that he was that day standing in front of the Royal Stand, on Ascot Heath; he saw his Majesty standing at the window, and saw the prisoner throw a stone at his

Majesty, which struck his Majesty on the head; his Majesty reeled back—put his hand to his head, and made some exclamation which he did not hear; at the same instant the prisoner threw a second stone. Witness immediately seized the prisoner, who made some observation he did not distinctly understand.

Mr. Benjamin Turner, of No. 5, Waterloo-terrace, Bethnal-green, deposed that he was also standing in front of the Royal Stand, and saw the prisoner fling two stones, the first of which struck his Majesty on the head, the other fell to the ground. He saw his Majesty reel backwards, and at the same instant he saw the last witness seize the prisoner, who made no resistance, but admitted he had thrown the stones.

Lord Frederick *Fitzclarence* was next examined. He *produced* a *large flint stone* with jagged edges; he was that day standing next to his Majesty, on the Royal Stand, and was suddenly alarmed by hearing the sound produced by a stone striking his Majesty on the head. His Majesty exclaimed, "Oh, God! I am hit!" Witness saw the stone fall on the floor; and it was immediately afterwards picked up, and handed to him by Lord Brownlow.

Lord Brownlow deposed that he likewise was in the Royal Stand. He saw his Majesty struck by the stone produced, which he picked up, and handed to the last witness.

Several other witnesses, including one of the band, who picked up the stone that fell from the window, and Ledbitter, who picked up a stone at the feet of the prisoner, also tendered their evidence; but Mr. Elliot was of opinion that there was evidence sufficient *of the fact to commit the prisoner for further examination*; and the witnesses having signed their depositions, a mittimus was made out, committing the prisoner to Reading Jail, with an understanding that he should be brought up again, for a second examination, on *Tuesday next*, at the Petty Sessions of Wokingham, in the county of Berks, on which day the witnesses were desired again to attend.

Some of the county officers were then called in; and the prisoner having been consigned to their custody, he was taken, in a post-chaise, to his destination.

The magistrates did not seem to *have agreed upon the character of the crime* of the prisoner; but the *general impression* was that it amounted to *high treason*.

There is no doubt, from the spirit which the prisoner displayed, and the hostility which he expressed, that had he been able to procure a more deadly weapon than the stone which he used, he would have had no hesitation in using it towards the royal person. That he had not the means, and that his abominable intentions were not more seriously carried into effect, must be a source of congratulation throughout the country.

It was six o'clock before their Majesties quitted the Grand Stand on their return to Windsor Castle, and in their passage down the course *the cheers of the crowd were enthusiastic. All classes* seemed to unite in testifying their attachment to the royal person, as well as their joy at his escape from the danger of his *cowardly* and treacherous assailant.

Thus far the *Morning Chronicle*, which the reader will perceive, talks of the Queen and of "*Lord*" Frederick Fitzclarence, just as if it had never published one single word about the "*Fitz-Jordans!*" This press is certainly the most infamously base thing that ever was suffered to exist on this side of the infernal regions! But now to the matter. We will pass over the marks of affection from the Queen, the bursting into "*an agony of tears*" on the part of the King's "*daughter*," as Dr. BLACK is pleased to denominate some woman that was present. We will pass over the simultaneous shouts of joy from the "*populace*," wondering, however, why this parasitical Doctor should be so anxious to set forth the feelings of the populace on this occasion, and should seem to care less about the feelings of any body else! But we cannot, with

justice, pass over the great and proper care which had, upon this occasion, been taken with a view to the *preservation of the peace*, in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand. But in order to do justice here we must take the Doctor's own words, as put down in another part of his paper, and which words are very well worthy the attention of the reader.

"The only novelty which we remarked was the presence for the first time of a *military band*, which was stationed close to the Grand Stand, and which continued to play *popular pieces* throughout the day—thus filling up most agreeably those periods between the races, which were heretofore uninteresting and often wearisome.—*With a view to the preservation of the peace in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand*, there was, as is customary, *a strong muster* of the principal Bow-street officers, including the venerable Townsend, Sayers, Taunton, Ellis, Ruthven, Ledbeater, Gardner, and others, under *the direction of Mr. Roe, the chief magistrate of Bow-street*, and a *strong detachment of the horse-patrol dismounted, under the command of Mr. Day*. There were also some *county magistrates* and *local constables on the spot*."

Bless us! The preservation of the *peace!* What: at a horse-race! A strong muster from Bow-street, under Roe the chief magistrate! A strong detachment of horse-patrol under their commander! The county magistrates with their constables! And all this at a horse race! And all these stationed in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand; and that, too, while the *military band* was playing "POPULAR PIECES throughout the day!" "Music," says Shakspeare, "has charms to soothe a savage breast." A sentiment however, which, upon this occasion, seems to have been forgotten; or, at any rate, not to have been relied on; for, if it had been expected, that the race-ground would be covered with men having the savagest of breasts; breasts far too savage to be softened by music, it appears, that more awful preparations could not have been made.

Upon the account of his *Majesty* being scarcely able to refrain from "*shedding tears!*" while the group around him actually did shed them, being so "*deeply affected*" at the bursts of "*loyal sensations*" proceeding from the lips of his people; on these things we will not stop to make remarks, the matter being really too moving for men of common mould; but with regard to some matters, connected with the "*examination of the prisoner*," it does not become us to be silent. It is here stated, that he confessed to have "*misconducted*" himself in Greenwich Hospital. It is improbable that he should have made such confession, while he was declaring that he sought revenge on the King, on account of unjust treatment. In short, this is a falsehood, put forth by these parasites. We are next told, that "*some of the Bow-street officers*" recognised him as having been before the magistrates there for some *former misconduct*. This is always the way of this infamous press, who can never suffer a *poor* man to undergo the penalty to which he is inevitably exposed, without endeavouring to deprive him, even of that compassion to which the greatest malefactors are in some degree entitled. They can, if the unfortunate offender be a *poor* man, never suffer him to come before an unprejudiced tribunal; never suffer him to undergo death, or punishment next to death, uncalumniated by them. This man's act was very bad; but severe is to be his punishment. God dooms the wicked to suffer; but he never dooms them to be libelled previous to their suffering; and none but the basest of mankind will ever foil foul, even on a criminal, without there being a necessity for doing it from some imperious motive of public morality. While we express a due degree of disapprobation of the deed of this man, we are to consider how forlorn was his situation, and how absolute his despair. His own words, that he had "no means "of support, and that he might as well "be shot or hanged, as remain in such

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"a state;" these words which are sufficient to soften the heart of a tiger, and which will, I trust, weigh much with the King, seem to have no effect, other than that of hardening the hearts of these monsters.

But the most interesting part of this account of Dr. Black, is, what he says about the magistrates not being able to agree upon the *character of the crime* of which the prisoner has been guilty. Character of the crime! What! A man comes for the express pupose, flings a sharp flint stone at the King, cuts his head, makes him nearly fall down, says he comes for the express purpose of having revenge on him; and the magistrates in that same country where DESPARD was executed for high treason; aye, and where CASHMAN and THISTLEWOOD and INGS and BRUNT and TIDD and BRANDRETH and TURNER and LUDLAM were executed for high treason; these magistrates cannot agree as to the character of his crime! What, then, did some of them suppose that it was a *common assault*; and that this man was to be tried for a misdemeanour, while WELLINGTON and Vaughan and Alderson and Parke and Sturges Bourne and Denman and Wilde sent HENRY COOKE, of MICHELDEVER, to the gallows, for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him any bodily harm? This would be pretty, indeed. If this were the case, it would be well for the King to be a BARING. No, no! The crime is clearly that of high treason; and, though there is very substantial reason for the King to be extremely angry with the fellow, I hope that he will be advised to let the law take its full swing until the last stage, and that he will then exercise the greatest of all his prerogatives in favour of this poor desperate creature; which act, I will venture to say, would do him more good with the industrious millions of his people, than everything that ever can be done by all the infamous parasites of the London daily press. To make the poor fellow out *insane*, and thereupon, by the new law, shut him up for life, would not have half so good an effect. I see that they have already been poking about his *head*, and have even found out a wound there! I do not like this. Never was an act more deliberate in the whole world. Here was premeditation, predetermination, everything proving that the malice was *prepense*; and all this proves to demonstration the absence of insanity. At least, it proves the absence of insanity for the time; and that is quite enough to deprive the offender of the plea of insanity. This, therefore, is not the course to pursue. The right course is to try the criminal for the crime of which he has really been guilty, and for his Majesty to exercise towards him, in his own time and manner, that mercy which we have no right to presume does not form the great characteristic of his royal disposition. Being perfectly convinced that this would be the wise course, I wish, with all my heart, that it may be pursued. Dr. BLACK calls the attack upon the King, cowardly, and afterwards he calls it *dastardly*. If it were, really as dastardly as the Doctor's endeavours to stifle every feeling of compassion for this poor despairing mortal, I should say, Let the traitor "*swing*," and let his body be chopped up, as those of the innocent poor would be under WARBURTON's Bill. But, while every one must declare this act to have been wicked; while every one must declare it to be a great crime, no one but a base parasite of the London daily press will affix to it the epithets of cowardly and dastardly. The poor creature is exposed to just censure enough: his guilt is quite great enough, without imputing to him that of which he has not been guilty. But, this is the fashion of these parasites of the London daily press, who are always on the side of power, and always in favour of severity of punishment; who, the moment a man, or woman, no matter which, stands only accused by the powerful or the rich, fall upon the accused with *ruffian*, *villain*, *miscreant*, *monster*, and every term contained in the language, expressive of guilt and of infamy.

These unfeeling vagabonds of the press do not seem to recollect what they

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themselves take the liberty to do sometimes; Dr. BLACK should recollect, that, to write, or to publish is an overt act, and that treason can be committed with a *pen* as well as with a *stone*. I do not desire to see the Doctor tried for high treason; but if, about six weeks ago, the Doctor had not had a ministry at his back, he might have been in pretty nearly as much peril as this poor creature is in now. The Doctor did not assault with a stone, it is true; but it would not be difficult to show, that his *assaults* were a vast deal more mischievous to the party assaulted, than the assault of this forlorn creature could possibly be. His Majesty has now an opportunity of gaining the hearty applause of all the industrious millions of his subjects, and particularly his Irish subjects, of whom this destitute and desperate creature appears to be one, and to preserve whose hearty goodwill is, at this time, of so much importance.

We now come to the proceedings which took place in Parliament in consequence of this assault upon the King. Lord GREY moved an address to the King, in the usual style, in such cases; expressing horror and indignation at the assault, and praying "Almighty "God to continue to watch over and "protect a life so justly dear to us." This address was sent to the House of Commons for them to concur in it. In the House of Lords all was decorous and becoming. The House was unanimous, as, in such a case, was absolutely necessary, as well for the sake of their own character, as on account of the respect due to the King. But, in *t'other place*, the thing was very different. Lord ALTHORP, in a goodish, common-place piece of humdrum, moved, that the House should concur in the address sent from the Lords. He was seconded by PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, who now smells at the other side of the same nosegay. But he could not let slip this opportunity of pretty nearly ascribing the assault *to the reformers*. The day before this assault on the King, STRATHFIELD-SAYE'S DUKE had had a hustling and rummaging in the City, and had got off, apparently, with whole bones, under the protection of three or four hundred of the more than half military police. PEEL ascribed both attacks to what he called the "*excitement*" which prevailed, and he ascribed the immediate acts of violence to the language of Mr. HUME, who had said, that physical force was, in certain cases, justifiable. In short, he ascribed these violent assaults to the doctrines of Mr. HUME and such doctrines. STANLEY denied that there was any political feeling in the man who had assaulted the King; but he was "free to confess that the attack on the "Duke of WELLINGTON, was atrocious, "disgusting, and shameful to the last "degree, especially, when it was consi-"dered that it took place on the 18th "June, the day on which fresh laurels "were put upon the head of the con-"queror, and from him reflected "*imperishable glory on the country:*" to which he might have added, or in place of which he might have said, IMPERISHABLE DEBT. That would have been the truth. After this, two or three others having intervened with nothing very new, came BURDETT with a speech, which, I should think, considering from whom it came, has never been equalled in the world, and at which the knees of Dr. BLACK would knock together.

Sir F. BURDETT said, he felt so strongly on this subject, that he was unwilling to speak lest he might fall into the same error he would deprecate in others. He had heard of these attacks with great regret. It was most deeply to be lamented that any body could be *found in England* to commit an outrage upon the *person of the Duke of Wellington*, whose fame and whose reputation was *a part of the public property*, and whose *name our children's children*, to the most *remote generations*, could never hear without an *overflowing feeling of gratitude*. (Loud cheers.) It was *shocking*, therefore, to think that there should now be persons in existence, at a period so little remote from the glorious actions and distinguished services of *that great man*, who could be guilty of such an abominable display of the vulgar malignity *proper to their base natures*. (Loud cheers.) He should have thought that there was not a man in England capable of exhibiting himself in so horrible a part. (Continued cheering.) And with respect to the wretched man who had assaulted his Majesty, if he were not absolutely a maniac, he must certainly be a strangely-

excited individual. But this obnoxious conduct of his was no shame to the country; because any country might have the misfortune to give birth to such a person. (Hear.) The learned Gentleman opposite had, he thought, read a lecture rather to the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) than to the right hon. Secretary (Mr. S.); and he concurred with the latter in regretting that the indignation which they all felt should be mixed up with any extraneous matter. He protested not only against the attacks alluded to, but against others of an *even more atrocious description*, which had not been alluded to, and which must excite *disgust unutterable* in every *true-hearted* Englishman—in every *manly* mind; he alluded to the *vile*, the *loathsome*, the *execrable* attacks upon one whose sex, not less than her illustrious station, ought to have been her protection (loud cheering)—the attacks upon an *illustrious lady* (continued cheering) who has been brought forward in a way *most deeply disgraceful to Englishmen*, and which gave him doubt and apprehension where this *incipient spirit of baseness* might lead to. (Cheers.) He had now finished. He was anxious to stop at the point where all must concur. His only feeling of apprehension with respect to the motion was, lest they might appear to give too much importance to those people in the eyes of foreign powers, to an event which was only important from its reference to the highest quarter in the realm. (Hear, hear.)

Bravo! loyal BURDETT! Well, then, we are not now to talk of "*hired sheriffs, Parliament, and kings*;" we are not now to talk of "*tearing the leaves out of the accursed Red Book*;" we are not now to talk "of *laying the axe to the root of* "*the tree, and to do with the tree as the* "*Scripture taught us.*" We are now to screw up our mouths and mince our words to mummy, before we let them out! As to the "disgusting, vile, "loathsome, execrable attacks upon an "ILLUSTRIOUS LADY, which are so "disgraceful to Englishmen," and which made this worthy man doubtful as to what this incipient baseness might lead; as to these attacks, let Dr. BLACK and his cronies in the Ministry answer for them; but, as to WELLINGTON'S "*fame* and *reputation* being a part of *public property*," I should if I were the Duke be devilishly afraid, that the old Baronet had his eyes upon SOMETHING ELSE in my possession, to which the words public property might be more aptly applied; and, when he was talking of our *children's children* enjoying a share in this property, I should have objected to this language as being capable of a *literal* construction; for, all the world would never have made me believe, that this man was serious, if his words were taken in any other sense. He had the happiness, however, upon this occasion to have the hearty concurrence of LAWYER CROKER; and, if MARY ANN CLARKE had been alive, and sitting by the side of the lawyer, Burdett would, I dare say, have had her concurrence too: for MARY ANN was a thoroughly loyal woman, and proved her loyalty by a sort of devotion to which very few women have the courage to submit. But, the LAWYER brought out new matter. The LAWYER gave information of a play that was going on. He said, that the honourable and worthy Baronet "had justly alluded, to "attacks still more atrocious than those "before adverted to, (Hear, hear.) He "(Mr. Croker) said that attack on his "Majesty was the work of an individual "maniac, (Hear, hear.) He believed "the wretch was mad. At least, if it "be mania to be one falsely reasoning "from false premises, he was as mad as "if he had just escaped from Bedlam. "But did this conduct of his arise en-"tirely from madness? Was he not "pursuing the same course with others? "Was this the first insult which had "been offered to his Majesty? Had he "(Mr. Croker) not read in the papers of "the day, that his Majesty, in coming to "town from his palace at Windsor, had "been obliged to change the road by "which his grandfather, his father, and "his brother, had been wont to travel? "And was it possible not to connect this "with the other insult to his Majesty? "He did not mean to connect them "personally—he did not mean to con-"nect the two sets of people. He only "spoke as to the prevalence of the excite-"ment—an excitement which, he main-"tained, it was the duty of all men, "and especially of his Majesty's Minis-"ters, to endeavour to allay—(cheers); "—and certainly not one word would "he say which was calculated to in-"crease it. There was another thing "to which he wished to call the atten-

" tion of his Majesty's Ministers—he " meant those *detestable publications* " which were circulated in the streets, " and forced gratuitously into the hands " of passengers, and *which excited to* " *outrages on the King and Queen more* " *horrible* than that of which they were " about to express their detestation. " But this was not all; he had also " heard that *in a theatre* of this town— " and they all knew the effect of scenic " representations on the people—there " had been a representation directly " tending to bring the *King and Queen* " *into odium*; and lest the piece itself " should not be sufficiently strong, the " play-bills gave at full length the " grossest libels upon the King and " Queen. (Cheers.) He was in pos- " session of one of those play-bills, and " he ventured to say a grosser libel " never was published. (Hear, hear.) " He mentioned this as a warning to " the Ministers. They might not have " heard of this. *He happened to have* " *received the bill from a man who* " *brought it from the theatre.* He now " warned the Ministers. The act of " this maniac was to be scouted as the " act of a maniac, but it was not to " be despised; for the nature of those, " your political maniacs, was, to be ex- " cited by public excitement. There was " no instance in which such persons were " not excited and urged forward by some " great degree of public commotion. " produced by agitation, by the press, " and by violent and gross attacks upon " the King and Queen, and other high " personages of the realm. Therefore, " it was not irrevelant to connect these " matters with the subject before them; " and he hoped the Government would " take them into their consideration. " (Hear, hear, hear.) It was not to be " endured that these persons should not " be visited with the *highest penalty of* " *the law*, who presumed, for base lucre, " to make such gross and atrocious at- " tacks upon the Sovereign and her " Majesty that they might fill their " *filthy house* with the still FILTHIER " RABBLE. (Loud cheers.)."

Upon this Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, that the affair of the *playhouse* ought to be looked to; and that the performances mentioned by LAWYER CROKER ought to be put down. SUGDEN said, that there were "*none but the lowest rabble*; that the respectable people were on his side, and that the matter ended in a sort of *triumph to his Grace*, who was attended home by the greatest demonstrations of honour and respect." Lawyer SUGDEN looks upon a guard of *three* or *four hundred police* as a sort of triumph. From *Lincoln's Inn* he got somehow or other into *Cockspur-street*, guarded by *nearly four hundred* policemen, who, at the end of *Pall Mall*, formed two lines, and kept off the people, while he got into *St. James's Park*, through the *Stable-yard*, whence he galloped up to his house, which has, as everybody knows, IRON BLINDS, leaving no glass to be seen. This was, as Lawyer SUGDEN says, a *sort* of triumph, to be sure. I offer no opinions upon this subject; I express no feelings upon the subject: I do not know what provoked the people; but I know that it is a lie to say that none but the lowest rabble were concerned in the affair: I know that that is a lie, and a very gross lie too. I impute this lie, not to Lawyer SUGDEN; for those that he saw about the Duke might all be low rabble; but the newspapers tell an infamous lie; for they pretend to trace the Duke home; and yet they appear to know nothing of the three or four hundred police which protected him while he escaped into the *Stable-yard*.

Dr. BLACK's language, respecting the people that hustled the Duke, is perfectly infamous. He, who described the Duke as everything that was detestable, now abuses the people because they, in half joke and half earnest, hustle him, and insult him. He says that all grateful and patriotic Britons will *discriminate* between " the military " and political character of the Duke of " WELLINGTON; and that all will admit, " that the *senseless folly* of his *Grace*, " and his *utter abandonment* of *pub-* " *lic principle*, can never cancel the " deep-felt obligations of his country to " him for his martial services, his per- " sonal valour, and his consummate " skill as a general." All which, Doc-

tor, you yourself flatly denied, only about five weeks and three days ago. But, Doctor, you are no philosopher, after all. Chopstick as I am, I am more of a philosopher than you; and my eyes, Doctor, are not stuck in my poll, but in the front of my head. I told his Grace's fortune, when he became Prime Minister in 1828. I told him, that if he had been wise, or had had even common sense, he would have stuck to the Horse Guards, where it does very well for people to have brains in their belly: I told him, "Fail in any "point as a politician; take any step "that shall extensively affect the com- "munity, let that effect be deeply mis- "chievous, and at once, *all the admira- "tion of your generalship will be swept "away for ever*, except amongst those "who make *no noise*: away goes your "name from the corners of the streets, "and down comes your picture from "the sign-posts." That is being a philosopher, Doctor. Read these words in *Register* 23, of February 1828: then behold what is going on now: and see the Duke's house rendered bullet-proof by iron blinds; and then come to Bolt-court, and swear allegiance to me as "monarch of the press;" and stop and pull your hat off to me every time that you see me in the street.

Seriously, though, how happy it would have been for the Duke, if he had but had the sense to follow my advice, and to abstain from any step extensively mischievous! But, after all, the most serious thing for the Duke, is the sort of *half-figurative* expressions of Daddy Burdett. It is true that the Daddy said, that it was the Duke's *fame* that was *public property*. Ha, ha! old sly-boots; I know that you had your eye upon something else besides fame; or, which is much about the same thing, the words public property naturally excite different notions in those "*vulgar minds*," whose malignity you said was proper to their base natures. At any rate, if I had been the Duke, and had heard you, I should have wished your tongue in a cleft stick, or disposed of in any other way, rather than have it employed in describing anything of mine as public property.

MR. O'CONNELL'S SPEECH.

I here insert a speech of Mr. O'Connell, made upon the occasion here mentioned. Never was a speech that appears to have produced greater impression, which is equally honourable to the speaker and to his hearers. The *two factions have combined* against Ireland, and he is appealing from the two factions to the *people of England*; and they clearly see how deeply they are interested in the matter; they clearly see the *union of the factions* for the purpose of rendering the English Reform Bill *as useless as possible*! The facts, stated in this speech, cannot fail to fill every honest and just Englishman with indignation. But indignation is not all: these facts must convince every man of sense that Ireland must continue a *heavy burden upon England*, instead of being her right arm, if we suffer this enormous injury to be done to her. Those are pretty "*reformers*," pretty fellows to support the "WHOLE BILL" (and Heywood, the member for *Lancashire*, amongst the rest), who now are endeavouring to make Ireland *worse off than she was before*; to give her *fewer* electors than she had before! What did we, the people of England, mean by "*the whole bill*?" Why, all the bills, to be sure. Did I, for instance, when I gave *my support* to the Reform Bill, ever imagine that *it was not to extend to Ireland*? I no more thought of its being withheld from Ireland than from Cornwall or Northumberland. Every man who was *pledged* to support "*the Reform Bill*," and who now votes for withholding it from Ireland, has *broken his pledge*; and we ought to look out sharply to ascertain *who these men are*. In short, it is clear that the two factions are now firmly united to prevent the "Reform Bill" from being of any real use to the people; and in this they will succeed, if the people of England do not bestir themselves in behalf of the people of Ireland.

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NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

Agreeably to a requisition from some of the members of the council to meet Mr. O'Connell, and to elicit from him an *exposé* of the injustice done to Ireland by the contemplated plan of Ministerial Reform proposed for that country, the members of this Union were convoked yesterday, and assembled about twelve o'clock, at the great room in Saville-house, Leicester-square. The room was densely crowded, and all the passages along greatly thronged. About one o'clock many of the members of the council appeared on the platform, with Mr. O'Connell and other gentlemen of rank, and were loudly cheered. The chair was taken at one, by

Mr. George Rogers, who said that the people of England, though gratified at the measure of reform conceded to themselves, were determined to prove they would not be satisfied were not a similar measure granted to the people of Ireland, to whose exertions was mainly attributable our present success.

Mr. Thomas Murphy briefly prefaced a resolution, to the effect that the people of England, being greatly indebted to the people of Ireland, and their popular representatives in Parliament, particularly to Mr. O'Connell, for the passing of the Reform Bill for England and Wales, are bound, therefore, to see that a measure of reform is conceded to Ireland proportionably equal in extent to that secured in England and Wales.

The motion being seconded,

Mr. O'Connell attributed the success of reform not to the exertions of this or that party alone—not to the support of the Whigs in office, nor to the opposition of Tories out of place, but to the free-born spirit of Englishmen, that had aroused themselves as a lion in his den, to the voice of the nation that was too loud to be misunderstood, and too determined to be resisted—a voice of thunder that resounded through the groves of Windsor, and reverberated to the palace at Brighton; that was echoed to London, and continued through Birmingham, till the nation was roused by the blast bearing freedom or defiance. To themselves Englishmen owe that they have trampled on the foul faction that had so long sat as an incubus on the prosperity of the country, and preyed upon its entrails; that had exhausted its resources, trifled with its patience, and grinned horribly a ghastly smile, when its calamity had arisen to the acme of oppression and the verge of despair. A faction that had excised the air that was ventilated through the chambers of the poor and of patients; that had taxed every blessing that Heaven bestows, and every effort that arts might produce. And for whom? For as good-for-nothing a set of men as the sun ever shone upon, and that have calumniated England by calling themselves Englishmen. (Cheers.) For a set of lordlings and lords' ladies, and lords' mothers, who disdain, forsooth, to tread the ground, or acknowledge the rights of the people, from whose pockets their thousands have been pilfered; for a set of imbecile ambassadors abroad, and bribed spies at home; for whiskered chargés-d'affaire, and other dishonest incapables, who luxuriously fatten on the spoils of the nation. The Duke of Newcastle alone has been enabled to send more representatives to Parliament than London, Southwark, &c., together; and so has the Marquis of Hertford, that precious paragon of perfection. He is not half reconciled to the people of England for submitting thus patiently to such a tribe of monopolists, to such a solecism in the constitution, and such an outrage on their own rights and feelings. The House of Commons too has played their part in the farce; for at every session they pass a resolution reprobatory of any interference of the Lords, although conscious themselves of that interference; and yet these are the men that are pure in heart, and under the most pious pretences and well-feigned preambles have contrived so long to exclude England from her freedom; and have preyed upon their laws, while they have preyed upon the plunder of the country. Still he rejoiced that the chains of this hypocrisy and oppression were broken and struck off. He rejoiced to find that Old Gatton and Sarum might now have

their requiem sung by their purchasers; and that the lord who had given, but a year ago, 80,000*l.* for Sarum, will find that the biter has been bit, and that he had been curbed not by his own bit-by-bit reform. Sarum, the bait for the wealthy, may now be bought for a song. England has now the power of electing its own representatives: but he trusted that the people will not permit their gratitude to overpower their judgments; that they will not succumb to misguiding pretensions to courtly titles, or to glittering wealth. Englishmen must inquire what are the qualifications and claims of every candidate, whatever his personal pretensions, to their suffrages: whether he will endeavour to procure cheap government and good institutions; not what is his rank or respectability, his profession or his place, but those who will smooth the horrid aspect of the laws, and who will purge the magisterial benches of that base and perilous stuff that preys upon the hearts and rights of the poor oppressed. (Cheers.) The people cannot thank the Whigs for their achievements—that party merely sat upon the whirlwind without directing the storm, and were carried by the popular hurricane far beyond their wishes or their dreams. Their treatment of the people of Ireland proves that the present Ministry conceded to the force of popular opinion and demands, what they would have denied to principle and justice; and now they sit brooding on the stool of repentance, vainly sacrificing to the manes of the rotten boroughs with which they have been forced to grapple. Considering the history of the Reform Bill, he said that, at first, its very extent was likely to defeat itself; it was far beyond the expectations of many, and not within the desires of others; but the people flew to their own relief, and seemed boldly to exclaim to both Houses of Parliament, "Give us the Reform Bill, or else—(Great cheers.") The Reform Bill is a noble monument of liberty; and he felt proud that he had contributed his mite of talent and exertion to its success. It is a noble and acknowledged boast of any descendant to make, that one of his ancestors had been instrumental in forcing the tyrant John to concede to Magna Charta to the Barons and Bishops of that period—it will be as great a boast for some of our children that they are descended from those who have so gloriously achieved this second grand monument of freedom and of fame—and it is a delight that he like others will entail that remembrance to his children. But it is evident that the Whigs have acted from policy, not principle; for is not the principle of justice the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, eternal in its source and eternal in its ends, alike in every nation and district, alike in Scotland as in England, and in Ireland as in either? And where is the principle of justice to be found in the Ministerial Bill of Reform for Ireland, submerged, or ingulfed in the gall of iniquity and the dregs of oppression? Why not give to the people of Ireland the same system or measure of reform as has been granted to England? He asks for no more, and he will be contented with no less; and he trusts the stigma of indignity and contempt will be branded on the brow of every Irishman who will be contented with less. (Bravo! you shall have it.) The demands of England have been granted solely because they were immediately enforced, and because the Government were surrounded by voices that continually resounded "Reform, Reform!" But Ireland is considered too remote to be minded, far too remote to have her notes of lamentation and despair heard from the voice of thunder and of determination. The murmurs of Ireland they think they may defy, and drown the voice of clamour by an act of seeming justice. The Whig Government in Ireland began with a lie, was cradled in deceit, and nursed in hypocrisy. The act (which he had designated the Algerine Act) had been petitioned against at a public meeting in Dublin, which had entrusted their petition to the Marquis of Anglesea, who wrote to Rutland, the Secretary, that he had presented the petition; and that if he had been, or would be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he would

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never enforce the proclamation. Yet but three short days had elapsed before the Marquis of Anglesea, by the change of Administration, did become the Lord-Lieutenant, and one of his first acts was to enforce that proclamation which he had so reprehended, and had promised not to use. He never did, nor would look upon a proclamation as a law; he therefore contemned its appearance. Yet, for this—although a member of Parliament—was he arrested in the presence of his family by a common thief-taker. His individual wrongs were numerous—and the present Government of Ireland—the haughtiest that was ever there; yet, in considering English reform, he forgot the person in the patriot; and in all the discussions of the reform question, three times told, he never hinted his grievances, nor thwarted his oppressors. They were unwittingly doing good for England, and he was as willing as anxious, to promote any useful measure, by whomsoever introduced. The motion of General Gascoigne might have proved useful to Ireland; yet, on the appeal of the Ministry, did not that country nobly stand forward in the breach; and out from the seventy-five men whom it can freely return, did it not elect sixty-eight reformers, while the other twenty-five members represented not the people, but pounds, shillings, and pence? And yet, did not the Government, notwithstanding this exertion, turn round as traitors, and adopt that very motion of Gascoigne, against which they had thought it necessary to appeal to the people? And when a friend of his in the House had moved that the number of five hundred Members for England be reduced, that Ireland might have the complement, did he not immediately prevail on his friend to withdraw that motion, because he would have no benefit done to Ireland at the expense of England? (Cheers.) After further remarks, proving that the first measure of reform proposed for Ireland was better than those subsequent, particularly with regard to the manner of registering the votes, to the number of elections, &c., he said that he had himself extracted from the documents of the House of Commons the following, showing the population of each county in Ireland, with the number of forty-shilling and ten-pound freeholders:—

	POPULATION.	FREEHOLDERS. 40s.	£10.
1. Down	352,571	10,775	1,902
2. Galway	394,287	32,055	1,812
3. Limerick	233,505	6,714	1,369
4. Antrim	314,608	6,236	1,296
5. Armagh	220,651	8,419	1,087
6. Monaghan	195,532	12,453	946
7. Clare	258,262	7,723	930
8. Fermanagh	149,555	6,443	920
9. Londonderry	222,416	4,457	839
10. Cavan	228,050	5,195	781
11. Tyrone	302,943	6,468	701
12. Wexford	182,991	5,401	697
13. Leitrim	141,303	6,101	554
14. Wicklow	122,301	835	513
15. Tipperary	402,598	6,476	475
16. Roscommon	239,903	7,777	470
17. Waterford	148,077	5,276	488
18. Longford	112,391	1 362	463
19. Cork	700,359	2,833	447
20. Kilkenny	169,283	2,353	388
21. Louth	108,168	2,343	380
22. Westmeath	136,799	2,154	366
23. Mayo	367,956	23,672	335
24. King's county	144,029	1,083	318
25. Queen's county	145,813	1,427	303
26. Meath	177,023	797	302
27. Sligo	171,508	4,551	289
28. Carlow	81,576	1,162	193
29. Kildare	108,401	496	190
30. Kerry	240,000	3,776	178
31. Dublin	183,042	2,490	169
32. Donegal	298,104	2,310	866

Thus, in a population of seven and a half millions, there will be but a constituency of twenty-five thousand. It had been the boast of Lord Althorp, that England would be represented by one in every eight; but Ireland, by this system, will have represented only one in every two hundred. (Loud cries of "Shame, shame!") And yet, evident as this injustice is, he found but few in the House to aid him in his honest endeavours for Ireland. The Members for Westminster had voted, one against him, and the other not for him. Lord Ebrington, that had on his different motions in favour of the Ministry, anxiously appealed to the Irish members for their granted assistance, chose to be absent when those Irish members might have appealed to him for his. The titled neglected, and the

wealthy and official laughed, at the appeal; and Ireland was to be wronged by those who came in loaded with port and pride, instead of arguments or acknowledgments. But Ireland will trust to the people of England. He had received petitions from places (so numerous, that he was proud the number alone prevented his remembering them) far and near, from the Ridings in the north to the Devizes in the south, praying that a similar measure of reform be granted to Ireland as to England. Thus have the people distinguished themselves from the aristocracy of the House of Commons, and have proved themselves willing to vote for honesty and justice. The ministerial sagacity is wilfully blind; and having eyes they see not—but having ears, they may be made to hear. They have said they have opened the rotten boroughs: so they have—if Dungarvan, having now a constituency of 840, shall retain, as by the bill, only 210, be called opening a rotten borough. But this is reform. (A voice called out, "An Irish reform!") No, thank God (said Mr. O'Connell), however Ireland may be answerable for blunders of the head, she is not for those of the heart. It is neither an English nor an Irish blunder: it is a Whig job: for draw the strings, and raise the curtain, and you will see behind it the Duke of Devonshire. Youghall will be represented by the Duke of Devonshire: for the Commissioners having heard from some antiquated purblind that Youghall had formerly been enwalled to a certain extent by Sir Walter Raleigh, confined the town to that dimension—wholly the property of the Duke; while the suburban districts, which were ample and valuable, and had been purchased by men of trade and of talent, were to be excluded, lest their owners should be represented. So in Bandon, who alternately nominated the member, will the constituency be placed at the disposal solely of the Duke. Yet this is Whig justice and impartiality! And when he had risen to denounce this in the House, he had Sir Robert Peel on one side, in defence of those English Catholics that have turned traitors to those who worked out their redemption in common with their own and the Protestant Dissenters; and yet only three of whom now voted in favour of the 40*s.* freeholders that had been disfranchised to purchase their exemption. In England the plan of registration is simple as it is just, and may be done with dispatch, and must be done on demand—else the party has his remedy at law, and may bring his action for 500*l.*, with full costs of suit. Not so in Ireland. For a 10*l.* vote is virtually increased to 20*l.*, by the expenses attending the registration of the electors, who may be refused by the petty judge of the Assizes (assisant barrister), according to his own fancy or pleasure; and who has no means to enforce the production of the deeds by which he is entitled to vote, nor any remedy against an arbitary decision. Yet this is justice! He himself had known only three acknowledged out of 300, on the most trivial pretences or omissions; yet no remedy could be had. To many of them delay was defeat. So they will be solely at the mercy of their landlords, whether they shall or shall not register, and therefore for whom they shall vote. And landlords, like the Ministers, are "all, all honourable men." Lord Althorp told him, last night, that he would postpone the Irish Bill till Monday next; on which he looked wondrous grave: though inwardly content with the opportunity afforded him for making known in the meantime to the people of England the wrongs of Ireland, and the delinquency of its oppressors and misgovernors. During the process of the bill, he had been assailed by the Tories of England and the Orangemen of Ireland, who voted with Ministers in all their demands—men, who had mourned over Gatton and Sarum, and who had roared for Boroughbridge (laughter), who had sighed for St. Ives, and were in tears for St. Mawes—were now seen colleagued with Ministers, who gladly were welcomed on this penance for the dereliction from the paths of corruption. Lord John Russell was seen to pair off arm-in-

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arm with Captain Gordon (great outcries); Lord Althorp proudly joined Lefroy, and Stanley returned to roost with Peel, while he vainly endeavoured on the Jews' harp to play "The Rogue's March" (great laughter); while all paired of in the same regiment. He then touched on the topics of agitation, and the epithet of "demagogue"—remarked on the fatal distinction sought to be maintained in Ireland for the sinister purposes of misgovernment between the people of that country into religious creeds and differences—blasting the peace of that country, gifted by the creator with so many natural advantages. He proved, ingeniously, that the goods of England had been consumed to a greater extent in America since her Revolution, then during her dependence, asserting, that formerly she had consumed annually to the amount of only one million and a half, but subsequently to the amount of five millions; so the southern part of America had consumed only 500,000*l.* worth, but after freedom had been obtained there, even Mexico alone consumed in one year six millions. So would it be with Ireland, whose prosperity was intimately interwoven with that of England, but whose freedom and liberty would materially accumulate the revenues of Great Britain. It was for the interests of both countries that Ireland should be free: the commodities of Ireland would be interchanged with those of England to an extent unsupported, because unascertained. After an admirable peroration, enforcing his pleas, he was pleased to say that he trusted Englishmen would see that justice done to Ireland which she deserves, and will demand, till she is, like England, "great, glorious, and free." (He concluded amid deafening rounds of applause.)

The motion was unanimously carried.

Major Revell then moved—"That "this meeting reflect with deep regret "upon the long series of partial, un-"just, and oppressive measures to which "Ireland has been subjected by a suc-"cession of English governments; and "that this regret has been changed into "indignation by the fresh and galling "insult offered to that patient and ge-"nerous people in the provisions of "what is called the Irish Reform Bill, "devised by the present Administration, "and urged forward against the re-"peated, firm, and serious remonstrances "of the universal people of Ireland, as "well as the whole of her popular re-"presentatives — the British Parlia-"ment."

Mr. Burnard, in seconding it, said that to Ireland the English were indebted for their Unions, and their determined demands for reform that had been ushered in by the Catholic Relief Bill.

The motion was unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks was moved to Mr. O'Connell, who briefly returned thanks, after three times three.

The meeting subsequently adjourned.

CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL.

As I mentioned in my last, I shall, for reasons there stated, hold a festival at Sutton Scotney, seven miles from Winchester (on the road to Whitchurch), on the 7th of July. I invite, as my guests, all those who signed the petition for reform, which was carried by Joseph Mason to be presented to the King at Brighton. I request Mr. Diddams, of Sutton Scotney, to make this known to them all, and the list of them all he will find in the last *Register*: and most of them must have masters of some sort or other; I beg those masters to have the goodness to give them the day for themselves, which I shall deem an obligation conferred upon myself. It is not my object, and it never has been, to set men against their masters; I have been a master ever since I was a man; I was first a master over soldiers; and since that I have been a master over servants; and I have always exacted strict obedience, while at the same time I have always taken care that the person to obey obeyed with a full belly. I have long been warning farmers of their danger. The danger at last came, and then I was reproached and prosecuted as the cause of the danger. Why,

my father was a farmer, though a small one; I was born and bred up amongst farmers; I have always delighted in their pursuits; and how can my feelings towards them be other than those of good will? but I cannot, without abandoning my nature, without forgetting all that I was taught in my childhood, without setting at nought every precept and line of the word of God, hold my peace, while those who create all the food and drink, and fuel, and raiment, and lodging, are upon the verge of perishing with hunger and with cold.

I request Mr. DELLER of ANDOVER, to have about a hundred gallons of good beer at SUTTON SCOTNEY, on or before the 6th of July, and to place it where Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS shall appoint. I will take down, as I said before, my NOTTINGHAM HAM, which weighs seventy pounds, and I am sure that there will not want a butcher in London to give us a couple of fat sheep weighing a hundred pounds a piece. Half a hundred of flour will make us a score of plum puddings, and the devil is in it if there is not a grocer in London who will give us twenty pounds of plums. There is surely a miller in Hampshire who will send to Mr. DIDDAMS a couple of bushels of flour, on or before the 3d of July, in order that he may get it made into bread. Please God we will have some corn-puddings, even at the risk of having the "*murrun, or the yallur janders.*" When I was in the North, I did not forget the Chopsticks of the hard parishes. One Yorkshire clothier gave me a pair of blankets for Mrs MASON; another gave me a pair of blankets for poor COOKE, the father of the youth who was hanged for hitting BINGHAM BARING, and doing him no bodily harm. One manufacturer of LANCASHIRE gave me cotton to make gowns for twenty women, and frocks for ten girls, and another manufacturer of *Lancashire* printed the cotton. One of these gowns I shall give to Mrs. MASON of BULLINGTON, one to Mrs. COOKE, the mother of poor HENRY COOKE of *Micheldever*, one to Mrs. CARTER of SUTTON SCOTNEY, with two or three frocks for her girls; two I shall send, with two pair of cotton stockings, which I got at *Nottingham*, and with two bonnet ribands that I got at *Coventry*, to the two young women who had their hair chopped off by the hired overseer of NINFIELD in Sussex, lamenting that I cannot split myself in two, and do the same thing, in the neighbourhood of Battle as I am about to do at SUTTON SCOTNEY, feeling myself to be under everlasting obligations to the kind and virtuous people in that neighbourhood, who I hope will be satisfied with the reasons which I have given for holding my festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY. The other gowns and frocks I shall give to the wives, daughters, or mothers, of any of the petitioners, who were transported or any way punished; and I hereby request Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, to make a list of all these, and to be prepared to give me his advice as to the distribution.

Besides the above business, and the eating and drinking; besides the advice which I shall have to give to the farmers upon the subject of the approaching elections, and the explanations that I shall have to give to the labourers, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and as to the manner in which they will be benefited by it; besides these, there is an important matter for us to settle upon; namely, the putting of a tombstone over the grave of HENRY COOKE, having engraven on it the history of his death, and naming all the parties, having, in any way whatever, a hand in the transaction. Simply stating the undeniable facts, leaving all commentary to the hearts of the beholders.

I hereby request Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS to be thinking about the practicability of providing tents, or covering of some sort. Perhaps it might be best to divide the party, placing five or six in a house, during the time of dinner, and drinking after dinner. A considerable party, of course, could be entertained in the public-houses if an arrangement could be made with the innkeepers for the purpose. There may be many friends come from a distance. I should hope that the farmers hard by would

give us stable room for a short space of time. But I request Mr. Diddams to write to me on *Sunday* next at latest, giving his opinion as to all these matters. I have received the following letter in consequence of my article on the subject last week :—

Landguard, Isle of Wight, 18th June, 1832.

Sir,

In reading your *Register* to-day I find it is your intention to dine with the labourers of Sutton Scotney, on the 7th July, health permitting. I shall do myself the pleasure of joining your company. Your ideas with respect to showing our demonstrations of joy at the defeat of the boroughmongers coincides with ours—the farmers and tradesmen of the parish of Brading. We have made a very liberal subscription for a dinner to be given *to all the labourers of the parish*, to take place on Bradingdown, next Wednesday. Of course we, the farmers, will dine with them, and will take the opportunity of explaining to them the *nature* of this great measure.

I remain, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Richard Smith.

This is what the farmers are doing in a great many places, and it is what they will do anywhere, where wisdom and justice prevail in their breasts. At Battle and the neighbourhood they have raised a hundred pounds for the purpose! And am I at last destined to behold that which I have been as anxious for almost as for the preservation of my life; namely, to see the employers and the employed cordially reconciled to one another, all being convinced that their interests are mutual and inseparable? We shall have a goodly company, I dare say, at Sutton Scotney; and I trust that we shall so act our part as to put our insolent enemies to the blush. I beseech the electors of Hampshire, and particularly of Winchester, not to promise their votes to anybody till after the Sutton Scotney festival.

Wm. COBBETT.

MEETING OF THE LIVERY OF LONDON.

To agree on pledges to be put to the Candidates for seats in the reformed Parliament.

Nothing, for a long time, has given me greater pleasure than to perceive the following publication put forth, from the electors of the City of London. This *Register* will be gone to the press before the Lord Mayor's determination, and especially before the result of the meeting can be known. However, it is high time that something were done in this way, and from no source can it spring so properly as from the *united Livery and new electors of the City of London.*

A meeting of Liverymen of London took place on Tuesday at the Guildhall Chambers, for the purpose of considering whether any, and what, PLEDGES should be exacted from candidates intending to offer themselves for the representation of the City, at the next general election; when various resolutions were proposed with a view of submitting those that were agreed to, to a general meeting of the electors of the City. After a long discussion, it was resolved to refer the several resolutions as well as various suggestions to a Sub-Committee, to consist of *seven liverymen* and *seven new electors* under the Reform Bill, with instructions to draw up such resolutions as would best meet the object they had in view. The sub-committee submitted their resolutions to the general committee, which re-assembled yesterday at Guildhall, and they were finally agreed upon. A deputation was then appointed to wait upon the Lord Mayor to solicit his lordship's permission to have the *use of Guildhall* to hold a general meeting of the electors of the City, for the purpose of submitting to their consideration the resolutions, and his lordship has appointed to receive the deputation to-morrow morning.

Resolved, 1st. That for one man to represent another, means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner

agreeably to his wishes and instructions.

2nd. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

3rd. That, therefore, it appears to this meeting, that those to whom the law now commits the sacred trust of the power of choosing members, who are to represent their non-voting neighbours as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously careful to choose no man on whom firm reliance cannot be placed, that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

4th. That, in order to obtain the best possible ground of such reliance, every candidate ought, to give the pledges following; to wit,

That I will neglect nothing in my power to cause, in the very first session, a total abolition of the tithes, a repeal of the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap; and these having been repealed, I pledge myself to the immediate consideration of a revision of the Corn Bill; and I further pledge myself to do everything within my power to cause the abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions, and a repeal of that daring act of usurpation called the Septennial Act: and I will, at all times and in all things, act conformably to the wishes of a majority of my constituents, deliberately expressed; or I will, at their request, resign to them the trust with which they have honoured me.

5. That we, the electors of the City of London, pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, that we will give our votes to no man who will not give the above pledges, and that we earnestly recommend to our fellow-electors, in every part of the kingdom, to make, and strictly to adhere to, the same determination.

COBBETT LECTURES.

I HAVE taken the LITTLE PLAY-HOUSE, called the SANS SOUCI Theatre, in the *north-east corner of Leicester Fields*, for the purpose of delivering SIX LECTURES, on six successive Fridays, beginning with FRIDAY NEXT, the 29th *of June*. My object is to do my utmost duty to prepare the people to take steps, so as *not to be cheated* out of the fruits of their exertions to obtain REFORM. And my FIRST LECTURE will be,

On the SORT OF MEN to be chosen.

On the duty of Representatives to obey the INSTRUCTIONS of their constituents.

And on the PLEDGES, which all voters ought to insist on from every man for whom they vote.

The house is very commodious and proper for the purpose. The lecture will begin at EIGHT O'CLOCK in the evening, and close about TEN O'CLOCK. The prices are, BOXES 1*s.* 6*d.* PIT 1*s.* GALLERY 6*d.*

N.B. I am delighted with the apparent resolution of the people of MARYLEBONE to have TRADESMEN *for Representatives.*

USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

AT the request of a great many persons, in some cases more verbally, and in others by letter, I repeat the following article, which was first published in October last.

What I am now going to communicate will do more good in one single day, than Lord Brougham and Vaux's books will ever do till the last moment that a sheet of them shall be kept out of the hands of the trunk-maker, or preserved by accident from still less honourable uses. To a very considerable part of grown-up men, the complaint which is called RUPTURE, is but too well known, and the frequency of the exhibition of trusses in the shop windows, proves to us not only the extent of the prevalence of the complaint, but also the importance attached to its cure. The complaint is purely mechanical; it consists of the dislocation, or displacing a part of the human frame; and purely mechanical is the remedy. The remedy, and the sole remedy consists of a truss, as it is called, to keep constantly in its place the part displaced. There are a great variety of trusses, some

better than others; that is, more effectual, and less inconvenient; and, to great numbers of persons, it is of great importance to know which sort is the best; and I, being in a situation to communicate that knowledge to my readers, know it to be my bounden duty to do it.

Twenty-two years ago, I being out a shooting, jumped from a bank, full ten feet high, into the field below, and thereby produced by the violence of the shock, something that gave me very great pain, but of the nature of which I knew nothing. I came to London, and applied to the late Mr. Chevalier, the surgeon, who directed me to get a truss, which I did. And here I gladly stop to acknowledge the only good I, and I, believe, any other human creature ever received at the hands of old Daddy Burdett. Having told him what had brought me to town, "Well," said he, "when "you have put a truss on, never leave it "off on the belief that you no longer want "it." A precept which he made effectual by relating to me the cause of the sudden and premature death of Francis Duke of Bedford, who thinking his rupture gone for ever, threw his truss aside, but, in playing at fives, a sudden twist of his body brought on the complaint again, and sending for a surgeon to London, instead of calling in him of the village, a mortification took place, and he slept with his fathers in a few hours. Many times, and especially in hot weather, I have by this advice, and especially by the illustration of Daddy Burdett, been prevented from risking the fate of the Duke of Bedford.

My complaint has been of very little consequence to me, except at particular times. I have ridden on horseback, and done every thing that I should have done, if nothing at all had ailed me. But *coughing* is very untoward in such a case; and I have at times, especially in November and April, a *constitutional* and *hereditary* cough, which I have had in every year that I can remember of my life, and which is always more violent and of longer duration in London than anywhere else. It is not a cough of the lungs but merely of the throat; but it causes a violent shaking of the whole body, and at these times I have always, until May last, experienced considerable inconvenience, and occasionally a great deal of pain. I have found it painful (and it is a nasty gnawing villanous pain!) to stand for an hour or two at a time; and this sometimes annoyed me exceedingly during my lecturing expeditions. When I expected the Whig trial to come on, in May last, (Oh! the manifold blessings of that trial!) the only thing that gave me uneasiness was the fear that I should not be able to stand for three or four hours, to lay the lash on well upon Denman and his masters, I having at that time one of my periodical coughs. In order to get rid of this fear which harassed me continually, I resolved to go to Bolt Court, and never to quit it again, till I had found out some one to furnish me with a truss which should be efficient for its purpose, even in these seasons of coughing: as I was going I amused myself in reading Mr. Carpenter's Political Letter; in this paper I read the advertisement of Mr. Coles, truss-maker, of Charing Cross; and as I had tried seven or eight before, I at once sent for Mr. Coles; and the result has been that my complaint is as completely removed as if I had never known any thing of the kind; and could I have forgotten the precept of the venerable Daddy Burdett, and more especially the fate of the Duke of Bedford, I should have thrown away the truss months ago. Oh! how rejoiced was I when I felt that I should be able to stand at my ease for the hours that I destined for the belabouring of the Whigs! I could not (if I had had a cough), without the aid of Mr. Coles, have given them the four hours and a half, which were worth more to them (if they turn them to good account) than all the rest of their lives. I should have mentioned this matter before, but my April cough was nearly gone before Mr. Coles had done the truss, and I was not visited with another till late in September; and I wanted a fair trial before I spoke of this matter. I have now had the trial, and it would be a very shame-

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ful neglect of my duty towards my neighbour, for me not to tell the public that I find the remedy perfect, and that I can now scarcely perceive whether, with or without a cough, the smallest signs of my ever having had such a complaint. But I am not here in doing bare justice to Mr. Coles, doing him an injury, by driving from his shop the tax and the tithe-eaters, who will have a "prejudice" (that is a villany) against him for the good he has done to me? No; hang it; they like their worthless lives too well for that. However, my sensible readers, pay you (if you should need it) attention to what I have said; and let the tithe and tax-eaters creep along through life, with all the twichings and achings of this harassing complaint, and under all the pains and penalties inflicted on them by the awkward, heavy, cumbrous, and still inefficient things which bungling mechanics put round their bodies. One thing bear in mind; and that is, that this is a matter with which surgeons and physicians have nothing to do, any more than they have with the providing us with suitable SHOES or COATS.

As Mr. Chevalier told me, the complaint is truly mechanical; and the application of the remedy must depend on the mechanic solely, just as much as the fitting of a coat must depend on the tailor. Here, however, more cleverness is required; the mechanic must be able to judge well as to the degree of force required; and he must have great ability in causing the pressure to bear in a proper manner. The moment I heard Mr. Coles speak upon the subject, I was sure he was the man: his observations showed a knowledge of his business; and the result has most amply verified my opinion. I never saw Mr. Coles before, and I have never seen him since, except to call and thank him. What I have said here of him is but justice, which I do with very great pleasure, while, as to the rest, I am only discharging a duty to the public in general, and to my readers in particular. I add this piece of advice to the people in LONDON not to write for a truss any sooner than for a coat or a pair of breeches; not to plague a surgeon to order one; but to go to the mechanic in person, and let him fit the force and form to the necessity of the case.

WM. COBBETT.

TO FLOWER-FRIENDS,

AT BOLTON AND BLACKBURN.

IF I had, during the almost-four months that I spent in the North, last winter, done nothing but collect the *Auriculas*, *Polyanthuses*, *Pinks* and *Carnations*, which I got at these two towns, I should have thought the time well spent. The two former, though they had to undergo so severe a removal, and at so late a season, blowed pretty strongly, and were very fine; but the *Pinks*, which are now in bloom (20th June) are far more beautiful than any that I ever saw before. I have, all my life long, been a flower admirer, and a flower cultivator, from the time that I used to carry dirt, in the lap of my little smock-frock, to put it on the ledge of a sand-rock for primroses and violets and cowslips to grow in; and I have never seen such beautiful flowers as these pinks, from BLACKBURN and BOLTON; which, however, I cannot look at and smell without feeling inexpressible disgust at the thought, that the public-spirited towns, from which they come, should be insulted with the attempt at imposing upon them, as representatives, such men as BOWRING and TORRENS, two *tax-eaters*, and two advocates of that Bill which exposes the *dead bodies of the poor to be* SOLD *and cut up and flung out to be eaten by dogs*. Foh! for God's sake, let not the sweet odour of these beautiful Blackburn and Bolton pinks be over-powered in my nostrils by the results of greedily-devoured taxes and *Greek-pies*, and by the stench of poor men's putrid bodies, chopped up in virtue of *Wharburton's horrible bill*, which bill was assented to by TORRENS and even eulogized by BOWRING; by the former in his place in Parliament, and, by the latter, in the *Westminster Review*, of which he is the editor! What! and am I doomed to see Mr. DEWHURST, who obligingly

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got me these very pinks at Blackburn; am I doomed to see him the advocate of this Bowring, who is actually in the pay of the Government, or was so but only the other day, and who of course is ready to be so again! A good man, as Mr. Dewhurst always has been, may commit error from deception; but such a man, when undeceived, will never persevere in the error.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

Friday, June 15, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

DAVIDSON; W., Water-lane, Lower Thames-street, wine-merchant.
DAVIS, W., Launceston, Cornwall, common-carrier.
LASKEY, S., Sidmouth-street, St. Pancras, cabinet-maker.
SOWERBY, T., Blandford-street, Manchester-square, upholsterer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DEPREE, G. J., Savoy-wharf, Strand, paviour.

BANKRUPTS.

FORD, T., Llandrinio, Montgomeryshire, innkeeper.
GUMMOW, W., and E. Edmunds, Duke-st., Portland-place, furnishing ironmongers.
HARPER, T., Crucifix-lane, Bermondsey, maltster.
MINETT, W., Spring-gardens, furniture-broker.
MORRIS, T., Westbromwich, Staffordshire, iron-roller-dealer.
RYALLS, J., Fleet-lane, hardwareman.
SKIDMORE, J., Kirton, Lincolnshire, bobbin-maker.
SMITH, H., Salisbury-street, Strand, wine-merchant.
SPARROW, J., Tettenhall, Staffords., maltster.
TAYLOR, J., Liverpool, car-proprietor.
WOOD, H., Bristol, innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MARSHALL, T. B., Glasgow, calico-printer.

Tuesday, June 19, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

LEACH, J., Warrington, Lancashire, hosier.
TEMPERLEY, N., Westgate, Northumberland, ship-owner.

BANKRUPTS.

BARBER, J. Bideford, Devon, grocer.
CUNNINGHAM, A., Liverpool, bricklayer.
HOBDAY, B., Edgbaston, near Birmingham, factor.
HOLMES, T. V., Gloucester, corn-merchant.
HOPKINS, J., Dover-road, Southwark, and Artillery-street, Bermondsey, currier.
JAMES, J., Upper Seymour-street, Euston-square, coal-merchant.
JOY, R. jun., Covent-garden, hotel-keeper.
PIERCE, C., and J. Woodward, Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire, rail-road-makers.
PIKE, B. W., Duncan-terrace, City-road, ornamental-paper-manufacturer.
POLLARD, E. H., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, corn-merchant.
RICHARDS, N., Brudenell-place, New North-road, Hoxton, and London-wall, carpenter.
RITCHIE, W., Greenwich, Hope-wharf, Deptford, & Bull-stairs-wharf, Surrey, coal-mersh.
SAUNDERS, J. F. and C. A., George-yard, Lombard-street merchants.
SHEASBY, J., Snitterfield, Warwick, victualler.
SOUTHON, A., Wittersham, Kent, grocer.
WHITAKER, W., Bath, broker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DAVIDSON, J., Edinburgh, ironmonger.
DUMBRECK, J., Marfield, Edinburgh, gunpowder-manufacturer.
HAMILTON, J. and Co., Glasgow, agents.
JENKINES, W., Glasgow, coal-merchant.
KERR, W., Glasgow, calenderer.
M'CULLUM, B. F. and Brothers, Arthurlie, Renfrewshire, and Glasgow, dyers.
SCLANDERS, A. & Son, Glasgow, grain-mer.
STEWART, T., Edinburgh, corn-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

Mark-Lane, Corn-Exchange, June 18.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of each kind of English grain, as also Irish and foreign flour, and seeds, from all quarters, have been limited; of English flour, foreign barley, and Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat, and oats, moderately good.

In this day's market, which was, for Monday, rather thinly attended, both by London and country buyers, fine wheat, as also barley, was in steady demand, at fully last week's prices; but with the middling and inferior kinds of wheat, as also oats, beans, peas, and malt, trade was very dull, at, in the whole, a somewhat reduced currency. As, however, that day's highest figures were obtained in some instances, and nothing appeared to be doing in any article, of the most inferior quality, we cannot alter that day's quotations. The prices of flour were stationary. In seeds so little was doing that the quotations may be considered as nominal.

Wheat	51s. to 65s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	24s. to 28s.
—— fine	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
—— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
—— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
—— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	25s. to 27s.
—— Poland	23s. to 25s.
—— Feed	18s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

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PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 47s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new ... 49s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new.... 127s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 0d. to 75s. per barl.
Cheese, Cheshire.... 54s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double.. 52s. to 64s.
——— Gloucester, Single... 42s. to 50s.

SMITHFIELD.—June 18.

This day's supply of beasts, about 300 of which were grass-fattened runts, was, as is usual in June, limited, though more numerous than was that of this day se'nnight; of small stock, moderately good. Prime Scots and Norfolk homebreds, in both of which there was a manifest falling-off in quality, but which formed a considerable proportion of the supply, sold somewhat briskly. Durhams, Lincolns, and other large beasts, which were exceedingly few in number, as also Townsend cows, which were rather numerous, very tardily, at a depression of 2*d.* per stone: with prime South Down sheep, prime lambs, not exceeding 10lbs. per quarter, and prime small calves, the trade was somewhat brisk; with prime large coarse-woolled sheep and lambs, and those of middling and inferior quality, of all breeds, as also porkers, very dull, at Friday's prices.

Beasts, 2,152; sheep and lambs, 18,460; calves, 251; pigs, 200.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 22.

The arrivals this week are moderate, the market dull, with the prices the same as on Monday.

ELECTION FOR THE CITY OF LONDON.

TO THE

LIVERYMEN, FREEMEN, AND CITIZENS OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,—Eighteen months since, I relinquished an extensive business to devote my time and attention to the duties of a public office—that of Alderman of the Ward in which I reside, and to which honourable situation a majority of all the Freemen had twice chosen me within twelve months, and which duties I am prevented from fulfilling, by the combined efforts and injustice of the Court of Aldermen, for no reason except that I am a Reformer.

Yes, Gentlemen, I am not accused of being a reformer of six months standing; not a reformer when it became the fashion to be such; but when to be a reformer subjected you to incarceration, without accusers, in one of the dungeons of Sidmouth, or Castlereagh. Then, as now, I was an independent labourer in the cause of reform, and upon all occasions, a zealous defender of the rights of my fellow-citizens.

The city of London has long been represented by the nominees of the present Court of Aldermen; the honour I propose to receive at your hands, is to be chosen by you, one of YOUR representatives, in spite of the united efforts of the Court of Aldermen against me.

I recollect happy England, before the boroughmongers commenced their crusade against the people of France. I have since witnessed tax added to tax, until our once rich and happy country is no longer fit for an honest man to reside in, who earns his bread by his labour.

The people, harassed by a multiplicity of laws they can neither understand nor obey, and loaded with a multiplicity of taxes they are unable to pay, at length the whole nation, aroused by accumulated oppressions, called out in almost one voice for reform; and then, and not till then, reform is granted.

Never shall it be said the citizens of London are less enlightened or liberal than their fellow-countrymen, and that they will still continue to elect the nominees of their city House of Lords, the present aristocratic, yet imbecile Court of Aldermen.

My fellow-citizens, it is the remedial measures consequent upon the passing of the Reform Bill, by which you are to be relieved, and with a view of taking an active part in producing such measures, that I solicit the honour of representing you in the people's, or Commons House of Parliament.

To promote by every means an abolition, or reduction of your taxes, and an amelioration in the oppressive tithe and church-laws, and also in your barbarous criminal laws, it is that I solicit the honour of being one of the representatives for the city of London.

Should I be one of the persons of your choice, I shall at once devote my time to the important duties which will devolve upon me, and at all times fearlessly discharge them: to have your approbation and esteem is the greatest reward I promise to myself, and to be elected by the spontaneous and unbought votes of my fellow-citizens, the highest honour that can be conferred upon me as a representative.

Annual Parliaments are the birthright of Englishmen, and if we cannot obtain them by law, as far as I am concerned you shall have them in practice, for at the end of twelve months (unless Parliament be then sitting) I shall resign the trust into your hands again, and upon no other terms would the office be acceptable to me.

I shall very shortly have the pleasure of personally waiting upon you to solicit your votes, until which time, believe me,

Gentlemen, Liverymen, Freemen, and
Fellow Citizens of London,
Most faithfully and respectfully yours,
MICHAEL SCALES.

44, *Aldgate*,
4*th June*, 1832.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 30TH, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS!

ALAS! I, in my eagerness to see this put an end to, thought that THE LIAR had, for once in his life, spoken truth! thought that good had come out of NAZARETH a second time. But I now find that this villanous, lying *reporther* of the *Morning Chronicle*, stated the result of the debate in a way just contrary to the truth, and that the House of Commons produced *fifteen* for the abolition of flogging, and *thirty-three* against the abolition of flogging; so that there were more than two to one in the House for the continuation of the flogging. I copied the debate and the result literally from the *Morning Chronicle*; though I confess that I ought not to have believed anything that I saw in its dirty columns, which are manifestly now the sole property of the filthy Whigs. It was a *great mistake*, to be sure, to suppose that this House was for the abolition of flogging; but it drew forth statements and arguments which have produced a great impression upon the public, and none of which are invalidated, in the smallest degree, by this falsehood in the reporther. The subscription for SOMERVILLE is going on at my shop, where a book is open for the purpose.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF ENGLAND.

LETTER II.

Base Designs of the Whigs, and their City Intrigues, carried on by BOWRING *and others, against the Pledges.*

MY FRIENDS,

In order that you may act a part worthy of yourselves and your country; in order that you may choose proper men, and reject impostors, it is necessary that you form a true estimate of the men who are now in power; that you judge rightly with regard to what they have hitherto done; and that you clearly understand their present designs; which designs, in my view of the matter, are as base and detestable as any that ever entered into the mind of man. Their hangers-on are at work in every part of the country, to make the people believe that the Reform Bill proceeded entirely from their love of freedom; and that they wanted no motive other than their own just disposition to give us that bill. Now, mark the following facts: FIRST, that every one of the present Ministers, Lord GREY and Lord HOLLAND excepted, has been, at some time or other, a ridiculer and a contemner of parliamentary reform and that three-fourths of them have been bitter persecutors of the reformers; SECOND, that Lord GREY himself, never at any time of his life, proposed a reform so extensive as that which the *English* Reform Bill now makes; and that, even at the time of his coming into power, he said that *he had corrected the errors of his youth*, and, of course, did not mean now to go so far as he had proposed to go many years past; THIRD, that no one will deny, that it was the people who thrusted WELLINGTON out of power, on account of his insolent declaration against reform, and that GREY was brought into power because he declared for reform; FOURTH, that though GREY came into power with a promise

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to make parliamentary reform, he whiled away the time, from early in November to the first of March, before he brought in the bill; SIXTH, that, during the time, he was threatened by the people with all the consequences of their discontent, unless the measure were large and efficient; SIXTH, that he found that he had a majority in the House of Commons against the bill, and that he must either quit his place or dissolve the Parliament; SEVENTH, that the new Parliament contained a great majority for him, and that the elections clearly proved, that the people were resolved to have a bill as extensive as that which he had brought in; EIGHTH, that he now resumed the bill, but that there was no species of delay, no contrivance of procrastination, which was not put in practice to lengthen out the discussions on the bill, which could not have had for their object any other than a desire to weary out the interest which the people took in the measure, and to give the enemies of the bill time to prepare the way for its rejection, and to cause a tranquil submission to that rejection; NINTH, that, when the bill had been rejected by the Lords in October last, the Ministry in general, and GREY in particular, gave every symptom of anger, of furious anger, not against the lords who had rejected the bill, but against *the people* who had resented that rejection; and, though I dare not speak in suitable terms of the transactions at BRISTOL and at NOTTINGHAM; though I dare not, at present, say what I think, of those transactions, any more than of the previous *special commissions* in the south and in the west, issued for the trial of those who had in reality, been the cause of the bringing in of the first bill, there is no man who will not compare those transactions with the excessive indulgence of the Whig Ministry towards all the notorious enemies of reform, and who will not draw his conclusions accordingly; TENTH, that, in short, the anger of GREY towards those who were most zealous in the cause of reform was apparent all the way through; and, I might, if I would, produce the prosecution of myself, as indubitable proof of this anger, and of the fact that the Ministry brought in the Reform Bill in consequence of popular compulsion, and that they wished to see it defeated, provided that they could keep their places; ELEVENTH, that when the bill came a second time before the Lords, there had been a negotiation going on between GREY on the one side, and HARROWBY and WHARNCLIFFE on the other side, and that the second reading was carried merely in consequence of that negotiation; TWELFTH, that it was manifest from the speech of GREY, and from the conduct of certain persons belonging to the BIRMINGHAM UNION, that Grey and his colleagues meant to slip the bill through the House of Lords, altering the ten-pound clause, and taking from the working people all chance of having any influence at elections; THIRTEENTH, that this intention having been detected and exposed by me, Grey resolved to adhere to the ten-pound clause, but not until the country had showed its determination not to suffer the qualification to be raised; FOURTEENTH, that the Tories, finding that GREY had taken this determination, resolved to take the bill out of his hands, and accordingly made the memorable motion by LYNDHURST, on the 7th of May, which led to the turning out and taking in, and the taking in and turning out again, which took place, in consequence of the threat to pay no taxes, and of the run upon the Bank.

If you look at the conduct of the Whigs, from the day of their being forced into place again by the people to the present day; if you look at their daring attempt to make a rotten borough of all Ireland; if you look at their silence upon the subject of the Septennial Bill, while they are introducing a qualification clause into the Scotch Reform Bill; if you look at their conduct with regard to the borough of HUDDERSFIELD, the representation of which they have, in spite of the reasonable and most earnest request of the people, made almost the absolute property of one man, and that man a notorious Whig; if you look at

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the two bills which they have now before them, and against which they say not one single word, the one for repealing, in part, the Act of Settlement, and which, if passed, would fill the House of Commons with placemen and pensioners, in spite of all that the people could do to prevent it; and the other, brought in by INGLIS, and intended to render the qualification of members more difficult in England: if you look at all these things, and observe how directly all these bills are in the teeth of the 73d clause of the Reform Bill itself; if you look at these things, it is impossible for you to believe that this greedy faction are not now at work, endeavouring to undermine the very bill which they have brought in and passed.

But their conduct with regard to PLEDGES is the clearest proof of their intention. And here I must enter into a history of those pledges which have been put forth by *the electors of London*; and against which pledges this faction have put in motion all the swarms of dirty tools that they have at their command; and, swarms more numerous and tools more dirty have seldom been seen in this wicked world. We all know that the Reform Bill was carried in consequence *of pledges:* we all know that Mr. WARD was turned out of the representation of the city, because he refused to take the *pledges:* we all know that Mr. THOMPSON was called upon to *resign*, because he had in one instance not attended to the *instructions* of his constituents. Now, bearing these things in mind please to attend to the following history of the CITY PLEDGES.

There was, previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, a COMMITTEE OF THE LIVERY, formed for the purpose of watching over the circumstances connected with the passing of that bill. The bill having been *passed*, the business of this committee was at an end; but, it was thought necessary, for this committee, before it dissolved itself, to invite the NEW ELECTORS, whom the Reform Bill had created, and to whom it had given a franchise equal to that of the livery; it was thought necessary to invite these new electors to join the livery, in order to discuss the propriety of framing a set of pledges, to be taken by candidates for the representation of the city, seeing that the principle of demanding *pledges* had been so fully recognised, and so successfully acted upon at the former election.

This invitation brought together a body consisting of liverymen and new electors promiscuously. At the end of a pretty long discussion, it was determined to appoint a *sub-committee*, to draw up a set of *pledges*, and to submit them afterwards to the *general-committee* for their approbation or rejection. The sub-committee, consisting of five liverymen and five new electors, met, and agreed upon certain *pledges* by a majority of *two out of ten*. These *pledges* were submitted to the *general-committee*, who *confirmed* the decision of the sub-committee by a *majority of more than four to one*. In all these cases a Dr. BOWRING, who is, or who recently was, in the pay of the Ministers, was the *strenuous opponent*, first of *exacting any pledges at all*; second, in the sub-committee, and in the general-committee also, he proposed pledges of his own, in opposition to those that were carried; and, my neighbour Mr. SWAIN, who was present at the discussion in the latter case in particular, tells me that BOWRING discovered in his opposition an eagerness and anxiety difficult to be described.

Finally, however, the *pledges* were carried by a majority of more than four to one, as I have before observed; and these pledges were as follows:

RESOLVED, 1st. That for one man to represent another, means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner agreeably to his wishes and instructions.

2nd. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

3rd. That, therefore, it appears to this meeting, that those to whom the laws now commit the sacred trust of the power of choosing members, who are to represent their non-voting neighbours as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously careful to choose no man on whom firm reliance cannot be placed that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

4th. That, in order to obtain the best

sible ground of such reliance, every candidate ought to give the pledges following; to wit,

That I will neglect nothing in my power to cause, in the very first session, a total abolition of the tithes, a repeal of the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap; and these having been repealed, I pledge myself to the immediate consideration of a revision of the Corn Bill; and I further pledge myself to do everything within my power to cause the abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions, and a repeal of that daring act of usurpation called the Septennial Act: and I will, at all times and in all things, act conformably to the wishes of a majority of my constituents, deliberately expressed; or I will, at their request, resign to them the trust with which they have honoured me.

5th. That we, the electors, of the City of London, pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, that we will give our votes to no man who will not give the above pledges, and that we earnestly recommend to our fellow-electors, in every part of the kingdom, to make, and strictly to adhere to, the same determination.

These *pledges* were published in the newspapers on the 24th of June; and on the 25th, BOWRING (for it is impossible not to believe that it was he) had the following article published in *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle*. You will perceive that BOWRING here gives an account of the pledges which he proposed, and which he says would have been carried, if there had been time for consideration. Now I beg your attention to all this: I beg you to watch the workings of this tool of the Ministers. Read his *pledges* with care. You will see that they pledge a man to *nothing*. You will see that any Tory, any pensioner, any vile and abominable place-hunter, would take these pledges, or rather these fraudulent professions, without any more scruple than any one of Mr. FRARON's customers would drink a glass of gin. However, read the whole paper through, and then please to attend to me.

PLEDGES FROM CANDIDATES.

At the meeting of several members of the livery, at which the set of pledges proposed by Mr. Williams was carried, another set of pledges was proposed *as an amendment*, and lost by a majority of *one only*. As opinion was so nearly divided upon the two sets, and as it is believed by the supporters of the *amended set*, that it *would have been carried* had there been the same time allowed for *its consideration*, we are informed that it will be *submitted to the new electors of the city of London, at the meeting convened this day*. The amended pledges are as follow:—

Resolved, That the following resolutions be submitted to the general meeting of the constituency of London, as pledges to be required from the candidates for their representation.

PLEDGES TO BE REQUIRED FROM CANDIDATES.

"That they will make the well-being of the community the great object of their care; that they will labour to obtain cheap food, by the abolition of the corn-laws, and of all the imposts which press with peculiar burdensomeness on the labouring poor—cheap knowledge by the removal of all taxes on its diffusion—cheap justice, by the destruction of all needless charges on its administration—and the best public services at the smallest expense.

"That in the pursuit of these ends they will lend their assistance [to abolish all unnecessary, and to reduce all overpaid, official situations for the future; all unmerited pensions—all undeserved recompense—in whatever shape they may be proposed.

"That they will endeavour to obtain the shortening the duration of Parliaments to a period not exceeding three years.

"That they will co-operate for the diffusion of instruction, and the extinction of slavery; and that, in our relations with other countries, they will endeavour to advance the great interests of peace, liberty, and human improvement.

"That their attendance shall be constant, the presence of a member being essential to his usefulness.

"That they will either institute or assist in the institution of, an inquiry into the state of the church, with a view to the removal of the abuses which dishonour it.

"That they will press on a reformed Parliament the urgent necessity of the great topic of national education, as the only real security for the public tranquillity, and the only true foundation of the public happiness.

"That until the duration of Parliament shall be shortened to three years, they will withdraw from the representation whenever an undoubted majority of their constituents shall declare they have forfeited confidence."

The set proposed *by Mr. Williams*, it will be recollected, *was*—"1. The abolition of tithes; 2 A modification of the corn-laws; 3. Repeal of the Assessed Taxes; and 4. A repeal of the Septennial Act. It is contended by the supporters of the amended act, that those of Mr. Williams are *too narrow* and that the first and third are erroneously put.—*Morning Chronicle.*

This publication was followed by a commendatory commentary by BOWRING, on his own propositions, and in a strain as stupid and as confused as the propositions themselves. I take this

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paper from the *Morning Chronicle*, in which it was placed very conspicuously, and with a manifest design to mislead the public. On the 28th came, however, the following letter from Mr. WILLIAMS himself, which, when I have inserted it, will leave you very much divided in your opinion, whether Dr. BOWRING be greater fool or political mounteback. Here follows a letter, and a more complete exposure than it makes never was made in this world.

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir,—My name having, in an article entitled "Pledges to Candidates," been introduced into your paper of yesterday, and in a manner tending to produce, especially amongst my brother liverymen and electors of London, an erroneous view of my conduct, and an impression injurious to my character as a reformer, I make no doubt that you will afford me an opportunity of placing the matter before the public in its true light.

In the above-mentioned article you have published two sets of pledges,—one set is that which was proposed to the meeting in question by Dr. BOWRING, and the other is what I am represented as having proposed. With regard to the former, it should be known that there were two meetings before whom the matter was brought: one that of a sub-committee, and the other that of the general-committee; that in the former, Dr. Bowring's set was rejected by a majority of *two out of ten*; but that in the general-committee the Doctor's set was rejected by a majority of more than *four to one*; which circumstance is in this article wholly kept out of sight. It should also be known that the Doctor, having been defeated in the sub-committee, came before the general-committee with an amended set, into which he introduced, as one of the objects to be obtained, "*the abolition of tithes*;" which, from the set published by you, the author has *carefully withdrawn*, leaving the resolution relative to the church such as all the bishops, deans and chapters, and pluralists, in the kingdom, would agree to without a single dissenting voice.

But it is of the gross misstatement with regard to the set proposed by me of which I most loudly complain. The article above-mentioned states that I proposed,—1st, the abolition of tithes; 2d, a modification of the corn-laws; 3d, a repeal of the assessed taxes; 4th, a repeal of the Septennial Act; and then the article observes that these were deemed "*too narrow*." The *truth*, however, as recorded in your paper of the day before, is this,—that my set pledged the candidate to these things,—1st, an abolition of tithes; 2d, a repeal of the assessed taxes; 3d, a repeal of the malt and soap tax; 4th, a revision of the corn bill; 5th, an abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions; 6th, a repeal of the Septennial Act; 7th, to act agreeably to the wishes and instructions of a majority of his constituents, or to resign his seat at their request.

I will not trouble you with any comparison between my propositions, and the vague set put forward at the same time, which leaves to the candidate means of evasion and subterfuge without end. The decision on them I gladly leave to the meeting of all the electors of the city, which, by consent of the Lord Mayor, is to be held in Guildhall, as soon as possible after the dinner to the Ministers shall have taken place, the time for holding which meeting will be duly announced. But permit me just to add an expression of my opinion, that the meeting being, upon this occasion, held in that hall, will show that the Livery admit ungrudgingly the new electors to a participation in their rights, and will thereby greatly tend to promote, amongst all classes in the city, that harmony and good neighbourhood which is essential to its character as well as to its peace, and which is, in the way of example, eminently calculated to produce the most beneficial effects upon the conduct of electors in every part of the kingdom. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

Watling-street, June 26.

Like Mr. WILLIAMS, I will not trouble you with any comparison between his set of pledges and that of Dr. BOWRING; Mr. WILLIAMS's being distinct, and something that a man cannot shuffle out of; and the DOCTOR'S offering to a crafty candidate as many ways of getting out of his promises, as a rat has holes of escape from a granary or a barn, or a *Greek bondholder* ever had to get out of the danger arising from an indiscreet contract: I will not trouble you with any commentary on the Doctor's equivocal stuff. But here are questions of fact; and, as the smooth-tongued Doctor BLACK gives us such wearisome chapters on WELLINGTON'S "*public immorality*," let us see a little into the *veracity* of his friend and brother tax-hunter, Dr. BOWRING. Here, in the Doctor's article, there are, if Mr. WILLIAMS speak truth, two *direct falsehoods*, and one indirect falsehood by suppression of truth. BOWRING says that his propositions were lost by only a majority of *one*; Mr. WILLIAMS says that it was a majority of *two* out of ten. BOWRING says that these *were* the propositions of Mr. WILLIAMS; Mr. WILLIAMS asserts that they *were not*; and

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we know that they were not, because Mr. Williams's propositions had been published before; and Dr. BLACK *knew that they were not*, for he himself had published Mr. WILLIAMS's propositions the day before! But these two falsehoods, though direct and clear, are nothing compared to BOWRING's grand falsehood, namely, his suppression, in this publication, of the fact that he himself proposed an ABOLITION OF TITHES! You see, by looking at the second paragraph of Mr. WILLIAMS's letter, that BOWRING, having been *defeated before the sub-committee*, came before the general committee with an *amended* set of pledges, into which he introduced *the abolition of tithes*. But, and I beg you to observe it, in this set of pledges which he *publishes*, he *again leaves out the abolition of tithes!* If that be not political cheatery, pray tell me, Dr. BAKING, what political cheatery is. The truth is, that he has consulted his masters and received their orders, since he laid the proposition before the general-committee, and now he finds that he dares not propose the *abolition of tithes*. It is said that he had a parcel of public money given to him some time ago, to go to *Paris to learn the best mode of keeping public accounts*; and now he has been sent into the city to teach us how to demand pledges which would be like a net to catch sprats, through which a salmon would go without touching a fin.

So much of Dr. BOWRING; let us now come to his fellow-labourers, the city place-hunters. They know that these *pledges* are death to them, as completely as salt is to the thieving root of a thistle, or to the devouring jaws of the snail. They know this; and they are in a state of alarm as great as that of a band of pickpockets when a constable rushes suddenly in and catches them dividing the spoil. It will be perceived that BOWRING talks about a meeting (in his article above quoted, which is dated on the 25th of June) to be held in the city on that day. There was one held, but it consisted of a little bunch of tax-hunters, who *had* belonged to the "Livery of London Reform Committee." *That* committee was now at an end; but this little group revived it in name, for the purpose of sending forth a disavowal of Mr. WILLIAMS's *pledges*. To this end, they put forth, on the 26th of June, the following paragraph, which appeared in all the newspapers, *paid for by us, the oppressed citizens of London!*

LIVERY OF LONDON REFORM COMMITTEE.—At the *final meeting* of the Livery of London Reform Committee, held yesterday morning at Guildhall, *Mr. Fearon* in the chair, previous to delivering in their report, and surrendering their trust to the general body in common hall assembled, the following resolution was agreed to, moved by *Mr. Taylor*, and seconded by Mr. Hall,—"That *certain* "*resolutions* having been published, which "*might appear to come from the committee* "*of the livery* appointed at the last common "hall, *proposing tests to candidates* for the re- "presentation of this city, this committee "thinks it right to record that such resolu- "tions did not emanate from this committee."

Oh, no! nobody that knows them will believe that TAYLOR and HALL, two common-councilmen, and that FEARON, the "slippery young man" (as my servant in *Long Island* called him), who so infamously misrepresented me and my neighbours, in order to curry favour with the Government here; nobody that knows them would have suspected that they approved of Mr. WILLIAMS's *pledges*; and for my part I should every bit as soon suspect them of robbing the city exchequer.

Oh, no! Mr. WILLIAMS's *pledges* are present death to all this tribe; present death to the guttlers, who take from us twenty pounds a piece for their own guttling and guzzling, while they vote a few pence a piece for the freemen from whom they take the money. They well know that the men who would take these pledges would never suffer them to have another guttle at the expense of the people, with whose well-being they are charged, whose rights they set at nought, and whom they treat worse than any set of men are treated in the whole country. They are, as Mr. NICHOLSON told them the other day, precisely in the situation that the boroughmongers were in six weeks ago, and their fall will be greater than that

of the boroughmongers has been, because their usurpations on our rights have been more daring, their oppression more cruel, and their insolence more outrageous.

I perceive by Mr. WILLIAMS's letter that the Lord Mayor has given his consent to hold the *general united meeting of the Livery and the new electors* in the Guildhall. That will be a memorable day; on that day sentence will be passed upon the tyranny, under which the people of PORTSOKEN-WARD are groaning. It will be the day of the emancipation of us all in this city; on that day we shall see the figure that Dr. BOWRING will make; though with painter TAYLOR and hatter HANN and gin-spinner FRANCIS, at his back. BOWRING is a liveryman of London merely by purchase; he has neither business nor residence in London; and if he were resident seven miles from the city, the law would stop his tongue, and bid it not to meddle with our matters. However, we shall see the figure that he will make before the united Livery and electors. In the meanwhile, if BOWRING and BLACK be disposed for betting, I will bet them twenty sovereigns, that every candidate for the city will either *take the pledges* of Mr. WILLIAMS, *or lose his election!* The pledges do not go so far as I would get, but since they contain that *substantive pledge, the abolition of tithes*, I will be content with them: knowing well, that if that pledge be faithfully adhered to by only fifty men in the new Parliament, every thing good will follow; and that, if that pledge be not taken, and adhered to, no good will come. Of the other workings of the Whigs I have not time to speak in this letter; but I do beseech my readers to look at their bills that they have coming forward about the QUALIFICATIONS OF MEMBERS. I do beseech my readers to look at their various tricks; and if they do look at them they will perceive that the imaginations of the tricksters are absolutely upon the rack, to find out something or another that may operate in a way *to shut me out of Parliament!* What every one believes must be true, and there is not a single man in the kingdom that does not believe this.

"Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike."

Did you never see a catlying cuniculus in such a way as for the magpies not to know whether she was alive or dead? Did you never see them hopping round about her, now and then approaching, now and then recoiling, now seeming bold, now seeming in a fright; and constantly squalling out their *mac, mac, mac, mac?* If you have ever seen this, though when in your petticoats, it will now rush back into your mind. I hate to see people so anxious about anything, and especially if I myself be the subject of the anxiety: and, as *pledges* are the fashion, I hereby pledge myself most solemnly, that if they will pass a bill to shut me by name out of Parliament for life, they shall never hear from me either by PETITION or COMPLAINT. I will leave the law to take its free course, and to be received as it ought to be, and to produce the effects which it ought to produce; and I appriset them at the same time, that unless they do this, they will not keep me out of Parliament; and that if they do not keep me out of Parliament, the system of taxation and of tithing will be shaken to its very foundation.

I thought, some weeks ago, of pointing out by name, such men as I knew to be fit to make good members of Parliament. Upon reflection I have come to the decision, that to do that would savour of presumption. The more advisable way is for me to make a general OFFER OF MYSELF. There are many thousands and hundreds of thousands of men who think, that if I be not elected, the reform will be productive of little or no good; and, I myself am convinced, that if I be not elected, the affairs of the country will not be peaceably settled. Whatever body of electors shall be of the same opinion may elect me, without any risk of prejudice to the public cause. If I be elected for MANCHESTER, for MANCHESTER I will sit; because from MANCHESTER I received the first application for the purpose; but nothing but good can arise from my being also elected for

other places; because, besides the security which that gives to my return, there will be a positive benefit in a second election, which will give time for reflection and inquiry; while to be elected for three or four places, would give great weight to every effort that I should make. In perfect sincerity I repeat, that, as far as concerns my own personal taste and interests, I shall undertake this arduous task with reluctance. By Michaelmas next I shall have *a farm*; and somewhere in my own native county. A FARMER I WILL LIVE AND DIE. But God has been pleased to give me great health and great strength yet: I am convinced that I am able to render the greatest services to my country; that country has a right to those services at my hands; and the more perilous her state, the more base it would be in me not to do my utmost to rescue her from her perils.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The new borough of the TOWER HAMLETS has this day (Thursday, 28th) adopted THE CITY PLEDGES, as moved by Mr. WILLIAMS; and they *have hooted* Dr. LUSHINGTON *out of their borough!* Good! This will do. Let this go on in the *counties*, and the thing is done.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF BOLTON-LE-MOORS.

PRAY wait till next week. I have something to tell you that will make your blood boil, and will put every elector in the nation on his guard.

WM. COBBETT.

London, 28. June, 1832.

DEAD-BODY BILL.

THIS bill, which authorises THE SALE of *dead human bodies*, has been *read a second time* in the Lords. I cannot express my opinion of it in a better manner than I have done it in the following petition. I sent this petition to the *Bishop of London*, who sent it me back again with *a letter* of excuse. This letter, with my answer, will be found after the petition.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the county of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That your petitioner perceives, that there is again a bill before your Right Honourable House, which will make it legal to be possessed of dead human bodies, to cut them up, without the sanction of any court of justice, and even to sell and traffic in them, as in the carcasses of the beasts that perish.

That your humble petitioner has too high an opinion of the understanding and of the sincerity of your lordships to believe, that you will not at once perceive and avow that this horrid traffic must necessarily be confined to the bodies of the poor, seeing that those of the rich will never be exposed to any of the causes from which that traffic must arise; and, being of that opinion, he hopes that your lordships will not agree to a bill, which, if it were, unhappily, to become a law, would fill the minds of the poorer part of the people with inextinguishable resentment against those, to respect and reverence whom they have hitherto been cordially disposed.

That it is with inexpressible disgust that your petitioner has heard this horrible bill justified on the score of what its defenders have dared to call *humanity*, pretending that, without allowing a free trade in human bodies, the Legislature has no means of preventing such bodies from being killed for sale; that, in answer to this hypocritical pretence, the poorer part of the people observe, that the law has always found the effectual means of protecting the dead bodies of cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, of punishing with death the purloiners of those bodies; and that your lordships have, alas! passed laws (which are still in force) for transporting beyond the seas, men having, in the night-time, and in or near a cover, the dead body of a hare, pheasant, or partridge, in their possession.

That the poorer part of the people thus see, that even when these wild and insignificant animals, these mere objects of the sports of the rich, are to be guarded; when new poor-laws, new trespasses, new misdemeanours, new felonies, new treasons, new and more severe modes of imprisonment and punishment, are to be enacted; that, when to

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tax, to restrain, or to punish them, is the object, there is no want of power in the Legislature; and that it becomes impotent only when called upon to yield them protection; and your humble petitioner begs to be permitted to assure your lordships, that the people clearly perceive all this, and that the ultimate consequences of that perception, especially if this act, authorising an open traffic in their bodies, were to become a law, must of necessity be such as your lordships, above all men, would have reason most bitterly to deplore.

That, with regard to the assertion, that this horrible profanation of the tomb is necessary to the perfection of surgical and medical science, while your humble petitioner firmly believes the contrary to be the fact, and is fully warranted in that belief, not only by the experience of all former ages, but by the declarations of the most eminent surgeons and physicians of our own day; while he is convinced that ignorance, and not science, is promoted and kept in countenance by this cutting up of human bodies; while it is his firm conviction, that this butcher-like practice does not at all tend to the preservation of human life, he hopes that your lordships, and more especially the lords spiritual, will see, even in the affirmative of that proposition, no justification of the proposed measure, and he confidently trusts that the Most Reverend and Right Reverend members of your Right Honourable House will never give their assent to a bill, which has a direct and manifest tendency to root from the minds of men those religious opinions, which make a distinction between the future state of human beings and that of brutes, and which opinions can never long continue to exist after the sanction of your lordships shall have been given to this brutalizing bill.

That all nations, even the most barbarous, have shown respect for the remains of the dead; that the Holy Scriptures invariably speak of the rites of burial as being honourable, and of the refusal of those rites as an infamous punishment and signal disgrace; that in the 18th chap. of Genesis, 15th verse, it is recorded, that amongst the gracious promises that God made to ABRAHAM, on account of his faith, one was that he should be *buried* in a good old age: that DAVID (2 Samuel, chap. ii.), when the men of Jabesh-Gilead had *buried* Saul, blessed them for their kindness, and said the Lord would reward them; that the Psalmist, in describing the desolation of Jerusalem by the hands of the heathen, says that these latter had given the dead bodies of the Israelites to be meat unto the fowls of the heavens, that they shed their blood like water, and that there was *none to bury them*, which, he adds, has made the Israelites a reproach to the other nations; that in ECCLESIASTES, chap vi., verse 3, it is said, that if a man have ever so prosperous and long a life, if he have *no burial* he had better never have been born; that we find by EZEKIEL, chap. xxxix., that even enemies were to be *buried*, and that if a human bone was found above ground, it was to be deemed a duty to inter it; that the prophet ISAIAH, chap. xiv., says that the King of Babylon shall be kept out of the grave, like an abominable branch, and shall *not be buried*, because he has been a tyrant; that the prophet JEREMIAH, chap. vii. and viii., at the conclusion of a long and terrible denunciation against the Jews, tells them that they *shall not be gathered nor be buried*, and that they shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same prophet, chap. xiv., says, that the people who listen to false prophets shall die of famine and the sword, and *shall have none to bury them*; that the same prophet, chap. xvi., foretelling the ruin of the Jews, says that they shall die of grief, that they shall not be lamented, *neither shall they be buried*, but shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same prophet, chap. xxii., pronounces judgment on JEHOIAKIM, king of Judah, for covetousness, for shedding innocent blood, for oppression and violence, that he *shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, drawn and cast before the gates of Jerusalem; that in the New Testament, we find that *devout* men carried STEPHEN to *his burial*; and finally, that by our own burial-service and canons we are taught, that to be buried in consecrated ground is *a right* belonging to every person who has been baptized, who is not, at the hour of death, excommunicated, and who has not killed him or herself.

That seeing that such is the language of Holy Writ, your humble petitioner has waited until now, hoping that the bill in question would be zealously and effectually opposed by the clergy of the Established Church; that if human bodies can be legally sold and cut up

into pieces, without any detriment to our faith, our hope, our religious feeling; if no burial-service is at all necessary in these cases; if this be told to the people by this bill, it is manifest, that that same people will not long think that the burial-service can in any case be necessary, and that they will, in a short time, look upon all other parts of the church-service as equally useless; because as your petitioner presumes, there is no ground whatever for believing in the sacredness of one rite or ceremony any more than in that of another, and that, of course, if the Burial of the Dead can be dispensed with, so may Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

That, if this sacrilegious bill were to become a law, your humble petitioner would beg leave to ask, what the people must, in future, think of the ceremony of the consecrating of ground; what of any part of the things ordered and enjoined in the Book of Common Prayer; and especially, what of the fees, which have for ages been, and which are still, paid for saying prayers over the bodies of the dead? That, in England and Wales, there are more than ten thousand church benefices with care of souls; that these, who are charged with this care, have hitherto taught us, that that care requires the due performance of the burial service, and justifies the demand of fees for that performance; that it is as well for morals and religion that our bodies be sold and cut up, as that they be buried in consecrated ground with the usual solemnities, or it is not as well; that, if the latter, the intended law is injurious to morals and religion; that, if the former, well may we ask, to what end, for what purpose, we have been enjoined to perform the burial service, and have been compelled to pay burial fees, for so many ages?

That the horror of the poorer sort of people at the practices which are authorised by this bill, and their conviction that they themselves are principally the objects of it, are clearly and strongly evinced in the fact, that they have all over England formed themselves into clubs for the purpose of providing the means of watching the graves of each other and those of their near and dear relations, a fact to their everlasting honour, and showing that amongst them, at any rate, human feelings have not yet been banished from the breast; that, however, your humble petitioner hopes, that your Right Honourable House, who are their natural guardians, and who have in so many cases been their defence against sordid and unfeeling measures, will now come to their relief and protection; and that, to this end, you will not only reject the brutal bill aforesaid, but that you will be pleased to pass a bill, making it felony in any person whatever to have a dead body in his or her possession, except for the usual purpose of Christian burial, or except the possession be founded on a sentence agreeably to law, passed in a court of justice.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

Wm. COBBETT.

Kensington, 23 *June*, 1832.

This petition I sent to the Bishop on Sunday evening, the 24th June, at his palace at Fulham, not having found him in London on the Saturday. On the Monday, it came back to Kensington; and I got it here late on Monday night. It was accompanied back with the following letter.

Fulham

SIR, 25 *June* 1832

If any other Member of the House of Lords can be found, who will present your Petition, I would rather that it should not pass through my hands, for this reason amongst others, because it contains an assertion, that there is no ground whatever for believing in the sacredness of one rite or ceremony any more than in that of another.

This assertion, as well as some other arguments in the Petition I could hardly pass over without notice, and therefore it will be more properly entrusted to some other person.

I remain,

Sir,

Your obedient Servt

C. J. London

W. Cobbett Esq

To this I sent him the *following answer* on Wednesday morning; but, as it was to be printed, I sent it him in print. The two letters will serve to illustrate "the invaluable right of petition."

Bolt-court, 25th *June*, 1832.

BISHOP OF LONDON,

I HAVE always understood petitioning to be *a right*, and I know that the *Bill of Rights* says, that every Englishman

has *a right* to petition the King, or either House of Parliament; but if I am not permitted to go and present my petition myself, and if any member of the House of Lords to whom I apply may refuse to present it for me, my *right* seems to be of a very slender nature: it amounts, indeed, to nothing more than this; that I have *a right* to request a peer to suffer me to petition the House of Lords, and that he has a right to refuse me, as you have now done; for to tell me that you will do it (and you do not go *so far as that*) if no "other member can be *found* to do it," is, in fact, to tell me, that I must first *find* and try *all* the other members; long before I could possibly do which, the bill against which I wish to petition, may be passed, and dozens of the bodies of my poorer neighbours may be openly sold, and chopped up like those of dogs.

The objection founded on your *disagreement* with me, and on the necessity of your *noticing* that disagreement, is answered at once by the fact, that I did not request you to support the prayer of my petition; it was my petition, not yours: I did not petition because you *were* of my opinion, but precisely because (from your not having opposed the bill) I thought you *were not*. If you had done what I looked upon as your duty, I should not have thought it necessary to present any petition on the subject. Besides, if you disagree with the petition, you will, of course, express your disagreement, whether you present it or not; so that it is impossible to believe that it is not your real object to prevent the petition from being presented at all.

With regard to the "*assertion*" of which you speak, it is no *assertion*, but merely an *opinion* stated; and as to the "*other*" of my arguments to which you object, it is impossible to guess at what they are, seeing that this word "*other*" has reference to nothing; no arguments having been before alluded to by you. Still, however, had I made use of false assertions and fallacious arguments, that would have been no reason for your refusing to present my petition, for, if it were such, the "*great right of petition*" would come to this at last: that no petition is to be presented unless it accord with the opinions of some one at least of the persons to whom it is intended to be presented.

As to the relative sacredness of different rites and ceremonies, I am not doctor of divinity enough scrupulously to settle that matter; but, these things I know, 1. That we have been taught to regard them *all* as sacred; 2. That, according to the Prayer Book, which we have been taught to read with great reverence, to have *Christian burial* withheld from a dead person *is deemed a punishment* inflicted on that person's remains; 3. That church-yards are *consecrated*, and that to *brawl*, or *commit assaults*, in them is punishable (on account of their *sacredness*) in a spiritual court, and with a severity much greater than if the offences were committed on ground *not consecrated*; 4. That *burial fees* are a most burdensome tax upon the people, amounting, in each of several parishes in your diocese, to more than a thousand pounds a year; 5. That when burial places are consecrated, the *people pay* for the act of consecrating.

Therefore, leaving out of view the manifest partiality of the bill, and its barbarous and brutalizing tendency, what can be *the use* of all this work of *consecrating*, if it be *just as good for our souls* that dead bodies should become objects of sale, and be cut up like the bodies of cattle, as that they should have Christian burial? And, above all things, where, in the former case, is the *justice* in compelling the living to *pay* for prayers and psalms said and sung over the bodies of the dead? These were the questions for *you* to answer; and this is precisely what you have left undone. Not having done this, nor attempted to do it, your letter contains nothing but a mere pretence for not presenting my petition, which, however, you will, I believe, soon find presented by somebody else; and then you will, doubtless, show the falsehood of what you call my assertion, and the unsoundness of my arguments.

As matter of curiosity merely, I will

add, that the very "assertion," word for word, to which you *now object*, was contained in my petition, against the Dead-Body Bill of 1829; and that you, as your duty prescribed, *presented that petition without any objection at all!* So that, if you be right now, you were wrong then; a fact undeniable, and one that ought to make you a more modest critic for the future; one that ought to make you doubt whether the possession of twenty thousand pounds a year and a couple of palaces really authorise a man to refuse to present a petition, most respectfully worded, and praying for what is within the constitutional competence of the House of which he is a member.

To subscribe yourself my *obedient servant*, while you contradict my assertions, and refuse to attend to my request, is a sort of inconsistency which shall not have an imitation in the conduct of

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The petition was presented by Lord RADNOR, last night (28th of June), and I do not perceive that you said a word about it. W. C.

CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL.

The POLITICAL UNION of COVENTRY, a THOUSAND of whom dined under *a tent*, on Tuesday, the 26th instant, to celebrate the fall of the villanous boroughmongers, have very kindly *offered their capacious tent* for our festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY; and Mr. T. W. GILL, of that city, has generously offered to send it to London *carriage-free*. I need not say that I have accepted of it; and therefore that puts an end to all trouble *about a covering*. *Knives* and *forks* will be the most difficult things to provide. Each man must bring his own, I believe; but this must be arranged, some how or other, by the person who will go down beforehand to prepare matters. Mr. ALDERMAN SCALES gives us a fat sheep, and Mr. SAPSFORD two bushels of *fine corn-flour*, to make plum-puddings; and Mr. BARRETT, of Fetter-lane, *a box of plums*. As to *vegetables*, they are of little use and give great trouble; and not an *accursed potato* shall come near the place! They have done quite mischief enough already. I shall set off from London so as to be at Sutton Scotney on the 6th of July. Perhaps I shall set off that same morning. If any gentleman have a mind to go with me from London, we must make our arrangements on *Tuesday*, the 3d of July; for *which purpose*, I will be at BOLT-COURT *all* that day, from five o'clock in the morning to eight o'clock at night. Six or seven of us might go very well with a carriage and four horses. SUTTON SCOTNEY is fifty-five miles from London, through BASINGSTOKE, through POPHAM LANE, and is on the turnpike road, about half-way between the last-mentioned place and STOCKBRIDGE. Many coaches go through it from London to SALISBURY, and on to EXETER. But many of these go through ANDOVER; and, therefore, that must be attended to. I have just learned that Mr. BUDD, of BURGHCLERE, means to meet us with two geese, a small sucking porker, a bushel of bread, and some veal pies: and that he intends to go in his waggon, and load it with passengers as he goes along. Mr. SWAIN, of Fleet-street, has sent me A GUINEA to be laid out in *strong beer* for the CHOPSTICKS.

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

AT last! Never will I undertake a job like this again! To give a full description of this result of prodigious labour, is due to my readers as well as to myself; I want to sell my book, and they *all* ought to have the useful information that it contains. I shall, therefore, first give the TITLE, and then the EXPLANATORY PREFACE, from which every one will see what are the uses of this book.

[*Owing to the* POLLING-PLACES *of Herefordshire having been omitted in the Boundary Bill until it was last amended, several sheets of the book were kept back until to-day, which will prevent the publication taking place until* SATURDAY, 7. JULY.]

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into COUNTIES, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with *a map*, showing how the counties are locally situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into CIRCUITS, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into DIOCESES; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the *cities*, *boroughs*, *market-towns*, *villages*, *hamlets*, and *tithings*, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of *the county*, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the *English counties*, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the *Welsh counties*, in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a map, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a *monastic establishment*, the nature and value of it are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The *distance from London* is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the *nearest* city, borough, or market-town, are stated; and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are *markets* or *fairs*, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure

places, of which we want a knowledge. How many scores of places have I received letters from, and there being no post-mark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a transaction at *Tilford*, how are we to know where TILFORD is, and what sort of a place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of SURREY; but one should not know whether it were a town or village, or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index*, tells us that it is in SURREY; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a VILLAGE, that it is in the parish of FARNHAM, and that Farnham is a MARKET-TOWN, distant therefrom in a direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from London; and the *county-map* shows us, that this market-town lies at the WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases *the parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of SURREY, *Bagshot* is a hamlet, the distance of which from CHERTSEY, the nearest town, is not stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of WINDLESHAM, and that that village is 7½ miles from CHERTSEY; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things; which, if left unexplained, might lead to error. Thus, under the name, in the Dictionary, of each county, is given the *number of parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out *townships*, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come at a correct knowledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, *the parishes*, so called, have, in the statistical table as well as in the Dictionary, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. SECOND, as the *Dictionary part* was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the *number of members of Parliament* returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and which it is now my business to describe.

IX. Next after the Dictionary comes a STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles, its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes the population of each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county, in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way

of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*, and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In TABLE No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order; and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities* and *boroughs* are, in the Table No. II, not accompanied by a statement of their population, TABLE No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, *and the number of voters which they formerly had*, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove tiresome to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the VERY ROOM in which Dr. Jamieson wrote his plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toil.

WM. COBBETT.

No. 11, Bolt-court, 20 June, 1832.

With 43 copper-plate maps, and all these enormously-expensive tables, I shall sell this book for 12*s*. *bound in boards*. If I were to reckon the labour at the rate that a journeyman carpenter is paid, I should *lose about three hundred pounds* by this first edition; so that if the THING had not been kind enough to take *my thousand pounds away from* me, and to keep it for me, at interest, for

twenty years past, as it has done, I might, in my old age, actually have come under the guardianship of one of STURGES BOURNE's *hired overseers*, and might have been put up to auction; or I might have been *sheared*, as the two girls at Ninfield, in Sussex, were.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF NEW YORK,

And those in all other parts of the United States, and in Canada.

London, 26th June, 1832.

YOU, particularly if you be Englishmen, must want very much to know what we are doing in this nice little bustling country; and it is of importance to us that you should know it too. From these infamously false newspapers you can never learn *any truth*; and I am resolved, that you shall have it *in the Register*, which will now be published in NEW YORK regularly, *at the place* which will be mentioned at the bottom of this address; where will also be stated *the price* at which the *Register* will be sold.

I have, this day, shipped *an assortment of all my books*, in order to the opening of a STORE (by us called a SHOP) at NEW YORK, in *my own name*, for the sale of my *Register*, my BOOKS, and GARDEN SEEDS, of which I am the grower, this year, for the first time, on a considerable scale; and in the doing of which I, in point of care, challenge all England. I grow finer vegetables than any that I ever saw elsewhere; and I have taken pains indescribable to have my various sorts *true*. I have made preparations for a regular sale of GARDEN SEEDS at my shop in London, next autumn; and I shall supply my STORE, at NEW YORK, in the same manner, and from the same source. My correspondent will appoint a proper person to keep the store; all the particulars, relative to which, will be mentioned at the bottom of this address, when it is republished at New York.

The *Register* will be published with greater regularity than it used to be published in London, when I was in LONG ISLAND, whence I dealt the THING so many good blows. My STORE, at New York, will be a place for EMIGRANTS to obtain information at; and also a channel, through which for persons to communicate with me, or in many cases, with their friends in England. It may be a channel for applications for English and Scotch gardeners, who are always wanted by gentlemen in America, and of whom and most excellent ones too, we have always many, who would be glad to go, if recommended by me.

Along with the books that I have shipped are a good variety of those entertaining and instructive teachers, which appeal only to the eyes; I mean *caricatures*, which, though they produce such dismal harangues in the House of Commons, make the people *laugh exceedingly!* They have now kept us in a roar for six weeks, and they are keeping us in that state still; and it is but right that our brethren in the United States should laugh along with us, especially those of them who have been driven away by the THING. These are very *pretty pictures*; and they have done more good in *six weeks* than the toad-eating wretches of the "*Royal Academy*" have been able to do mischief ever since "the *good old King*" set it up. These pictures show things in their *true light*; they fill us with indignation against *fraud and villany*, with contempt for *imbecile malignity*, and they make us laugh till our heads ache at seeing the veil taken off from filthy creatures, whom millions of good people have long been looking on almost with veneration. They are the only *useful* pictures that I ever saw, and I beg the publishers of them to accept of my thanks.

From NEW YORK booksellers may be supplied in other towns; in which case the allowance will be *very liberal*. "WILLIAM COBBETT'S STORE, NEW YORK," will be the address. Booksellers and others in CANADA will find the thing very convenient. Many months in the year New York is the only possible channel of communication between Canada and England. By-the-by, I hear of some PRETTY WORKS in Upper Canada. *The very moment that*

emigrants land, they are taxed, in Lower Canada, for the *relief of poor emigrants!* God Almighty, what a thing this is to be called a *government!* But there are *other things* in that country that would make one's hair literally stand on end! Deputies are here everlastingly to get *redress!* Ah! little do they know of this THING! They come here; they dance attendance; they get to some members of Parliament "who *are friendly* to them;" and they *amuse them, keep them quiet*; they are got to the *feeds* and the *guzzles*; they are *dazzled*; they are finally *corrupted*; and they go back (if they *ever* go back) *spies* and *supporters* of the THING. This is what I have always *hitherto* seen; whether the poor Canadians will be more lucky in future I do not know. Good garden seeds are very much wanted in Canada; and this is the readiest channel; and, indeed, almost the only channel for *fresh seeds*. They cannot go from England before *December*; and they cannot be sent up the ST. LAWRENCE before it be too late for many of them to be of any use; but they can be at New York in *January*, as mine will be; and thence they can go to CANADA at any time of the year; and can always be ready for early in the spring.

I beg my friends at Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere, to cause this address to be put into the newspapers; and I make the same request to friends *in Canada*; who, however, for the sake of the printer, will take care to *cut out* a part of the foregoing paragraph; for they make *short work* of "libellers" there: *there* they take their types and presses and throw them into the *lakes* or *rivers*; a very natural and most effectual way of extinguishing *inflammatory* matter.

The *publication of the Register, at New York*, will begin with this very *Register that I am now writing*. My correspondent at New York, will fix on the place for the STORE at once; and will announce it at the bottom of this address when he re-publishes it at New York; and he will also publish a catalogue of the books and a statement of their prices.

WM. COBBETT.

REFORM REJOICINGS.

THE guttlers and guzzlers, who agreed unanimously to carry on law to prevent the people of PORTSOKEN ward from having the alderman whom they had elected, have not yet named the time when they are to guttle down three thousand pounds of our money. They find such difficulty in digesting their last feast, I suppose, that their stomachs have not yet recovered their wonted faculties; and whenever they come at us, they wish, doubtless, to come well prepared. However, they are, as the miser complained of his servant in the play, "huge feeders:" God may turn their hearts, as the country people say; but the devil cannot turn stomachs. The former does not seem to be very probable; for they appear to be perfectly callous. There was a curious scene took place at the voting of this three thousand pounds, in our city of London parliament, which, as Mr. SCALES truly told them, is infinitely worse than the Parliament at Westminster ever was; for, though this latter guttle and guzzle too under the same roof, and at the very time that they are law-making; and though the greater part of them may pay the score out of their pensions, sinecures, retired-allowances, half-pay, grants, or allowances, they do not *directly vote our money*, in order to pay for their beef-steaks and mutton-chops and grog and brown-stout and ale and porter, which they get at BELLAMY'S. The curious scene to which I have alluded was as follows:

At a meeting of the Common Council, which took place on Friday the 8th of June, the sum of three thousand pounds was voted for an *entertainment*, to which Earl Grey, his colleagues, and all the Lords and Commoners, are to be invited who voted for the Reform Bill, and at which *fête* the said Earl Grey and Lord Althorp are to be presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box, value one hundred guineas *each*. After which Charles Pearson moved, and was seconded by Mr. Thornhill, that an additional sum, which is now fixed at three

thousand pounds, should be voted from the corporation funds, to be distributed amongst the freemen residing in the City of London, to commemorate the passing of the Reform Bill; but which said motion was warmly objected to by Mr. *Figgins*, and by Mr. Jones, chairman of the New London Bridge committee, and by Deputy Tickner, on the score that it was an electioneering trick of the movers, Mr. Pearson and by Mr. Walter Peacock, for the reason that the said freemen would feel themselves *pauperised*, by accepting the said *cash* or dinner, if so laid out. Mr. Richard Taylor supported the motion, and was followed by Mr. Death, the new member for Portsoken Ward, who expressed himself astonished that Mr. Jones and Mr. Tickner should attribute any motive to the honourable mover, beyond that of wishing to make all hearts rejoice upon so memorable an occasion, and more particularly as it was only returning, in a very small proportion, the people's own money, which was a very uncommon thing for the corporation to do, to those who stood most in need it, and he must said, it was the *best* act that had emanated from the corporation since he was a *member* of it, and did honour to the head and heart of the mover; but how was he to reconcile Mr. Peacock's expression, namely, that the freemen would consider themselves pauperised at such an offer being made them? He would ask the honourable gentleman if any member in that court would feel himself pauperised by partaking of the three thousand pounds voted for a dinner an hour before? Would any of the aristocracy that would be invited feel themselves pauperised by partaking of the said dinner? Would Earl Grey and Lord Althorp consider themselves pauperised by partaking of the said dinner out of the citizens' pockets? And it would be needless to ask if any of the alderman would. And who, he would inquire, of all these were the most deserving to share this bounty? *Why*, the *people* to be *sure*; was it not the *people* who carried the *Reform* Bill? Were not the Ministers obliged to resign in consequence of the dilemma they were thrown into? *And did not the King himself* * * * * when victory was in their grasp. Order, order, from the Lord Mayor and several members who rose simultaneously, and vociferated, *Order, order, order*; at the same time Mr. Deputy Brook exclaimed, he never heard such language used in that Court before; and some member observing there was only one Alderman present, the debate must be *suspended*, upon which Charles Pearson *rose* and informed the Lord Mayor he might send out the mace and bring an Alderman into Court if one could be found, but at this moment the *would*-be Alderman, or rather the Alderman's Alderman Hugh Hughes, Esq., and Alderman Cowan, arrived; upon which Mr. Death continued; that reform in manners was wanted in that Court, for he had only spoken the truth of the King and his Ministers; and would not be *put down*. No man was more loyal than he was to the Constitution and to the King, but at the same time no man was more firmly attached to the cause of the *people*, for they were the supporters of all governments, and to the people's firmness we were indebted for the *Reform Bill*—and the Ministers for now being in possession of their *office*, therefore he should with all his heart support the motion. The motion was referred to the General Purpose Committee.

The gutfle and guzzle is voted; but, somehow or other the Ministers have no *appetite* for the feast. In almost all the country towns, the people of property have been regaling the working people, or are about to do it, at their own expense. Our law-makers think it more convenient to regale themselves at the working people's expense. Charley's proposition for giving two thousand five hundred pounds, for to feast *forty thousand* of the working people, while about a hundred and fifty of themselves were devouring three thousand pounds, was like tossing oats down to the dogs and cats, to keep them quiet while the family is at dinner.

CHARLEY, whose taste as to decency and decorum is extremely refined, likes, as all your *sober* men do, a quiet meal, and though a cheerful, yet a tranquil glass after it. Therefore, I suppose it was, that he fell upon this scheme of keeping us quiet and at a distance; seating us in FARRINGDON MARKET-HOUSE, that result of the prince of all jobs, while he, cheek by jowl with his own Lord Mayor, was receiving into his maw the fruits of our earnings, giving us about a clear nine-pence a-piece to feast upon, while he and his worthy colleagues were swallowing fifteen or twenty pounds a-piece of our money. Let him not be too sure; for, though FARRINGDON MARKET is half a mile from GUILDHALL, an *adjournment* from the former might, by some accident or other, very considerably augment the number of guests at the latter; and then, what a commotion there would be amongst the tureens of turtle, and the pyramids of pastry! Why, CHARLEY'S hair would stand an end, instead of hanging down in those graceful ringlets which adorn his head as present.

It is impossible to mention FARRINGDON Market without thinking of the proposed job for slaughtering cattle by steam, to which I alluded in my last *Register*, the defeating of which job, and saving us a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was the great ground of the hostility to Mr. SCALES.

GALLOWAY'S premises were to have been taken for the City slaughterhouse, and for the spaces around it, at an expense of *fifty thousand pounds*. The slaughterhouse was to have been in the form of the *Amphitheatre* of TIBERIUS at ROME, and was to have cost eighty thousand pounds. So here were to be expended a hundred and thirty thousand pounds of our money; and then GALLOWAY was to have been the *contractor* to slaughter the cattle *by steam*. There are other jobs, to be mentioned another time, which were upset by Mr. SCALES; and here is the true cause of the implacable enmity to him. They know very well, that there are a hundred things which he would bring to light, if he were in the Court of Aldermen. There he must be, unless, which is by no means improbable, a Reformed Parliament should think proper to break up this Corporation altogether: we shall be entitled to its protection, to be sure, as well as the rest of his Majesty's subjects. The Parliament will not abandon us, any more than it will abandon any other part of the people. It will hear our petitions, to be sure; it will listen to our crying grievances; it will inquire into what is done with the money that is taken from us: it will look into the why and the wherefore of the immense sums which are squandered away, and have been squandered away, in feastings, in summer excursions, in gold boxes, and in swords set with diamonds. It will inquire by what authority these men have spent our money in this manner; and it will deal with them, to be sure, as the Parliament dealt with the South Sea bubblers. In short, this little THING must follow the fate of the great THING: both have been FUNDING long enough: it is now high time to talk of REFUNDING. Above all things, a reformed Parliament will inquire into the affair of PORTSOKEN Ward; into that act of matchless oppression, and of daring contempt of all justice. For my own part, I should feel myself covered with everlasting infamy, if I were to sit in a reformed Parliament a month without using the best of my endeavours to cause justice to be done on those who have audaciously deprived the people of PORTSOKEN of their rights.

FOX CLUB.

THE *Morning Chronicle*, which is now become the basest of all the slaves of the Whigs, gave an account the other day of a "FOX CLUB," held at Greenwich, above all places in the world; and, which I hope is not true, getting away without being covered all over with mud and other stuff from the kennel. Old DADDY COKE, the sinecure lighthouse-man, was of the party; there were all the Ministers, I believe, and a great parcel of their hangers-on. The impudence of this is quite astonishing. Fox never did one single thing that was

good to the country. He wrote a lying book in defence of the RUSSELL who was beheaded; and nobody but stupid and corrupt Whigs ever read it. There is scarcely a single sub-editor of a newspaper that could not write a book as well. He was a *sinecure placeman* all his life long, from the time that he was in petticoats till the day of his death: and, from the day of that death he has left us his widow (the particulars relating to whom I will not state) to keep for her life, at the rate of twelve hundred pounds a year, and two daughters of hers of the name of WILLOUGHBY, to be kept by us at the rate of twelve hundred after her death, and until the end of their lives, joint or separate. He sucked up about seventy thousand pounds of our money in sinecures, and his WIFE has already sucked up upwards of thirty thousands more! These are pretty grounds whereon to call upon the people to *honour the memory of this man!* The fact is, that this FOX CLUB is revived again, in the hope of again dividing the people into FOXITES and PITTITES, and thus to cause them to be cheated by each faction in its turn. I crippled these two factions in 1806 and 1807; especially the base and hollow WHIG faction, which has never forgiven me. It is now making an attempt to revive; but it has a DEBT, and let it pay that. It will never revive; it will plunge the country into any misery, in order to be able still to plunder it; but it will never revive.

COLLINS.

THERE was a great assemblage of magistrates, it seems, at Wokingham, on Tuesday last, in order to examine this man who flung the stone at the King's head. After a long parade of swearings about that which the man had never denied, the prisoner was asked what he had to say in his defence; and he, without the least hesitation said: "I own myself in a great fault "for throwing these stones at his Ma- "jesty. I was in Greenwich Hos- "pital on the 16th December last, "as an in-pensioner. I had been "there eighteen months. The ward- "keeper was sweeping the place, and I "told him he had no business to sweep "it more than once a day; the boat- "swain's mate abused me, and I re- "turned it. A complaint was then "made to Sir Richard Keats, and I "was *expelled for life*. I petitioned the "Lords of the Admirality to have the "pension which I had before I went into "the Hospital, restored to me. I am "entitled to that pension by an act "passed in the reign of George IV. "*which entitles a pensioner to have the* "*same pension which he had before he* "*became an in-pensioner*, unless he "*struck an officer*, or *committed felony*; "I did no such thing; on the 19th "of last April I petitioned the King to "have my pension restored. He an- "swered by sending the petition to the "Lords of the Admirality, and Mr. Bar- "row, the Secretary, sent a letter to me "at the public-house, the Admiral "Duncan, with the same answer the "King gave. The answer was, that "'His Majesty could do nothing for "me.' This was part in writing, and "part in print. I had neither work- "house nor overseer to apply to, *and* "*had not broke my fast for three days*; "merely distress drove me to it. His "Majesty never did me an injury, and "I am exceedingly sorry I threw a "stone or anything else at his Ma- "jesty. On the 17th of the present "month I went to Admiral Rowley's; "he *swore at me and kicked me*. I can "only say I am very sorry for what I "have done, *and must suffer the law*. "They had *no right to take my pension* "*from me*, to which I was entitled *by* "*act of Parliament*."

I shall make no comment. But it will be curious to see *how this will end!* There is no "*special commission*" ordered yet. I wonder whether there will be! Let us keep our eye upon this affair.

MILITARY REVIEW.

I TAKE the following from *The Times* newspaper of Thursday, 27th of June.

It having been generally announced that his Majesty intended yesterday to present the

1st, or Grenadier Foot Guards, which have lately arrived from Ireland, with a pair of new colours, at 10 o'clock this fine regiment marched into Hyde Park, and took up their position; shortly after two squadrons of the 14th Light Dragoons, in their new uniform, and four squadrons of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), with a park of artillery of 12 guns, entered upon the ground.

The Artillery took up their position on the right, and the Guards formed themselves in line. The *ground was kept* by the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), and two squadrons of the 2d Life Guards, *with a strong force of the Metropolitan Police.* At 9 o'clock a considerable crowd had collected in the park, and by the time the King arrived, this crowd had become a multitude.

At 11 o'clock the Earl of Munster entered Hyde-park by the grand entrance, followed by a servant in state livery, and shortly after six of the Royal carriages (escorted by a body of the Life Guards) drove through. In the first was Prince George of Cambridge; and in the second the officers of his Majesty's household; in the third and fourth were the Duchesses of Kent, Gloucester, and the other branches of the Royal Family; in the fifth was his Majesty; and in the sixth was the Queen.

Their Majesties' reception on this occasion presented a remarkable contrast with that which greeted them on this very spot last summer, when his Majesty reviewed some troops.

When the King and Queen entered the park, the people who had lined both sides of the road, *received them in profound silence.* As they proceeded on their route, *a few* of the by-standers here and there took off their hats and cheered, but they never amounted to more than *a dozen* at any one time. The applause of these persons was sometimes opposed by a hiss from others, but the great mass of the people remained entirely passive. When the Royal train arrived on the ground, they were favourably received by a crowd *of gentlemen and ladies*, who, having the privilege of *entrè*, were allowed to pass within the outer line of soldiers; but this party bestowed their warmest approbation upon the Duke of Wellington, whom *they cheered heartily* as often as he passed near them in the course of the morning.

When their Majesties alighted within the Park, nearly opposite Stanhope-gate, a royal salute was fired by the artillery, and the band played "God save the King."

The King, accompanied by her Majesty, the royal princesses, the Duke of Wellington, Prince George of Cambridge, and a considerable staff, passed up and down the lines. They then took up their position, and the troops marched by in review order, after which the Guards formed themselves into a square, and *her Majesty presented this fine regiment with a new pair of colours*, the men presenting arms. The troops then formed again in line, and marched by in open columns, with their new colours flying and bands playing.

Shortly before two o'clock, their Majesties quitted the ground. The people had by this time assembled in great numbers along the road. *His Majesty* was received with *mingled applause* and *disapprobation*; but the Queen, who was exposed to the public gaze, her carriage having been thrown open since her arrival, was assailed *with loud yells.* In this way the royal party proceeded through Hyde-park, and down Constitution-hill, *where the disapprobation was more unequivocally expressed*, and continued, *without a single attempt*, as far as we could perceive, *to turn the current of feeling*, until their Majesties entered the gardens of St. James's Palace, amidst a shout of the most *discordant sounds.*

The *Morning Chronicle*, which is become the basest of all the hacks of Whigs, gives an account of this affair, which is a string of lies from the beginning to the end. My patience with the Doctor is almost exhausted: he has, manifestly, a *place* in his nose: he can see, I dare say, no reason why he should not come in for *smuggling*, along with COULSTON, the *reporther*. Let him: I will take care that the taxes he gets shall not be of easy digestion. He is now acting the part of the lowest government tool that ever appeared upon this stage of corruption. He had yesterday (Wednesday) a long extract from BOWRING'S FORTHCOMING REVIEW," some of "the *sheets* of which he had had "the *good fortune* to obtain before they "were published!" Oh! wretched *political impostor!* And not tell CLEMENT'S customers that you are *a partner* with BOWRING! In another part of this *Register* these political impostors are fairly strung up.

With regard to the proceedings at the review, *The Times* has omitted to state that, when WELLINGTON came off the ground he was hissed and groaned at all the way from the middle of the park down to his house, which is at the corner of it; and that he was guarded by about three hundred of the police until he got fairly into his house, which has got iron bullet-proof blinds. The newspapers tell us that on the 26th instant, this Duke gave a grand entertainment to the King and Queen at his bullet-proof house; and that the royal party arrived at ELEVEN O'CLOCK. At

this hour, almost the dead of night, the "*populace*" were of course sleeping in their beds.

NATIONAL FAITH.

At Morpeth, in the county of Northumberland, on the 15th instant, there was a meeting to celebrate the fall of the boroughmongers, when a Mr. Roscar Shute was called to the chair. The chairman, in opening the business of the day, professed his ardent attachment to *national faith*, and, upon this subject was boldly answered by a Mr. Blakey, who has written a very excellent and profound work, lately published, and who appears to be a very clever man. I will here give from The *Tyne Mercury* the report of what was said by these two gentlemen upon this occasion, and then I will submit to my readers a few remarks upon the subject.

Chairman—I am not one of those who would support a violation of *national faith* and *national honour* by the *confiscation of corporation or funded property*. The public creditors are *the poor*, whose pittance is vested in the *savings' banks*—shall we *rob* them? The *retired tradesman*, the *widow* and the *orphan*, whose fortunes are in trust—are they to be despoiled? In the public funds is placed the capital of many of the *splendid charities* of our land—in taking it we should *again rob the poor*. The surplus money of *private bankers*—no! for their ruin would spread *desolation* throughout the land, and involve that of thousands.

Mr. Blakey—In alluding to the Reform Bill, I would beg to observe that the only way in which this measure can prove beneficial to the nation at large is, by effecting a great reduction of taxation. (Cheers.) And this brings me to make a remark upon one part of the speech of our able and worthy chairman, that the funded property of the nation was as sacred as that of private property of any other kind, and ought to be as inviolably secured. Now, gentlemen, from this opinion I *entirely dissent*. (Loud *cheers*.) I consider our public debts to be the source of by far the greater part of the difficulties and troubles of the nation; and also that the Parliament has a *just right to reduce the interest of this debt* in any proportion which the wants or exigencies of the state may demand. (*Cheers*.) By far the greater part of this enormous debt was contracted for the openly avowed purpose of crushing the rising liberties of France, and keeping down principles of reform at home; and I, for my part, consider myself *absolved on principles of equity* from any obligation to support the claims of the public creditor at his present standard of income. (Loud cheers.)

The Chairman then rose and said—Gentlemen, I should be wanting to myself if I suffered the eloquent but ill-judged remarks of the last speaker to pass unnoticed. The doing such an act of injustice as robbing the public creditor would cause every one to look around, and to think his turn *would* come next—that the same measure would apply to depriving him of *his house*, or *land*, or *private property*. I am not an English fundholder. I, therefore, speak disinterestedly. *Before* such an act of spoliation is again dreamed of, *let every useless place, pension, and sinecure be cut down*, from the coach-wheel greaser to him who directs the carriage of the state.

Mr. Blakey said, he would beg leave merely to make a remark explanatory of what he had said before. He agreed with the chairman that not a single farthing should be taken from the fundholder *till all unnecessary places and pensions were abolished*; but if this should prove insufficient for the country's welfare, he contended that it was both expedient and just to take off a part of the interest of the debt.

Mr. Blakey's answer, and the repeated "*loud cheers*" of the audience, make all commentary unnecessary; but I cannot help observing on this cant about the POOR. Just as if *they* had any money in the "*Savings Banks*." Just as if those, whose bellies are empty and whose backs are bare, had money to put into banks. It is the rich and not the poor who have the money in those banks; and the nation is cheated by the giving a higher interest to them than they ought to receive. The scheme was to get away every penny of money that any of the working people had, or might have; and in this way *to bind them to the infernal system*. This has totally failed. It has got the money only of old maids; little usurious shopkeepers, gentlemen's servants, excisemen, London beadles, and the like vermin; all of whom, in any political strife, are of no more consequence than so many flies or gnats. But, be the parties what they may, they have CHOSEN to become fundholders; they have not been *compelled* to become fundholders; they have not been compelled to prop up this mischievous system. They will not prop it up, it is true: they will help to pull it down; but the intention of the savings banks was to prop it up; and, as the *nation* did not compel them to endeavour to prop it up, so it is not

bound to make good what they may lose by their endeavour to prop it up.

As to "*retired tradesmen*," just the same may be said of them; and with regard to "widows and orphans," they must, as other widows and orphans do, take the consequences of the indiscretion or evil disposition of their husbands and parents. If I were to die, leaving my wife and children in distress, in consequence of my having laid out my money in *Spanish bonds*, or in a *canal speculation*, the shares in which had become not worth a penny in the pound, would the public be called upon to provide for my widow and children? No: they must abide by the evils inflicted upon them by my indiscretion or my greediness.

What! and are the funds belonging to "*public charities*" actually *lent to the Government!* What! lend the poor's money to the Government and not give it to them! Poh! No wonder that the audience cheered Mr. BLAKEY. It is a curious sort of *national faith* that takes the money left to the poor and lends it to the Government. If I wanted to triumph in an argument upon this subject, there is no man that I would sooner have for an adversary than Mr. SMITH; who, though I dare say he is a very worthy man, has, I am very sure, never taken time to look well into this subject: if he had, he would be satisfied that if the interest of the debt continue to be paid, the reform of the Parliament will not be worth a pin.

FUNDHOLDER'S CASE.

London, 4th June, 1832.

SIR,—As a reader of your *Register* for a period of more than twenty years, and as a general admirer of your writings, I flatter myself you will hold me excusable in venturing to propound one question to you. I am a retired military officer, who, after a term of nearly thirty years' service, passed almost wholly in ungenial climes, and who having more than once bled in our country's cause, thought myself well entitled to retire to my native village, and enjoy in security the pittance derived from the sale of my commission: but I was allowed the sale of those commissions *only* which I had previously *purchased*. From the public, therefore, I have never received one boon. The proceeds arising from the sale of my commission I took in hard sovereigns (not in depreciated paper) *to the Government office for the reduction of the national debt*, and purchased therewith *a life annuity*, which, by-the-bye, barely yielded me six per cent., what they call the *consols* having been at the time 96. Now, the question I submit to you, Mr. Cobbett, is simply this:—"Whether you think that any "'Parliament' reformed or unreformed, "could, *without gross injustice* and *gross* "*cruelty*, deprive me of the pittance "for which it is clear I have *greatly* "*overpaid the public*, and thus consign "to the poor-house an old worn-out "officer, whose only error would have "been a generous confidence in his "*country's faith*?"

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
A RETIRED OFFICER.

ANSWER.

This gentleman must be considered by me merely as a *fundholder*. His soldiering affair he entered into and went out of in his own way, and according to his own pleasure. It is a sort of mixed matter of *glory* and of trade that I do not much understand; but this I know, that he was well paid for his services by the nation while he was a soldier, and that the nation owes him nothing, at any rate, on that score. It is as a *fundholder* that I must view him. I say that the nation is not *bound to pay any fundholder one single farthing*. This gentleman chose to lend his money to them who had the carrying on of the THING, there was no compulsion in the case: he might have bought land with his money, or bought a *rent charge*. He chose to be a fundholder: he chose to lend his money to the THING: by such LOANS the THING has been able to oppress us. As the law now stands he has a right to

his annuity: but I am ready to prove at any time, and I have proved a hundred times over, that it would be "*injustice*" and "*cruelty*," in a reformed Parliament, not to alter that law. That it will be altered this gentleman may be well assured; and, if *he do not sell his annuity as soon as he can*, he will now read my *Register* with as little advantage as he appears to have done it for the last *twenty years*, during which time I have been constantly maintaining, that the nation owed the fundholders not one single farthing, and that, finally, not one farthing would it pay them.

WM. COBBETT.

CHEAP RELIGION.

Portsea, 5th June, 1832.

SIR,

The Reform Bill at length has become the established law of the kingdom, in effecting of which I consider you to have been a principal instrument in the hands of Providence. The next work to be done, which will be of the greatest importance, is to rectify the antichristian, sinful, and abominable traffic existing in the church. It is the covetous-hearted priest, always acting diametrically opposite to the Gospel of Christ, that has given rise to all the malicious atheism and infidelity which are so notorious in our otherwise happy land. Christ said to the Jews, that they "*had made his Father's house a den of thieves*," because sheep and oxen were sold, and money-changers sitting, in the outer courts of the temple. Now, the church sale is not oxen and sheep, but holy things, *cures of souls, parsonages, vicarages, tithes, &c. &c.*; and our money-changers, our buyers and sellers, are chiefly consecrated persons. One priest, having two or more livings, makes gain by what he calls the Gospel, by letting these livings to others. A bishop has his thousands a year, and thousands of souls in his diocese are starving for want of necessary sustenance. Sir, I am willing to give all honour to whom honour is due; to fear God and honour the king. I am willing to render unto Cæsar the things which belong unto Cæsar, but I cannot render unto Cæsar that which belongs to God—*my conscience*. Could the first heralds of Christianity, whose language was "*God forbid that I should make gain of the gospel of Christ*," and whose hands administered to their own necessities, arise from the dead, and view the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, their very blood would boil with horror and consternation. They would see the titles of the Most Holy, the Right Rev. Father in God, His Grace, &c. &c. given to men who have not a spark of either holiness or grace. They would see a Protestant parson wresting tithes from a Catholic farmer, for the purpose of fattening his own hide. They would see those holy bishops sanctioning bloody wars, causing church-bells to ring, and singing Te Deums, both in Papist and Protestant countries, for rivers of blood being spilt. Christ says, "*My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom was of this world, then would my followers fight. Hence my kingdom is not of this world.*" "This commandment," says he, "I give unto you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know *that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another as I have loved you.*" Where shall we find this mark of Christianity in our modern priests and bishops? They love their belly-god, and fleece their flocks. Fancy to yourself, Sir, Jesus Christ, after his divine sermon on the Mount, putting himself at the head of a bloodthirsty army, or St. Paul going with a squadron of fire and brimstone, to make more havoc than a devouring earthquake, and you will view modern Christendom depicted in its true colours.

My firm belief is, that God will not bless us as a nation till a courageous and manly resistance be made against the odious exactions of tithes. There are many clergymen who would rejoice, and hold up both their hands for its accomplishment, being assured, by the God whom they serve, that their bread and water would be sure: but every worldly antichristian priest would rave like a bear bereaved of its whelps. I beg you not to let your *Register* be

silent till these existing evils are rooted out of the church, that all may pay what they please to their priest; and the nation will have greater reason to thank you, than a Nelson, a Wellington, or any other bloody warrior that ever existed. Wishing you success,

I am,

Your obedient Servant,

WILLIAM FREEMAN.

CORONERS BILL.

IN the House of Commons, on the 20th, a most interesting debate took place upon a Bill to regulate the office of Coroner. This was a most curious debate, and ended in a most curious manner. WARBURTON made a motion, that coroner's courts, and their inquests should be in future open to every body, like other courts of justice. This was opposed by WETHERELL, CRIPPS, INGLIS, ADEANE, and WYNN; but was *finally carried by a majority of pretty nearly two to one.* The affair of the Duke of CUMBERLAND and SELLIS was brought up. But I must leave the reader to form his own judgment upon the whole of this matter, just telling him that it is of the greatest possible interest. I shall have a remark or two to add after I have inserted the debate.

Mr. WARBURTON then proposed an amendment, in order to provide that all coroner's inquests should be *held in open court, to which the public might obtain admission.*

Mr. CRIPPS objected to the motion, on the ground that inquests were most frequently held in private houses, from which the public could of right be excluded by the proprietors.

Mr. O'CONNELL said that if there were any obstacle opposed to the publicity of an inquest, on the ground that it was to be held in a private house, the coroner could adjourn to any other place. But now that he had seen something of private inquests, he could understand why so many persons were desirous of becoming coroners. (Hear, hear.) Having the power to exclude witnesses and reporters, they might expect to turn the office to account. To put such a case as had been stated by the hon. Member for Preston, he would suppose that a man had died in jail, had been murdered in jail—and such things had sometimes happened (hear)—what security was there that the coroner's inquiry would lead to a full and fair investigation, if the inquest could be held in secret? In all such cases, the only protection which the people could have was by the free admission of the reporters for the public press. He looked upon the impunity of those who were concerned in the celebrated murders at Manchester to have been secured by the imperfection of the law respecting the coroner's court. The highest courts of law were open, although in them there was some guarantee for justice, in the education, experience, previous character, and responsibility of the judge; whereas, neither experience nor education, nor any qualification whatever was required in the coroner who had the power of deciding absolutely and in secret. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STRICKLAND looked upon the motion as one of the greatest importance. He thought that publicity was most desirable in all cases of judicial inquiry, and especially in those inquiries which, from their nature, were the most likely, when conducted in secret, to give rise to painful suspicions in the public mind. He should therefore support the motion.

Sir R. INGLIS would not consent to the coroners being deprived of the power of protecting persons who were accused upon insufficient grounds, from the injury which an *ex parte* publication might occasion. In extreme cases, the coroner ought to have the power to exclude all who were not concerned in the inquiry.

Mr. O'CONNELL said that it was only by a judge made law, of no longer existence than the last sixteen years.

Mr. HUNT would not only support the motion, but he had heard enough from the opponents of the motion, to remind him of the expediency of inserting in the bill a clause to prevent the coroner for Westminster from dismissing the jury, which he might have called in the first instance, and summoning another, in a case where a murder had been committed in the palace of St. James. (Hear, hear.) For he knew of a case of that kind, out of which had grown a prosecution for libel, which he believed was now before one of the criminal courts. A man was murdered in the palace of St. James, and the coroner having called one jury, dismissed it, and summoned another. (Hear, hear.) The consequence was, that the bloody and mysterious transaction had never undergone a thorough investigation, for the person who was principally implicated had never been examined. (Hear, hear.) He would appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether (in the present times, when so much was said by him and his friends of their regard for the liberties of the people,) that noble Lord would continue to the coroners the power of secret inquisition, which they claimed, and which was little better than a restoration of the Star-chamber? (Hear, hear.)

Sir CHARLES WETHERELL complained that the hon. Member for Preston had made a most uncalled-for accusation against the conduct of the coroner and jury who had investigated the case th which that hon. Member had alluded to a way which no one could mis-

understand. The hon. Member had thought fit to state that the person principally concerned in a murder committed within the precincts of St. James's Palace had not been examined on the inquest. But the hon. Member must be aware that the principal person—that is, the man who was guilty of the murder—had killed himself, and could not be examined by the coroner, otherwise than by the inspection of the murdered body; and from that and the other testimony, it was plain that the man had cut his own throat. The hon. Member for Preston must have read the libel to which he had alluded, and he ought not to have made himself a copyist of so scandalous a libel. (Hear.)

Mr. HUNT had read the libel as it appeared in the reports of the hon. and learned Member's speeches. (Hear, and a laugh.)

Sir C. WETHERELL asked what then was it that the hon. Member for Preston had dared to say?

Mr. HUNT—Hear, hear. (Laughter.)

Sir C. WETHERELL would ask again, what was it that the hon. Member for Preston had dared to state, in allusion to the case in which the name of a certain illustrious person was implicated?

Mr. HUNT—Hear, hear, hear! (Laughter.)

Sir C. WETHERELL would tell the hon. Member that his statement was not true. (Hear, hear.) It was not true that the jury first summoned had been dismissed, in order that another might be summoned. The law was, that if a murder should be committed in the palace, the jury must be taken from the King's domestics. But in the case to which the hon. Member for Preston had thought proper to refer, a jury of persons unconnected with the palace was summoned, in order to preclude the least suspicion of partiality. (Hear, hear.) Having given that answer to the statement of the hon. Member for Preston, he must say that it was the bounden duty of that Gentleman, as a member of the House, to declare that what he stated was inaccurate and untrue, and that he (Mr. Hunt) had been misinformed; for he (Sir C. Wetherell) could assure the hon. Member that it was "*physically demonstrated*" upon the inquest to have been impossible that the man had died by any other than his own hand. "Face to face with Mr. Place" (laughter)—the foreman of that Jury—the hon. Member for Preston would not have dared to state what he had inaccurately and untruly stated in the House of Commons (Hear, hear.) The hon. Member for Preston, were he in the presence of any one of those jurors, would rather be in any other breeches than his own. (Much laughter.) The statement of the hon. Member for Preston was so audacious, that no other man in the House would dare to make it.

Mr. HUNT—Perhaps not.

Sir C. WETHERELL continued: No other Member would have the temerity. (Hear, hear! from Mr. Hunt.) There was no more reason to complain of the privacy of the coroner's inquest, than there would be to accuse the grand jury of conniving at the impunity of a murderer, because they threw out the bills. In conclusion, he maintained that no reason had been given for altering the present state of the law upon the subject in question.

Mr. HUNT, having made no attack upon any member of that House, had, however, very little difficulty in accounting for the attacks which had been made upon him. (Hear, hear.) The hon. and learned Member had, no doubt, professional reasons for driving him to this, that, and the other, which he well knew he could and would do. The hon. and learned Member had dared to accuse him of audacity; but at the same time he (Sir C. Wetherell) had not the audacity to say that the inquest had been satisfactory. The hon. and learned Member said that he (Mr. Hunt) had told untruths, but at the same time had shrunk from meeting the most important fact, which he (Mr. Hunt) had stated, namely, that the principal person, the Duke of Cumberland, the hon. and learned Gentleman's client, had not been examined. (Hear.) He would therefore still say that the mysterious and bloody case had not yet been investigated. He hoped that it would. (Hear.) The hon. and learned Member had dared to say, in terms not the most refined, that he (Mr. Hunt) would not dare to say to the presence of Mr. Francis Place, that the inquest had not been satisfactory. But the fact was, that twenty years ago, four days after the murder, he told Mr. Place what were his opinions upon the subject. From all that he had heard from Mrs. Sellis, and from the mother of the murdered man, respecting the appearance of the bed upon which Sellis was found lying, the basin full of blood, and the razor (placed upon a bureau at some distance from the bed), he thought it impossible that, if all the evidence had been heard, an honest unpacked jury would have found the verdict which the hon. and learned Gentleman so much relied upon. It might be very well for the hon. and learned Gentleman to say, in that House, that the principal person had cut his throat, but it was well known that the person principally accused in the opinion of the public had not been examined. (Cries of hear, hear, and question.) The person most implicated was still living. (Loud cries of hear, and question.)

Mr. CRIPPS said that the policeman who first entered the room acknowledged to him that he had, in a moment of agitation, removed the razor from the bed to the bureau.

Mr. ADEANE was desirous to put an end to a conversation which had so little relevancy to the question. He would oppose the amendment, because he thought it expedient that the preliminary proceedings of such a court as that of the coroner should not be made public without the permission of the judge.

Mr. O'CONNELL contended, that before the coroner there should be no secrecy whatever. The grand jury was at present a secret tribunal, and that formed the best possible rea-

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son why the court of the coroner should be thrown open. He would take his stand upon the broad principle, that every court of justice ought to be open to the public.

Mr. PORTMAN would support the clause contemplated in the amendment of the hon. Member for Bridport, but not on the ground taken by the hon. and learned Member for Kerry. On the subject of the secrecy of grand juries, he had only to say, that if grand juries ceased to be a close court, he feared that greater injury would arise than could be compensated for by any advantage which publicity could ensure.

Mr. WARBURTON said, that the question of the publicity of Grand Jury proceedings was not before the House. He should certainly take the sense of the House upon his amendment.

Mr. CRIPPS admitted the great value of publicity, generally speaking, but thought that a discretionary power might safely be vested in the coroner.

Mr. C. W. W. WYNN was also of opinion, that the observance of secrecy, or otherwise, might safely be entrusted to the coroner.

The committee then divided—

For the amendment enjoining publicity 94
Against it 54
Majority .....—40

After decision the had taken place, Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS gave the Ministers a hearty scolding, for having suffered this amendment to be carried. After this, the following is reported to have taken place.

Mr. BARING wished to ask, if an inquest was to be held in a private house, was that house to be open to *all the blackguards of the street?* Would it be imperative on the coroner to open all the doors of the house to the public.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, the coroner was not bound to hold the inquest in the room of the person. He wished to know what was meant by all the *blackguards of the street? The Courts of Chancery and of King's Bench were open—were they intruded upon by all the blackguards in the street?* The coroner might keep order in his court, and exclude disturbers, just as well as the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. CRIPPS asked would the clause not compel the coroner to open his court though he held the inquest in a private room?

Mr. O'CONNELL said the coroner might do that at present, and might admit *all the blackguards in the street if he pleased.*

Sir R. PEEL said, if the court were open, *without using the word blackguards*, an inquest in a private house might be attended by persons improper and disagreeable. He wished to know, therefore, whether the view of the body in a private house was not a judicial act, and ought to be performed in public like any other part of the coroner's inquest?

Mr. PETIT was understood to say, that the visiting the body could not be considered as a judicial act at which the public should be present. The visitation might take place, though the inquest might be held in another place.

Sir R. PEEL said a few words, insisting that the visitation was a judicial act, at which the public, according to this clause, would be entitled to be present.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, the public might undoubtedly be present, but it was only that part of the public which could be conveniently admitted. The principle of the clause was to take away from the coroner the power of making his court secret and close.

Blackguards! Bless us! We shall all be directly a heap of blackguards and swindlers, except the millionnaires and their tribes. I never heard such a talk about blackguards before. To hear this language of "our representatives," one would think we were all downright scum of the earth. However, we are now to be admitted to the coroner's inquests; and, therefore, that matter is settled. It was a pity that WETHERELL and HUNT should fall out at last, especially as there is now no chance of their making it up again.

BARING'S BILL.

THIS bill was recommitted in the House of Commons on Wednesday, the 17th instant. Lord ALTHORP voted against it; but it was suffered to go into the committee. There, I suppose, it will lie till doomsday; but I WISH THEY MAY PASS IT! We have jostled it and hustled it and tumbled it and turned it about; and, NOW LET THEM PASS IT; and let them leave it TO US to send men to pass *a similar bill for the Lords*! PEEL'S-BILL PEEL says, that he dares say that the Lords will originate such a bill themselves. PEEL'S-BILL PEEL dares to say a great many thing that I should not dare to say. Oh, no! the Lords may *forget* it; and we will instruct our new members not to let their Lordships to go to make laws, unless they punctually pay their debts! Ah! BARING: you thought you were deep; but you did not see this! LET THEM PASS IT, again I say: I want them to pass it now that it has been well exposed; and now they will not pass it. It is very cruel in them never to do anything that I want the mto do, while they do so many,

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many things that I want them not to do. Let them pass it by all means; and our new members will take care to extend it to the Lords upon the old maxim, that "sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

LIBEL TRIAL.

THE following account of an action for libel against Mr. WAKLEY, is interesting in itself; but more so on this account; that, while the jury gave a *farthing* damages in the case of Mr. WAKLEY, a jury gave the next day in the same court, *four hundred pounds* damages, in an action brought by this very same person for the very same paragraph, and that paragraph taken from the publication of Mr. WAKLEY. The only difference in the two cases was this; that the last defendant had *four counsel* to plead for him, and that Mr. WAKLEY had *nobody but himself*. Serjeant WILDE lead the plantiff's case upon both occasions; and Mr. WAKLEY gave him a cut *so deep*, that I will not attempt to open the wound here.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.—MONDAY.

[Nisi Prius Sittings at Westminster, before Mr. Justice BOSANQUET and a Special Jury.]

RAMADGE v. WAKLEY.—This was an action for alleged libel, to recover compensation, brought on the part of Dr. Ramadge, of Ely-place, Holborn, against Mr. Wakley, of *The Lancet*, for a letter reflecting on his character in that periodical. The defendant pleaded the general issue.

For the plaintiff appeared Messrs. Serjeants WILDE and SPANKIE, with Mr. ADOLPHUS and another; and Mr. Wakley himself conducted his own defence.

Serjeant WILDE briefly stated the case to the jury—expatiated on the character of his client, at the same time that he conceded merit to the defendant—laid down some of the principles of libel actions, showed that the present case came within those principles, and read the libel complained of, which was published in the number of *The Lancet* for the 20th of August, 1831, which was a letter from a correspondent of that publication as follows:—

"RESULT OF UPHOLDING QUACKS.

"*To the Editor of The Lancet.*

"SIR—The following account of a medical fracas shows that your strictures against quacks and their coadjutors are duly appreciated by respectable medical men. Ten days ago, Miss Emma Bullock, of No. 1, Gloucester-place, Old Kent-road, was attacked by a fever, which was declared to be typhus. The young lady was attended by Dr. Ramadge and Mr. ——, a medical practitioner in —— street. For some reason she was not bled until Friday, when a vein in the arm was opened, and eight dozen leeches were applied to the head and neck. On Saturday the temporal arteries were opened on both sides; she fainted, and the apothecary having left her, the nurse succeeded in bringing her round with tea-spoonsful of wine and water, and from a state of delirium she became rational, though very weak. On Sunday another dozen of leeches were applied, and immediately afterwards she became delirious, when Dr. Tweedie's advice was required by the lady's relations. That gentleman, on his arrival, spoke to Dr. Ramadge privately—the purport of which may be guessed from what followed. Dr. Tweedie, in the presence of Dr. Ramadge and Mr. ——, addressed Mrs. Reynolds (the sister of the patient), and said, 'that having attended the family before, he should be happy now to give his assistance to the young lady; but that Ramadge's conduct in a late correspondence with John Long had been such, that no man of respectability could call him in or consult with him without injuring himself in the eyes of his brethren; that he (Dr. Tweedie) bore no private pique against Dr. Ramadge—he believed him, indeed, to be clever—but his character (as regarded the above transaction) rendered it imperative on all medical men to decline acting with him; and Mrs. Reynolds must, therefore, choose which she would entrust." Dr. Ramadge replied, in great anger, that he was a gentleman by birth and education, as well as profession; but that Dr. Tweedie was neither. * * * Dr. Tweedie answered him by turning coolly on his heel and walking out of the room. It is needless to say that after this Dr. Tweedie was retained. He ordered the instant cessation of mercurial frictions, of the tea-spoonful of calomel, the draughts, pills, potions, powders, &c. A composing draught was given, and nourishing beef-tea ordered, lotions to the head, &c. were applied, and under this treatment the patient was recovering. 'Who can decide when doctors disagree?' What can we poor, uninitiated think of such opposite opinions? The names of the parties are stated in full that the truth may be ascertained. I am told Ramadge is frequently at supper with John Long.

"London, July 28th, 1831. "ONE."

The Lancet was admitted to be the publication of the defendant, and a declaration, as in such cases, was adduced by the plaintiff, which averred he was a physician of knowledge and notoriety, of science and of skill and integrity—that he had been called in the above case—and that he had treated the lady properly, &c.

The apothecary alluded to in the libel was a Mr. Bradford, who was called as a witness, and the only witness in the action. He de-

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posed, that the young lady having become indisposed about the 15th of July, last year, he had been called in as the customary attendant and nearest medical adviser of the young lady, since deceased; he (having to go out of town for a couple of days) requested Dr. Ramadge to act for him, and attend Miss Bullock; and on witness's return to town, her family still continued the Doctor, as she had not recovered. He detailed minutely the prescriptions of Dr. Ramadge, day by day; and that he was accessary to most of them. Dr. Ramadge had indeed ordered leeches, but never more than thirty at a time; he had given calomel, but not a tea-spoonful, nor more than ten pills at a prescription, each pill containing about one grain; he had, indeed, used mercurial frictions and lotions, but these the constitution of the young lady required; for she was under great nervous excitement, with inflammatory symptoms. Dr. Ramadge continued his attendance till Sunday, the 24th of July, when Dr. Tweedie visited, as a former friend and physician of the family; and on Monday Dr. Ramadge ceased. On Thursday, while under the sole medical care of Dr. Tweedie, the young lady (Bullock) was called to Heaven.

He was cross-examined by Mr. Wakley as to the state of the patient before and during, and after the attendance of Dr. Ramadge; what disease she laboured under that required such depletions and lotions, and how far she was recovering under his care—with a view to prove that Ramadge had completely mistaken the cause of her disease, and, therefore, that he had administered improper medicines, giving sedatives where he should have given stimulants, and recommending depletions where he should have recommended nourishment. Eighteen ounces of blood had been taken from her under the greatest depressure—and mercury administered internally and externally. The witness, in answer, drew a demarcation between the symptoms of nervous excitement or irritability, and those of a diseased state of the brain, or of inflammatory action; and acknowledged that even in depletion there may be an increased vascular action with debility which some might mistake for nervous excitement, and give sedatives where they should have administered stimulants. He remembered when first Dr. Ramadge met Dr. Tweedie at the house of the young lady, and that the latter asked the former how he was received in respectable society after his declaration in favour of St. John Long? to which Ramadge said, that Tweedie was an impertinent fellow. Tweedie retorted that Ramadge had disgraced himself by his connexion with Long, and that no physician, having a regard for his own character, would hold a consultation with him; Ramadge said, "You are no gentleman, but the son of a mere milliner—I am a gentleman by birth, and education, and profession;" the altercation was continued in the room next the patient, and Tweedie desired the witness to call Mrs. Reynolds, to whom he said he would not advise nor prescribe with Ramadge, and stated his reasons; Mrs. Reynolds (sister of the young Miss Bullock, and since left England) permitted Dr. Tweedie to continue, and they at length made a joint prescription, wherein, instead of the mercury and leeches and other depletives, was ordered 1 oz. of oil of turpentine, with 1 lb. barley decoction, to be made into an enema, and to be administered immediately. Also a blister, to be placed over the whole of the posterior part of her head; and powder of rhubarb 12grs., sulphate of potash or com. op. salts 2 drs., powdered jalap 8 grs., syrrup of poppy (red) ½dr., cinnamon water 10 drs., to be made into a draught, and taken if necessary. To this prescription both gentlemen affixed their initials; Ramadge his, to the surprise of Bradford and the chagrin of Tweedie, who soon after tore them off. Ramadge has also been forced to admit an opiate (morphia) against his will. But the wine administered by the nurse was not with the knowledge of Ramadge; and witness thought that on Friday, the 22d, there were five chances to one in favour of the life of Miss Bullock. Ramadge had examined her lungs and abdomen; but on Tuesday Dr. Tweedie also discovered other symptoms of latent disease, not suspected by Ramadge. The young lady died while under Dr. Tweedie.

Mr. WAKLEY submitted that no case was made out; that the plaintiff should come into court with clean hands, in order to claim a verdict; and he asserted that the allegations in the plaintiff's declaration of skill and integrity, &c., remained unproved.

The Learned JUDGE thought that it had been proved that the plaintiff was a physician; that he had been attending in the case of Miss Bullock, and that the remarks in the publication were made on him, in consequence of that attendance.

Mr. Wakley then entered into his defence. He sought to prove that Ramadge had degraded himself by having been the advocate of St. John Long, and animadverted severely on the character of both, particularly on that of the latter. He said that his publication had certainly been open to strictures from correspondents on any species of delinquency in the medical profession; that the letter complained of had been first sent to Mr. Bradford, who did not deny the allegations in it, and that it was evident the publication by him was to elicit truth; Dr. Ramadge had been a correspondent of his in *The Lancet*, and he would have had every opportunity for a reply had he chosen that course; but his principal object (said Mr. Wakley) was to extort money, by bringing a civil action for damages, and in such cases the liberty of the press would be a mere nullity, if infamy were to continue secreted, and quackery undragged to day and to shame. He knew not who wrote the letter, and he scarcely hesitated to attribute it to Dr. Ramadge himself (great laughter), for the

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purpose of extorting money, if he (Wakley) had not been determined not to compromise in order to prevent an action, or if he could blindfold a jury into a verdict for damages. But he trusted that the age of technicalities and of trumpery-supported cases had gone, and that juries would be a shield for the just animadversions of the press on every species of infamy, physical and political. He remarked on the absence of any testimony in favour of the plaintiff but that of one single witness, who, he said, was interested, because implicated in the transaction, and thought himself aggrieved because the counsel for the plaintiff did not produce the sworn evidence of Mrs. Reynolds, which they have in possession. He trusted his cause in the hands of the jury, who, he trusted, would see the plaintiff had failed to disprove any of the assertions in the alleged libel, or to substantiate his own declaration.

The Learned JUDGE, in his charge, said that the systematic mode of treatment in general, or pursued in a specific case, was a lawful subject for fair criticism intended to improve science; but that an attack on the character of an individual, so as to degrade him in society and depreciate his prospects or property, was not. If the jury thought the publication was meant as the subject of fair criticism—and to this the jury might have a clew in the hostile spirit evinced by the defendant in his present case—and not intended against the individual, the verdict should be for the defendant; but if it was intended to degrade the individual rather than fairly to criticise, the plaintiff was entitled to their verdict. He recapitulated minutely the evidence—reminded the jury that, from the interval on which the letter bears date (28th July) to the date of publication (the 20th of August), the defendant must have had due time to deliberate. If the defendant, then having notice of the action, had a legal excuse for the publication, he was to put it on the record, and by that to abide. The defendant had not pleaded justification; but the general issue, or the denial of the libel publication.

The jury consulted for a short time, and the foreman said, "My lord, we give our verdict a shilling damages without costs."

Justice BOSANQUET—I don't know, gentlemen, that I could receive such a verdict.

Jury—And what, my lord, would be the least amount of damages to entitle costs?

Justice BOSANQUET at first said 40*s.*, but on consulting the clerk, said, damages to any amount.

The jury then immediately gave—Damages One Farthing.

Mr. WAKLEY asked the Judge to certify, but he was opposed by Serjeant WILDE.

He then asked that he might not be required to pay for the evidence taken privately of Mrs. Reynolds, which was not produced in Court; but this the learned Judge agreed should be submitted to him another time.

This case seemed to have excited great attention; for the Court was crowded greatly during the trial by many eminent medical gentlemen, among whom were Drs. Babington, Uwins, &c. &c.; and Mr. St. John Long, during the severe animadversions on him by Mr. Wakley in his defence, appeared attentive in taking notes—"aye there's the rub."

Ramadge has a similar case to-day against Dr. Ryan for a similar publication in *The Medical Journal*.

COBBETT LECTURES.

I SHALL lecture to the people of Marylebone *to-morrow night* (*Saturday*), at seven o'clock, at No. 86, Castle-street East, Oxford-street; Bazaar Coffee-house.

There will be no lecture on Friday, 6th July, at Sans Souci, I being going into Hampshire.

WM. COBBETT.

INFORMATION WANTED,

RESPECTING the numerous people called WINDHAMS; respecting the CROLES; and respecting the JORDANS; who of them are *in the church*; who of them are *married to parsons*; who of them are *in the army*; who of them are married to *military officers*; who of them are *in the navy*, or married to *naval officers*; and what their *livings are*, what their *military rank*, or *naval rank*; and what their *race* of preferment and *promotion*; that is to say, whether their learning and piety, or their services, have been in proportion to their income and rank; information that it will very soon be desirable to possess.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 22, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

SAUNDERS, T. jun., Austinfriars, merchant.
WOOD, P., Theobald's-road, cabinet-maker.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

KENTON, J., High-st., Poplar, linen-draper.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

NEWLAND, N., & H. White, Portsea, drapers.

BANKRUPTS.

GARDNER, B., Holmes-buildings, London-wall, pork-butcher.

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HOLLAND, W. C., Brighthelmstone, Sussex, draper.
HUMPHRYS, R., Winchester, woollen-draper.
HUNTER, W., Warwick, draper.
JACKSON, J. M., Manchester, rankeen-manufacturer.
JONES, G., Carnarvon, merchant.
JONES, J., Carmarthen, grocer.
PETERS, E. W., Coventry, wine-merchant.
SOWERBY, T., Blandford-street, Manchester-square, upholsterer.
WALTON, J., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, slater.
WATKINS, J., Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, shopkeeper.
WILDE, J., St. Alban's, Herts, maltster.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

BLACK, W., Glasgow, manufacturer.
SCOTT, J., Edinburgh, coach-builder.

TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

TEULON, S., Nelson-street, Greenwich, cabinet-maker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WARREING, W., Hollowell, Northamptonshire, miller.

BANKRUPTS.

ANDERSON, W. M., Foley-place, Mary-bonne, surgeon.
CHARLTON, T., Whitechapel, linen-draper.
COLLIER, R., Warminster, victualler.
DUNSDON, T., Worcester, pastry-cook.
EDMUNDSON, J., Manchester, cotton-manufacturer.
EDRIDGE, W. B., Long-acre, coach-maker.
FITCH, J., Halsted, Essex, auctioneer.
GICK, H., Liverpool, joiner.
HORNBY, J., Liverpool, corn-merchant.
LAWS, T., Chancery-lane, victualler.
NEWTON, H. T., Derby, liquor-merchant.
PETTET, A., Norwich, music-seller.
ROGERS, H., Oxford-street, jeweller.
ROSKELL, W. H., and T. Smith, Shoreditch, plumbers.
SALTHOUSE, J., Mountbarrow, Lancashire, cattle-dealer.
WHITTEMORE, W., Brighthelmstone, Sussex, bookseller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

COCKBURN, R., Edinburgh, dealer in china.
STIRLING, R., Edinburgh, hay-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 25.—Our supplies have been, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, malt, and flour, as also Irish oats, for the time of year, great: of Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat, and Irish flour, moderately good: of English barley, beans, and peas, as also English and foreign oats, limited. No seeds from any quarter.

This day's market was thinly attended both by London and country buyers, but as the sellers, notwithstanding the prospect of an abundant harvest, were stubbornly inclined, upon the plea that the late strong winds and heavy rains had beaten down, or lodged, consequently damaged, a considerable breadth of the growing crops, the trade was throughout very dull; with wheat and beans at fully, and malting barley, malt, flour, and boiling peas, at barely last Monday's quotations, with grinding barley and hog peas at an advance, oats, in most instances, at a depression, of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter.

In seeds, as will be seen above, there has been no fresh supply since this day se'nnight; little or nothing was doing: whence their quotations may be considered next to nominal. The lower quotation of red wheat stands higher than on this day se'nnight, on account of there being no rivet, or other very inferior red wheat offering.

Wheat	51s. to 65s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 30s.
——— fine	32s. to 36s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
——— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
——— Grey	32s. to 35s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to 25s.
——— Poland	22s. to 24s.
——— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	45s. to 47s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	49s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	127s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	67s. 0d. to 75s. per barl.
Cheese, Cheshire	64s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 64s.
——— Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	—s. to —s.
——— Cork	—s. to —s.
——— Limerick	—s. to —s.
——— Waterford	84s. to —s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
——— Edam	49s. to 54s.
——— Gouda	46s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	60s. to 70s.

SMITHFIELD.—June 25.

This day's supply of beasts, which was chiefly composed of grass-fed Scots, Norfolk homebreds, Welsh runts, and Lincolnshire and Durham, with a few Hereford and Devonshire steers and heifers, as also a considerable number of Town's-end cows; but which, as is usual at this time of the year, embraced but few large oxen of any kind, was, with that of calves, tolerably good; of sheep and lambs,

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which consisted of all breeds, but chiefly of South Downs, Kents, Lincolns, and new Leicesters, as also porkers, rather limited. The trade was, in the whole, dull; with prime small beasts and calves at an advance of 2d. per stone; with prime South Downs, and other small sheep, as also lambs not exceeding 10lbs. per quarter, at barely Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,727; sheep and lambs, 19,120; calves, 270; pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 29.

The arrivals this week are short, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann., shut.

THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE for ENGLAND and IRELAND, No. VI., for July, Price 1s. 6d.

Conducted by WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.

CONTENTS:—Art. 1. Observations on the Means of Making the Reform Bill an efficient Instrument of Ecclesiastical Reform.—2. Property in Tithes.—3. Mr. Cheetham's New Defence of Tithes, in answer to Mr. Eagle's Legal Argument.—4. Lord Henley's Plan of Church Reform.—5. Compulsory Maintenance of the Ministers of Religion.—6. Statement of the last General Meeting of Quakers, of their objections to Tithes.—7. Non-Resident and Resident Incumbents.—8. Curates in England and Wales.—9. Ecclesiastical Benefices in the Patronage of the Crown, the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, Universities, Colleges, and Peers, in England, Wales, and Ireland.—Monthly Retrospect of Events relating to Tithes, Church Reform, &c. &c.

E. Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange; and all Booksellers.

*** The publication of this Work being suspended until the Meeting of the Reformed Parliament, a Title-Page and Index are given with the present Number.

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealers, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS, Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of men of business.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers and Newsmen throughout the Empire.

"The 'Mark-Lane Express,' a new paper devoted to the agricultural and commercial interests, as well as to general intelligence and politics. It is well printed, and apparently well conducted, and promises to be a useful newspaper to persons in trade."—*Edinburgh Chronicle.*

"An excellent weekly paper, which should be in the possession of every corn-merchant and general trader."—*Lancaster Herald.*

"A new agricultural paper, very appropriately named, and very well conducted."—*Mechanics' Magazine.*

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END OF VOLUME LXXVI.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

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COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOLUME LXXVII.

FROM JULY 7, TO SEPTEMBER 29, 1832,

INCLUSIVE.

LONDON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,

11, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.

1832.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 77.—No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, July 7th, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

PLEDGES.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF THE WHOLE KINGDOM.

LETTER III.

Kensington, 3rd of July, 1832.

My Friends,

This is really VITAL matter! I shall first make a few remarks on the objections which the crafty knaves are making to *pledges generally*. In all the concerns of life, when we are engaging a person to do anything for us, whether he be servant, clerk, attorney, steward, or agent of any sort, we tell him what we want him to do for us, and he engages to do that thing. A member of Parliament is called the *representative*, and those who choose him are called his constituents. They constitute, or make him their representative; he is to act for them; he is to do that in his single person which it would be impracticable for them in a body to do for themselves; and of course they are to give him instructions what to do, and he is to promise, or to pledge himself, to obey those instructions. They do not choose him to do his own will, and not their will; and if he think it beneath him to be considered as their mere delegate to act for them, he ought not to undertake the task; to say to a body of person, *choose me to do what I like*, is at once nonsense and impudence.

What says our experience in common matters? How often have great mischiefs happened from there not being a clear understanding between the parties serving another, and the parties to be served. When a house or a farm is to be put into the occupation of one who is not the owner, how careful we are about the covenant! Why, these *high-spirited knaves* who are railing against pledges, would, I suppose, scorn to be parties to the covenants of a lease, they would scorn to be parties to a *contract* for furnishing this righteous Government with horses or clothing for the army, in which specific pledges are given with regard to the age and size of the horse, and with regard to the quality of the cloth. Their high blood would boil at the idea of *pledging themselves* to perform the specific things required of them in the ordination of priests, and in the consecration of bishops! In short, persons so very high-blooded as to deem it a degradation to give any pledge to those who entrust them with affairs of any sort, are far too high-blooded to be entrusted by anybody who has not the mind to be the slave of his agent.

So much for the *principle* of pledges; so much for the result of common sense and of reason applied to the case. And now for *experience*; and for our own recent experience as applicable to this very matter. The Reform Bill had to pass through two Houses: a *pledged* House, and *non-pledged* House. Through the pledged House it went very glibly; but we all recollect that a *non-pledged* House actually threw it out the first time, and passed it the second time, only because *something* was applied to it *quite as efficacious as a pledge!* Then the House which was pledged the *last* time, was not pledged the first time; and it was obliged to be *dissolved*, in order that we might have an opportunity of pledging it. In short, we all know that if the House of Commons had not been pledged, we should have had no Reform Bill.

The base reptiles in the city of London; these sneaking, tax-hunting knaves, who are now clamouring against the pledges put forth by the committee of the electors of London, and who are crying out, that *no gentleman will give*

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a pledge; these dirty wretches seem to forget, that they actually rejected Mr. WARD, solely because he would not give the pledge which they tendered to him; and the reptiles forget, too, that they called upon Mr. Alderman THOMPSON *to resign his seat*, because he had acted contrary to their wishes, and in violation of what they deemed his pledge. Yet these base reptiles are perfectly consistent: their sole object is to obtain a share of the public plunder for themselves; the surest way of getting at a share of that plunder is to be the tools of men in power. When, therefore, *pledges were desired by the Ministers*, these reptiles demanded pledges; but now that the Ministers want to prevent pledges from being given, these gluttonous devourers of our substance cry out against pledges.

One very good principle whereon for men to act is this, to discover that which your enemy dislikes most, and to conclude that that thing must be good for you. When the people used to express their wonder that I wished success to the Americans in the last war, my answer was, that the *boroughmongers* were above all things anxious to defeat them. That, therefore, the defeat of the Americans would be good for the boroughmongers; and that that which was good for the boroughmongers must be *bad* for me and my countrymen. Keeping this principle steadily in view, look at what is now passing. All the boroughmongers, all the placemen, all the pensioners, all the dead-weight, all the sinecure and retired-allowance people, all the parsons, all the tax and tithe-eaters, whether in possession or expectancy; all the whole band of gutlers, who are keeping the people of PORTSOKEN-WARD out of the enjoyment of their undoubted rights: every soul of all these is now crying aloud against pledges. The conclusion in the mind of every sane man is, that pledges are good for those who have to pay the taxes, and bad to receive none.

We want CHEAP GOVERNMENT: there is not a fellow, who has the impudence to put himself forward as a candidate, who will not confess that *cheap government* is necessary; and knowing that the government of the United States of America is beyond all measure the cheapest, in proportion to the resources and population of the country, that ever was heard of in the world; knowing this, it is worth while for us to be a little particular in ascertaining *whether the Americans take pledges* from the persons whom they choose to be their representatives. I could, from my own knowledge of the fact assert, that *they always demand pledges*; and that they never elect a man who will not distinctly pledge himself to do that which they wish and instruct him to do. I could assert this from my own knowledge of the fact; but if I had no such knowledge, I have the proof at hand, as will appear from the following document, relative to the breaking of a *pledge* by a Mr. GEORGE POINDEXTER, a SENATOR in the Congress of the United States from the State of MISSISSIPPI. This transaction is of great importance to our present purpose. We all wish for a government conducted as cheaply and honestly as that of the United States; to have that we must make use of the means which the Americans make use of; and in the document that I am about to insert, it will be seen that, amongst those means, is the *taking of pledges* from the representatives; and we shall also see the public, the solemn, and the severe manner in which those representatives are rebuked when they break their pledges. The reader will please to observe, that this GEORGE POINDEXTER is a SENATOR in the Congress of the United States, and that he broke his pledge given to his constituents. I now insert the document, or rather documents, which I take from a paper published at New York, and called the NEW YORK COURIER; and dated no longer ago than the *8th of May in this year*, 1832.

Mr. POINDEXTER.—We extract from the *Monticello Gazette* the proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of Covington county, held at Williamsburg, Mississippi, to express their sentiments on the conduct of Mr. Poindexter in the senate of the United States. We also publish the proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of the county of Jones,

held at Ellisville, in that state, for the same purpose: the latter having been transmitted us for insertion.

It has scarcely happened in the annals of our country, that the conduct of any public man has been more *severely rebuked*, or called down *deeper indignation*, than that of Poindexter and his associate Moore, in the memorable debate on the nomination of Mr. Van Buren—not only from the public generally, but from their own homes, their immediate constituents, has the voice of condemnation gone forth. It is cheering thus to see the people stand forth in their might and put down the traitor to his party and the trust reposed in him.

Ellisville, Miss., April 3, 1832.

At a public meeting of the citizens of the county of Jones, agreeable to notice publicly given, for the purpose of expressing the feelings of the people of this country, relative to the sentiments expressed in a speech lately delivered by the bonourable George Poindexter, in the senate of the United States, on the nomination of Martin Van Buren, as Minister to the court of St. James; Colonel Samuel Ellis was called to the chair, and Lennon B. Ellis appointed secretary. The object of the meeting having been explained, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz.

Resolved, That we do approve of and most heartily concur in the sentiments and principles expressed and contained in the resolutions adopted at a meeting for a similar purpose, held by our fellow-citizens of Covington county, at Williamsburg, on the 26th ultimo.

Resolved. That the sentiments of our senator and representative in the legislature (meant at this meeting), giving the reasons for their vote for Mr. Poindexter, as senator to Congress, as a part of the proceeding of this meeting; which statements were in substance as follows.—They were of opinion that he (Mr. Poindexter) was the best qualified among those before them for that office. From *his pledges* and previous conduct, they were induced to believe that he was in favour, and would be a warm supporter, of the administration of General Jackson; and knowing it to be the wish of their constituents to have a representative in the senate of the United States of that character, they accordingly gave him their vote.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the *Monticello Gazette*, and in the *New York Courier* and *Enquirer*.

(Signed) SAMUEL ELLIS, Chairman.
LENNON B. ELLIS, Sec.

Williamsburg, Miss., March 26, 1832.

POLITICAL MEETING.—At a public meeting of the citizens of Covington county, agreeably to public notice previously given, Thomas H. Hopkins, Esq. addressed the meeting to make known the object thereof, in a brief but appropriate manner.

When Frederick Pope, Esq. was unanimously called to the chair, and Gilbert D. Gere, Esq. was appointed secretary,—Jacob J. H. Morris, Esq. read the speech of the hon. George Poindexter, before the senate of the United States, on the nomination and rejection of the hon. Martin Van Buren, as minister to the court of St. James, and after making some remarks thereon, it was moved, seconded, and unanimously carried, that a committee be appointed to draft resolutions, expressive of the sense of this meeting, in disapprobation of the course pursued by Mr. Poindexter on that occasion. When the chairman appointed the following gentlemen on said committee, to wit, Thomas H. Hopkins, Esq., Morgan M'Afee, Esq., Samuel Hartshorne, Esq., Mr. Luke Norris, and Mr. John Knight; who, after retiring for some time, returned with the following preamble and resolutions—to wit:

Whereas a very large and respectable majority of the citizens of this state, having confidence in the fitness of Andrew Jackson for the office of President of the United States, did give their suffrages to elevate him to that highly-important office. And whereas the legislature of this state, acting in pursuance of the wishes of the people, did elect said Geo. Poindexter, Senator in the Congress of the United States from the State of Mississippi; considering him from his previous acts and declarations and from his *express pledges* then and before given as the political friend of the said Andrew Jackson, and expecting that he would support his administration. And whereas the said George Poindexter has lately in the senate on the nomination of Martin Van Buren, a distinguished citizen of the State of New York, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of London, taken occasion in the face of the whole nation, and of the world, to abuse and vilify the President; and whereas we entertain an undiminished confidence in the moral worth, political integrity, and personal fitness, of the President for that office, the duties of which we consider him as having discharged with credit to himself, and to the great advantage of his constituents: Therefore,

Resolved, That the conduct of the said Poindexter has been *insincere* and *highly censurable*.

And be it further resolved, That Said Senator Poindexter has *disregarded the wishes* and disappointed the *expectations* of his constituents, and *disregarded his pledge*.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the *Monticello Gazette*.

FREDERIC POPE, Chairman.
G. D. GERE, Secretary.

There, my friends, that is the way that the Americans do to secure cheap government; that is the way that they go to work to keep themselves from

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paying pensions, sinecures, retired allowances, and dead-weights; that is the way that they go to work to secure religion to the country without tithes, to secure peace and tranquillity without a standing army in time of peace; that is the way, that they go to work to enable the working man to live upon pork and beef instead of potatoes; that is the way in short, which they go to work to be truly represented in the Congress, to have their will faithfully obeyed, and to provide for the liberty and the happiness of their country; and every man of them now says to every man of us, "Go thou, and do likewise!"

Thus, then, nothing but an impudent tax-hunter or tax-eater will pretend to question the propriety or the policy of demanding pledges from representatives. That question must be now set at rest in the minds of all men of sense; and, now, let me notice what is passing in different parts of the country as regards these pledges. Everywhere, they operate upon the shifty men who are putting themselves forward; they operate like hot lime or salt, upon the back of a slug: they make them twist and twirl about, and endeavour to *get off* by some means or other. But in other cases they work well. At BATH, for instance, Mr. JOHN ALLEN, a man of great wealth, has offered himself in the following address.

GENTLEMEN,—The boroughmongers are at length vanquished—the people have achieved the victory—the cause of REFORM has triumphed, and you are invested with the right of choosing representatives.

I presume to solicit your suffrages. I aspire to the honour of being one of your representatives. I am not a stranger among you—I am known to all of you as one who has assisted to fight your battles against the self-elected, and if chosen by you I will, with as much zeal and perseverance, fight your battles in the House of Commons. I will there maintain your rights and protect your property against every interest inimical to the public welfare; and will promise and swear to the subsequent resolution passed by the *electors of the city of London*, as a necessary test for all candidates, namely,—"That I will "neglect nothing in my power to cause, in "the very first session, a total abolition of the "tithes,—a repeal of the assessed taxes,—the "taxes on malt, hops, and soap,—and, these "having been repealed, I pledge myself to "the immediate consideration of a revision of "the Corn Bill;—and I further pledge myself "to do everything within my power to cause "the abolition of all sinecures and unmerited "pensions, and a repeal of that daring act of "usurpation, called 'The Septennial Act,'—"and I will, at all times and in all things, act "conformably to the wishes of a majority "of my constituents, deliberately expressed; "or I will, at their request, resign to them "the trust with which they have honoured "me."

I shall shortly take the opportunity of being with you, and in the mean time I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,
Your faithful Friend,
Feltham Hill, Middlesex, JOHN ALLEN.
29th June, 1832.

Mr. ALLEN has thus done his duty. The brother of little HOBHOUSE, the husband of Lady JULIANA; the brother of this little fellow, who is also, I believe, his under-secretary in the War-office; has had the impudence to offer himself for the city of BATH! and I need not say that he will take no pledge, unless it be a pledge to tread in the steps of his father, and get as much out of the taxes as he can. It would be to calumniate most grossly the electors of Bath to suppose that they would prefer this man to Mr. ALLEN. Not only the ten-pound voters, but the working men who have no votes, ought to strain every nerve, rather than suffer a result so ignominious to their city.

I read with pleasure the address from Mr. HENRY COLLINS, of *Court Ash*, to the electors of the western division of SOMERSETSHIRE, from which address I take the following words:

In offering myself to your notice, to represent the western division of the county of Somerset, in the ensuing Parliament, I feel it an imperative duty at once openly and candidly to avow the principles (should you be pleased to elect me) by which my public conduct will ever be actuated. *I distinctly pledge myself* to endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain an early and an honest investigation into the causes which have brought the country into its present distressed and deplorable condition, with a view to obtain a speedy and certain remedy of the evils which have so long and so fatally depressed the middling and working classes of the community. Deeply depressed with the conviction that the present *tithe system is corrupt and tyrannical* in the extreme, bearing most cruelly

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and unjustly upon the industry of the country, and that, too, only to aggrandize and support *an almost useless and indolent clergy in luxury and extravagance, I also pledge myself* to use my most strenuous exertions to obtain *a total abolition of a system so disgraceful and corrupt.* The legal as well as the clerical department being, in my opinion, foul and corrupt in all its sources, and standing also in need of a RADICAL REFORM, my attention shall also be most especially directed to obtain a correction of its abuses, nor will I cease from my endeavours to agitate the injustice of our bloody criminal code, until those laws which now disgrace our statute book, be entirely repealed. With these opinions in regard to the laws of the country, I need hardly mention that it is not my intention to employ any lawyer to aid me in procuring my election; but whilst I so declare myself, I shall not, of course, refuse the gratuitous assistance of any *honest and independent gentleman of that profession*, who shall voluntarily come forward to assist me. With regard to SLAVERY, my firm conviction is that it reigns in this country more absolutely than in the colonies; and that whilst I shall do all in my power to shake off the chains from my fellow-countrymen, I shall not be wanting in my endeavours to free those who happen to differ from me in colour, from that disgraceful and inhuman bondage in which they have so long been enthralled. And I deeply regret that the time has not yet arrived when every freeholder might conscientiously vote for the man of his choice by BALLOT, without the danger from his despotic landlord or customer of ruin to himself and his family.

This is good; but I am sorry to perceive, in the addresses of Mr. Thomas Attwood and Mr. Joshua Scholefield, quite the contrary of this. In them I see nothing specific. I see nothing *promised*; I see no profession from Mr. Attwood which would not be cheerfully made by Croker or Wetherell. I do not say that his views are those of Croker and Wetherell. I do not impute any sinister intention to him; but I say that neither Croker nor Wetherell would hesitate for one moment to put forth a similar address to any body of electors. His words are as follows:

> The long and anxious attention which I have paid to the general distress of the industrious classes, and to the wrongs of which they have been made the victims, induces me to believe that I can be of service upon this great and vital crisis of our country's fate. To stay the march of anarchy—to relieve the general distress—to rectify the general wrongs—to secure a full measure of justice, liberty, and prosperity to all, and to unite all classes and all sects of my countrymen in peace, happiness, and contentment, under the shadow of the King's throne—*these* are the objects which I have in view, and which I trust I can assist in accomplishing.

What have we here? Would not Wetherell promise to do his best "to stay the *march of anarchy*?" Would not Croker promise to do his best "to relieve the *general* distress?" Would not Peel pledge himself "to rectify *general* wrongs?" Would not Wellington pledge himself, by the honour of a hero with two-and-forty distinct titles, "to secure a full measure of justice, prosperity, and liberty *to all*?" Would not any bishop upon the bench pledge himself "to unite all classes and "all sects in peace, happiness, and contentment, *under the shadow of the "King's throne*?" I do not say that Mr. Attwood means ill; but I say that he has here promised nothing, and professed nothing that would not be promised by any one of these men without one moment's hesitation. If Mr. Attwood presumes that his *past conduct* is sufficient to make pledges on his part unnecessary, I must beg leave to differ from him in opinion. It is barely eight years ago since he represented the reformers (and he did it in a pamphlet too) *as advocating principles and entertaining projects, leading directly to anarchy and spoliation!* Only about *four* years have passed over our heads since he (and in another pamphlet) represented parliamentary reform as the means of producing certain anarchy and confusion, *unless it were preceded by the adoption of his plan of changing the currency.* Therefore I cannot think that Mr. Attwood's past conduct entitles him to an exception from pledges; and, whatever the people of Birmingham may do in this case, I am sure that his example will have very little weight with the country at large; and I am equally sure that Mr. Attwood has to make the discovery, that to *preserve* his weight with the people a man must continue to act up to that tone and spirit by which that weight has been obtained. Mr. Scholefield's

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address is a little more specific, but by no means is it what might reasonably have been expected from a member of the BIRMINGHAM UNION. For the purpose of easy reference I will number Mr. SCHOLEFIELD's paragraphs.

1. Having always considered the *Septennial Act* one of those glaring instances of usurpation which stain the page of history, and believing that the repeal of that act, and the adoption of *Triennial Parliaments* will be an efficient means of securing the exertions of the members for the true interests of the country, I will strenuously labour for the accomplishment of these objects.

2. The depressed state of the *manufacturing and commercial interest*, will imperatively claim the earliest attention of the new Parliament, and will necessarily involve the important *questions of the Corn Laws*, and of the *present monetary system*. I am *not wedded to any particular mode of relief*, but believing, as I always have done, that the permanent prosperity of the country depends upon the well-being of the labouring classes, I shall not cease to demand, above all things, that immediate measures be adopted for effectually relieving those classes from their present depressed and miserable condition.

3. I shall be found, on all occasions, the *enemy of monopolies*, and will vote for the abolition of every *place* and *office* to which a salary is annexed without the performance of a *corresponding* duty, and for the removal of every *unnecessary* burden from the people.

4. Distinguishing between religion itself, and a religious establishment, and believing that the ecclesiastical revenues of this country were intended for the promotion of the religious and moral instruction of the people at large, and for the relief of the poor, I will urge at all times, a *more equitable* and more *rational distribution* of church property than now exists, and such as will, in my judgment, best attain the ends for which it was *originally destined*.

5. *Ignorance* is the parent of *crime*; and I shall deem it my duty to vote for the repeal of those *taxes upon knowledge* which operate as a check to the instruction of all, but especially of the labouring classes of the people.

6. As liberty is justly considered the greatest of all earthly blessings, so do I hold slavery to be the direst of all curses. The condition of the negro slaves has ever excited in my mind feelings of the utmost shame, horror, and disgust; and I *solemnly pledge* myself to give my *best attention* to every proposition which may be brought forward for the *extinction of slavery*.

The FIRST paragraph is explicit enough; but it is the last, instead of the first pledge demanded by the electors of the city of London. The SECOND paragraph contains nothing which would not be signed by CROKER or WETHERELL. The THIRD talks of monopolies, but specifies none, and leaves us to guess at what *monopolies* may mean; and as to the abolition of places and offices, who is to say what a "corresponding duty may mean?" Then comes "the removal of every *unnecessary* burden upon the people." ALTHORP, little HOBHOUSE, GRAHAM, LORD HILL, WELLINGTON, and the whole swarms of pensioners, retired-allowance and dead-weight people, would pledge themselves to as much. Mr. SCHOLEFIELD has given himself a fine tether here. If his constituents ask him why he does not move for the repeal of the malt-tax, he may say that that is *not unnecessary*; and so of all the rest. If I had dropped my eye upon the fourth paragraph without adverting to the context, I really should have thought that it was the production of the pen of some bishop. There is not one of them that would not say as much. Nay, every man of them professes as much; and they all know very well, that with such words in their mouths, they would be able to carry on the controversy without causing anything to be done until long after Mr. SCHOLEFIELD should be gathered to his fathers. As to the FIFTH paragraph, the dogmatical assertion with which it sets out is notoriously untrue. By "*ignorance*" Mr. SCHOLEFIELD clearly means, a want of *book-learning*. We all know that there is twenty times as much of this now in England as there was twenty years ago; and we all know that crime has augmented more than tenfold since that time! Mr. SCHOLEFIELD, therefore, here sets out with a direct untruth which implies a greater untruth of an indirect character; for it disguises the great truth which he ought to have in his mind, namely, that the monstrous mass of crime in the country has been produced by poverty and misery, and that poverty and misery by grinding taxation. If Mr. SCHOLEFIELD had said stamp-taxes, it would have been a great deal better than taxes upon knowledge, which, besides its being cant, is equivocal. With regard to the SIXTH para-

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graph, in which Mr. Scholefield offers us his great and only pledge, it is comparatively of very little importance to his constituents. It is right, however, that he should pay "*attention*" to every proposition that shall be brought forward upon the subject, and as far as the paying that attention goes, it must be confessed that his "*solemn pledge*" is quite satisfactory.

That man must be blind who does not see that the Birmingham Union has been under the *guidance of the Ministers* ever since the second reading of the Reform Bill. In the mind of no sensible man can there be doubt of the truth of this proposition. Mark their conduct upon the subject of Baring's Bill. Petitions against that bill from other quarters came pouring in as soon as the bill was understood by the people. From that no petition came, until the Ministers had plainly declared their opposition to it. I have no desire to throw discredit or suspicion upon this Birmingham Union; I feel no rivalship with them; I am not at the head of any *union*, nor at the tail of it, nor in the middle of it; I know that this Union did a great deal of good; and I have withheld no praise that I deemed to be its due; but, as I remember having said in my Year's Residence in America, as fairest flowers, when they become putrid, stink the most; so, the brightest political institutions, when they get into the hands of corruption, are dangerous, in proportion to the degree in which they have been bright; and I do beseech the *young men* and the *working-people* of Birmingham, to pay attention to acts, and not to men; to be grateful for the good which this Union has done; but not to suffer that gratitude to blind them to that which this Union is now doing. These opinions, with regard to the conduct of the Birmingham Union, are by no means peculiar to me; they are entertained by every man of sense with whom I come in contact: at every turn we see proofs of the communication with Whitehall; and in no instance more clearly than in these addresses of Mr. Attwood and Mr. Scholefield. In a subsequent article I give the opinions of Mr. Eagle, with regard to pledges, and particularly with regard to the Birmingham-pledge, which so forcibly brings into one's mind the "point no point" of our famous countryman, Paine. Mr. Eagle's argument in favour of pledges, and in censure of this Birmingham-pledge, is wholly unanswerable. I should like to see the *Union* try their hands at an answer. As Mr. Edmonds is now at leisure, just give us a little touch, to prove to us that rich men are more fit than poor men to be representatives of the people. I know that Mr. Scholefield is a very good man in private life; I know that he is a really public-spirited man; but the equivocal nature of his address would forbid me to vote for him, were I an elector of Birmingham. The people of Birmingham will feel humbled, when they perceive their representatives surpassed by so many others; and this is what they assuredly will see, unless they insist upon specific pledges, like those which they will see insisted upon by the electors of the city of London.

Wm. COBBETT.

TO THE PEOPLE OF PORTSEA,

ON THE APPROACHING ELECTION.

Kensington, 4th July, 1832.

My Friends,

I beg you to read the following letter with attention; and I trust that some one who agrees with me will take the trouble to have it printed in a hand-bill and circulated. I can have no private end to answer in laying this letter before you; but seeing clearly that it is intended to make the reform of no use to you, and to make you the instruments in the oppression to be continued to be exercised upon you: clearly seeing this, I should be guilty of a scandalous neglect of duty, if I did not endeavour to put you upon your guard. Having done that, the rest must be left to you, only with this remark, that you are the trustees of the rights of your poorer neighbours as well as your own rights; and that I trust you will bear that in

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mind. I propose to be at PORTSEA some day next week; and, if I can find a convenient place, I will then offer you my opinions by word of mouth. *I shall be there next week.* In the meanwhile, I remain,

Your most faithful Friend,
and obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO MR. HUME.

Kensington, 4th July, 1832.

SIR.

UNDER date of the 29th June, I received a letter from a gentleman at PORTSEA, containing the following passage. "A gentleman here, a few days "ago, wrote to Mr. HUME, requesting "him to *recommend a candidate*, who "would *pledge himself* to obtain spe- "cified things; among which were, "*the repeal of all duties pressing on* "*the necessaries of life*, the *abolition* "*of the corn-laws*, the *extinction of* "*tithes*, &c. &c. Mr. HUME replied "by observing, that our present mem- "bers, Messrs. Carter and Baring, had "*fought nobly* in the cause of reform; "and that it was AN UNDERSTOOD "THING, that those who had done so "*would be re-elected*; and that he, "therefore, hoped the people of Portsea "would *not think of ousting them*, and "that, at any rate, *he would not be a* "*party in any endeavour to displace* "*them*.

"Finding such a stir, the members "thought it prudent to come among "the electors. They were here on "Monday and Tuesday, and held four "meetings. Their opinions were asked "on the subjects above named, and on "'*triennial parliaments*,' &c. They "expressed themselves *favourable to* "*the whole*; but thought we ought to "wait to see *how the Reform Bill would* "*work*, before any *new reforms* were "attempted; and they would *not pledge* "*themselves to any one thing*, except "*generally to do all they could for the* "*benefit of the country*. This, to many, "is *far from being satisfactory*; and I, "with others, have resolved to remain "neutral. A declaration which I have "made repeatedly has been met by a "ready acquiescence, viz. that I am "resolved not to assist, by my vote, in "placing any one in Parliament who "will perpetuate or prolong the present "system."

Now, Sir, of the *noble fighting* of Mr. CARTER and FRANCIS BARING I know nothing, never having read a word about the matter. It might, for anything that I know to the contrary, be as noble as the conduct of this very BARING, when he held Mrs. DEACLE'S hand while the handcuff was put round her wrist, and when he dragged her out of the room, and carried her across the yard to put her into the cart. But, Sir, *amongst whom* is it "*an understood thing*" that the having voted for the English Reform Bill is to be *a title to re-election*; though the same persons may have since voted for the making of all Ireland one great rotten borough, and for imposing a qualification-law upon Scotland, which, I believe, *both these members* did. If those monstrous acts of injustice have been mitigated, the mitigation has proceeded from the petitions and remonstrances of the people of England and Scotland, and not by any *noble fighting* on the part of Mr. CARTER and FRANCIS BARING. *Amongst whom*, therefore, is this right to be re-elected "*an understood thing?*" *Amongst whom* has it been determined, that having merely voted for the Reform Bill is to silence at once all inquiries with regard to the intentions of candidates for the future? Amongst whom, again I ask, is this "*an understood thing*?" Not amongst the *electors*, to a certainty, as is clearly evinced by the conduct of the people of PORTSEA, who very wisely demand PLEDGES, and who, I hope, will insist upon having them, and having them distinctly, too, before they give their votes to any man. The city of London pledges are those which should be taken by every county and borough in the kingdom.

The answers of these PORTSMOUTH members are as evasive as it is possible for them to be. They are ready to pledge themselves to do all they can for the benefit of their country; but they will not let their constituents tell

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them what they think is for the benefit of the country. They voted for the Reform BILL; but they will not promise to vote for the Reform itself; seeming to believe, that we wanted nothing but the BILL; and that, if we did but get the BILL, we should have no objection to let all the tithes and all the taxes continue. Very much deceived are they if they suppose that this is what the people expected, and expect.

With regard to the part that you are playing in this curious drama, I cannot *swear* that you did actually write to the people of PORTSEA in the manner above stated; but I can swear that I received from PORTSEA the letter above mentioned, and containing the extract which I have given; and I can further swear, that I believe the extract to contain a correct statement of facts. I have read this letter at two Lectures, one in LEICESTER FIELDS last Friday, and the other in CASTLE STREET, last night; and, if you had not supported the Dead-body Bill, upon the ground that it would make dead bodies *cheap*, I should have communicated the extract to you before I mentioned it to any body else. You having supported that horrible bill, and on *that ground*, I did not think any ceremony due to you from me. But here, at any rate, you have the statement from PORTSEA; and you have this concluding observation from me, namely, that it is the general opinion in London, that you have undertaken to use your influence in causing members of the present Parliament to be returned for the metropolitan boroughs; an opinion but too strongly countenanced by the proceedings the other day in the TOWER HAMLETS; and that you have *particularly in view*, to persuade the people not to exact pledges! To this I will only add, that my belief, as well as my hope, is, that you will be compelled to give pledges yourself; or that you will not be re-elected member for MIDDLESEX. In short, the people have got the Reform BILL; and they are resolved to have the REFORM ITSELF.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF BOLTON,

ON THE APPROACHING ELECTION.

Kensington, 4th July, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

IN the *Bolton Chronicle* of the 30th June, I read an article in the following words:—"The hubbub and turmoil, in "reference to the representation of this "borough, has somewhat subsided "since our last publication, though the "friends of each of the candidates have "not relaxed in their exertions. Last "Friday night a communication was "received *from Col. Torrens*, stating "that *a deputation had waited upon* "*him from Newport, in the Isle of* "*Wight*, with a requisition, signed by "*two-thirds of the voters*, pledging "themselves to support him at the "ensuing election for that place, and "that he had *accepted it*; and also "further stating, that unless he could "be ensured that his return was certain "for Bolton, he must, however reluc-"tantly, *resign all pretensions to repre-*"*sent it in Parliament*. In conse-"quence of this communication, his "committee used most strenuous ex-"ertions last Saturday, and procured "an *adhesion of a majority of the elec-*"*tors in his favour*, which number has "since been much increased. The "committee have also since been in "active correspondence with him, and "have stated to him that *they consider* "*his return as certain*."

As I know the former part of this to be *false*, so I hope the latter part is equally false: if it be not, *disgrace indelible* is the lot of the town of BOLTON. How often have you petitioned for the abolition of *sinecure places!* How often have you called such places *a robbery of you and your children!* When did you ever petition for *parliamentary reform* without representing these *sinecures* as one of the first grievances that you wanted a reform to redress? And now, if the above article be true, you are about to send to a *reformed* Parliament a man who is the *very worst of all sinecure place-men!* I thought he was a *half-pay* officer. It would have been

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quite bad enough in you to elect him as such; but he is a FULL-PAY OFFICER. He, who *lives in London* and carries on a newspaper called "*The Globe*," is a BREVET-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL in the MARINES, on full-pay, and has *quarters, coals, candles*, and *servants*, in CHATHAM BARRACKS, paid for by the people; paid for in part by the miserable weavers of Lancashire, out of whose earnings he, under pretence of being on *military duty at Chatham*, draws, in pay, perquisites, and all, not less than *five hundred pounds a year!*

Nor is this *the worst*. He, only about fifteen months ago, was on *half-pay*; but these PRESENT MINISTERS HAVE PUT HIM ON FULL PAY! Need you wonder that his newspaper fills its columns with *praises of all their acts*, not excepting those which *you*, above all men living, ought to hold in detestation! In order that there may be no room for denial and for shuffling and falsehood on the part of TORRENS, I have, this day, sent to Mr. NAISBY, draper, of BOLTON, the following books: 1. A list *of the members of Parliament*, in which, at page 13, you will find him as member for Ashburton: 2. A *Navy-list*, for July, 1832, in which, at page 34, you will find him on full-pay, a MAJOR OF MARINES, STATIONED AT CHATHAM! The *Globe* is entered at the *Stamp-office* in the *name of his brother*, ANDREW TORRENS; and thus he is not "*a tradesman*," to be which the *army regulations forbid!*

Electors of BOLTON, if it be necessary to say another word upon the subject, anything said to you must be useless. I cannot be prevailed upon to believe, that the spirited and sensible people of BOLTON will act so base a part as to elect this man. I know that the above paragraph, as far as relates to NEWPORT in the Isle of Wight, is a *sheer falsehood*; and I hope and believe the *other part* of it to be equally false; for if it were true, how would you ever be able again to look your country and your children in the face, having given your sanction to such an abuse; having given your sanction to a waste of the public money, more audacious and more profligate than any other that ever existed! Recollect, I beseech you, that you are to give your votes for your *poorer neighbours* as well as for yourselves; and that, by choosing TORRENS, you will be giving your consent to the taking away of *their earnings* as well as your own, to be given to this TORRENS and such-like people.

Far better would it be, that you should still be without any member at all, than that you should make a use like this of your franchise. But are there not men enough of a different description? In the same parcel with the above-mentioned books, I send to Mr. NAISBY, a pamphlet, written by WM. EAGLE, Esq. a chancery barrister, and a gentleman of landed estate in SUFFOLK. This pamphlet is entitled, "*A Legal Argument*, "*showing that all Tithes are the Pro-*"*perty of the Public and the Poor.*" I have sent several copies of this pamphlet to Mr. NAISBY, that he may distribute them. Mr. EAGLE is a lawyer of great ability, of perfect independence, always a reformer from his boyhood; I have consulted him upon the subject; and if you will send him a requisition, directed to No. 1, GARDEN-COURT, TEMPLE, London, you will have his answer. I know many very able and good men; but taking all the qualities together, I am acquainted with no man so fit to be a Member of Parliament as Mr. EAGLE, and so likely to do great and lasting good. I could mention Mr. WHITTLE of MANCHESTER, Mr. THOMAS SMITH of LIVERPOOL, and persons naturally most dear to myself; and all possessed of great ability and prodigious capacity for labour; but Mr. EAGLE's perfect knowledge of the law, and his steady application of that knowledge to the deliverance of the country from the intolerable burden of tithes, and the consequent intolerable burden of the corn-laws, warrants me in declaring my opinion, that he is the very fittest man in England to be at this time a representative of the people.

The great kindness which I have always experienced from the people of BOLTON, and the many proofs that I have seen of their public virtue, have induced me to write and to publish this

address; and I hope that it will not be unattended with the effects which it ought to produce.

I am your faithful Friend,
and most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TITHE-PLEDGES.

My opinions with respect to the pledges in general, have already been expressed. In the following article we have the opinions and the arguments of that able lawyer, Mr. EAGLE, relative to the necessity of pledges for the *abolition of the tithes*. It will be seen, that he concludes this able piece of writing, by observing, "that if the system of requiring *specific pledges* be generally adopted, every thing will go well; but, if no such pledges be required, the next Parliament will occasion *more dissatisfaction*, and become *more unpopular* with the great body of the people, than any boroughmonger parliament that has ever assembled within the walls of St. Stephens." I perfectly agree in the opinion; for if the pledges be not given, there will be no change for the better; taxes and tithes will remain what they now are; the national distress will go on increasing; and bitter disappointment will be added to the sufferings which are now endured with so much just impatience. Mr. EAGLE has proved to the whole nation, that tithes, and that all that is enjoyed by deans and chapters and bishops is the *property of the people*; and he here points out the only means by which the people are to recover the possession of that property. The remarks contained in this article on the subject of *political unions*; on the conduct and the manifest views of the Ministry and the present House of Commons; and particularly on *the conduct of the* BIRMINGHAM *Political Union* with regard to *pledges*: these observations of a lawyer so learned, and a writer so able, are worthy of the greatest attention; and as such, I lay them before my readers, being decidedly of opinion, that we have only this one choice, PLEDGES or PERFIDY; real reform or confusion.

On the Means of making the Reform Bill an Efficient Instrument of Ecclesiastical Reform.

The bill for reforming the representation of the people of England in the Commons House of Parliament, or, as it is more commonly called, the "Reform" Bill, having at length become a part of the law of the land, the attention of every sincere friend to "reform," who is capable of understanding the principle, and of reasoning and reflecting upon the causes, legal operation, and possible consequences of that important measure, and who is not so senseless as to imagine that it is the end and not the means of "reform,"—is now seriously and anxiously directed to the consideration of the course which ought to be pursued, in order to render this new law available for the accomplishment of the great purposes for which it has been sought for and obtained by the people. The people have, it is true, obtained a great victory; for it must never be forgotten that it is by the exertions of the people, and the people only, that the Reform Bill has been brought to a successful issue; but experience has often shown that it is less difficult to gain a victory than to make a proper use of it. A notion has been studiously inculcated in certain quarters, and is unhappily too prevalent, that the victory is final and complete; and it is even proposed to erect national monuments and statues in commemoration of the triumph of reform. The people have, we trust, too much good sense and spirit to permit the fruits of their exertions in obtaining the Reform Bill to be sacrificed at these shrines of folly and adulation; but at all events it cannot be too often repeated, that the bill which has just passed into a law, is not the *end*, but the *means* of reform; and that although it confers upon a certain portion of the commonalty of this kingdom the *power* of carrying into execution every measure of civil and ecclesiastical reform which the exigencies of the times and the just and reasonable desires of the people can possibly require, yet that everything depends upon the manner in

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which the new body of electors are disposed to exercise the power which is now placed in their hands of choosing proper persons to represent the wants, interests, and opinions of the whole community in the reformed House of Commons. We trust we shall not be deemed presumptuous if we take the liberty of making a few remarks upon this subject.

We, however, think it necessary, in the first place, to remind our readers, that the act for reforming the Parliament does not come into *immediate* operation, but applies only to the election of the members of the next House of Commons; and that there is nothing in the new act to prevent the present Parliament from sitting to the latest period of its legal existence under that most profligate and flagitious of all acts of Parliament, the Septennial Act. There is, it is true, something so preposterous and unprincipled in the notion that it will continue to sit for any longer time than is absolutely necessary to pass the Irish and Scotch Reform Bills, and the other bills which are requisite to complete the machinery of the new system of representation, that we are, perhaps, incurring the imputation of encouraging groundless jealousies and suspicions in alluding to the bare probability of the continuance of this Parliament for a single day after the passing of those bills. The present state of affairs, however, we must say, indicates anything but the prospect of an early dissolution. If we may judge from the measures now pending before the two houses, and the speeches of many of the members, they seem to have quite forgotten that there is any such law in existence as the act for reforming the representation. Indeed it must be evident to every one who has attentively watched their proceedings, that they never seem to imagine that any material change will take place in the exercise of the legislative power of the kingdom under a reformed Parliament; but to suppose that law-making will in future go on in the same manner in which it has been going on for the last half-century under the domination of the boroughmongers. Hence it is, we presume, that they have taken upon themselves to legislate upon the renewal of the Bank charter, and other measures of the most vital importance to the country; and, what is more, have persisted in doing this, since the English Reform Bill has passed into a law. Now, not to mention the impropriety of their legislating upon these matters at all, their proceedings clearly show that the present actors in the farce of legislation have no intention to make their exits from the stage for some time to come. Still, whatever reluctance they have shown to take their final leave of the public, they have not been slow in hinting to the political unions, that the purposes for which the unions were created having been now fully answered, it is high time that they should dissolve themselves; and that "they cannot co-exist with any well-regulated or efficient government." We are very far from wishing to see the country placed under the government of clubs; but as things now are, we trust that the only effect which will be produced upon the political unions by these hints from the "collectives," will be a determination *to sit them out*; and that if any more such hints be thrown out, and more particularly by members of the House of Commons, the unions will with all humility suggest to them the propriety of their passing all the Reform Bills and giving place to the real representatives of the people, with as little delay as possible; and will at the same time remind them, that the people do not merely want a *law* for creating a reformed Parliament, but a reformed Parliament itself.

We have often remarked upon the impropriety and indecency of any exercise of the legislative functions by the present House of Commons, after having passed an act which amounts to a declaration that they are not the real representatives of the people, or, in other words, when they no longer retain that character which alone entitles them to exercise the power of legislation; and this argument has become still more forcible since the English

Reform Bill has passed through the House of Lords, and received the royal assent. The passing of that act is in effect an abdication on the part of the House of Commons of the legislative power, by which they rendered themselves virtually, although not perhaps legally, incompetent to pass any laws, except such as might be absolutely necessary to give effect to the act of abdication, as, for example, the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills, and the Boundaries Bill. We do not take upon ourselves to assert positively that the House of Commons, after having completed their act of abdication, would be placed precisely on the same footing as a political union or club; but we must say that we should be perfectly at a loss to discover in what other character they would continue to sit, after having passed a law by which they divested themselves of that representative capacity which is *essential* to the constitutional and legal existence of a House of Commons. Upon the whole, we trust that the political unions will not dissolve themselves until the members of the new Parliament have given some substantial proofs of their determination to set about the work of reform in good earnest.

But to return to the Reform Bill, as it is still called, we repeat what every sensible man at once perceives, that it will be nothing, or worse than nothing, unless the people are determined to make a resolute and efficient use of it, as an instrument for the accomplishment of REFORM in the only way in which it can be made instrumental for that purpose; that is to say, by sending proper persons to Parliament. The Reform Bill, so far from being itself a reform, is nothing more than an instrument in the hands of certain classes of the people for the creation of other instruments—viz. members of the House of Commons—by which reform is to be effected. A great deal has been written, and a great deal has been said, upon this subject; many candidates have already appeared in the field, and the names and praises of many others have been sounded forth by the newspapers: one gentleman is a "friend to the people;" another is "an ardent, zealous and warm-hearted reformer;" a third, "a friend to civil and religious liberty;" a fourth, "an advocate for economy and retrenchment in every department of the public expenditure;" a fifth has been "a stanch supporter of the Reform Bill in all its stages." We do not quarrel with recommendations of this sort, provided they have no other effect than to lead to inquiries into the political characters and qualifications of the candidates; but we do decidedly object to the choosing of any man as a member of the reformed Parliament without some better proof of his fitness for the office than loose and general declarations of his attachment to reform, economy, retrenchment, &c. &c., whether coming from himself or from any other source. It is perfectly absurd to suppose that the people have used all those extraordinary exertions which we have lately witnessed to obtain the Reform Bill, without expecting that the members of the reformed Parliament will carry into effect measures which will produce very great changes in the affairs of the country. Every sensible man sees that the Reform Bill is the commencement of a mighty revolution. Indeed, if we may be permitted to judge of causes by their effects, we are fully justified in saying that the Reform Bill would never have been passed into a law unless a complete revolution had already taken place in the minds of the people.

The people, then, being desirous of effecting great political changes through the instrumentality of the members of the reformed Parliament, will naturally endeavour to make choice of such instruments as are best adapted for that purpose. The great question is, how the fitness or the unfitness of the instruments is to be ascertained. It does not appear to us that this will be found a matter of any very great difficulty, provided we pursue the course which is plainly pointed out by reason and common sense, and the every-day experience of the ordinary transactions in life. Taking these for our guides, we shall at once perceive that before we engage workmen, it is absolutely neces-

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sary that we should consider what sort of work it is that we wish to be performed. Unless we adopt this course, we shall perhaps hire a carpenter when we want a bricklayer, or a footman when we have occasion for a ploughman. So, in regard to the choice of the instruments who are to execute the work of reform in the new Parliament, if the electors do not first make up their minds as to the nature and extent of the reform which they wish to be carried into effect, it is more than probable, that when they require the services of a *real* reformer, they will find that they have engaged a Scotch philosopher. If they think that the taxes ought to be reduced to fifteen or twenty millions, they will take care not to elect a man who, instead of striking off millions, will consume a whole session in nibbling at shillings and pence. If they require the standing army to be disbanded, they will reject a man who will content himself with dividing the House upon the question whether it shall consist of 100,000 or 99,500 men. If they wish to have the church effectually reformed and tithes abolished, they will not make choice of a man who will merely make rambling speeches about pluralities and non-residence, and support Mr. Stanley and Lord Althorp in their Irish method of "*extinguishing*" tithes, by collecting them at the point of the bayonet. If they be of opinion that it is necessary for the peace of the country and the security of property that labourers should have a sufficiency of food and clothing, they will turn with indignation and disgust from those who propose no other remedy for the evil than to check population, and to send the poor man from the land of his forefathers.

We are well persuaded that the great body of the people are nearly unanimous as to the sort of reform they are desirous of obtaining, but we cannot help thinking that they will be bitterly disappointed in their expectations of relief from the members of the reformed Parliament, unless the candidates are pledged to support some specific leading measures of reform. It is not within our province to suggest what pledges should be required in regard to reform *generally*; but in respect to ecclesiastical reform, we think that no church reformer should give his vote to any man who will not solemnly promise to propose or support a law for abolishing tithes absolutely, and selling the lands of the bishops and deans and chapters for the use of the public. It is almost needless for us to declare that we still adhere to the whole of the plan of church reform laid down in the first number of this magazine; but it appears to us that the two measures which we have just mentioned will be a sufficient test of the qualifications of the candidates.

We shall not expatiate upon the utility and expedience of requiring pledges from the members of the reformed Parliament in the present state of affairs in the country; but we cannot help alluding to the passing of the Reform Bill as a striking instance of the advantages of adopting that system. We have no hesitation in saying, that neither that bill, nor any other bill half so efficient, would ever have been passed into a law, if the members who were returned for the counties and open cities and boroughs had not been very generally *pledged* to support it. We need only refer to the Irish tithe coercion and Reform Bills* to show what would have been the conduct of the majority of the members of the House of Commons in regard to the English Reform Bill, if they had been left to follow their own inclinations. We know that pledges are in general bitter pills to swallow, and that no endeavours will be spared to bring them into odium, by representing them as members who give them as delegates; but, however unpleasantly this name may sound in the drawing-rooms, saloons, and club-houses of London, is there, we would ask, anything so new, so alarming, so disgraceful, in the use of the term "delegate," as to render it

* We cannot allude to the Irish Reform Bill, as it is called, without expressing our indignation at the measure itself and its authors and supporters. It seems intended to convert the whole of Ireland into one great rotten borough.

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ungrateful to the ears of the people of England, or to make it a matter of reproach to a man to be sent to the House of Commons in that character? Every one who is at all acquainted with the nature and principles of civil government, knows perfectly well that every such government, whether monarchical or democratical, is a DELEGATION; and that the word "delegation" is constantly used by all the best writers on government to express the trust which is reposed in the executive and legislative power of the state for the benefit of the people. Indeed, the whole compass of the English language does not afford another appellation so aptly descriptive of the office and trust of a member of the English House of Commons, which derives its whole power and authority from delegation, and delegation only. The name of "delegate" is indeed a reproach to men who are sent by the proprietors of rotten boroughs to vote money into the pockets of their patrons; but it is a title of the highest honour and dignity when it is applied to those who are freely chosen by the people to watch over and protect their liberties and property in the great council of the nation.

The council of the Birmingham Political Union has lately put forth an address to "*all* their fellow-countrymen of the United Kingdom," in which they implore them "to suffer no one to be "returned as a member of the reformed "Parliament, who will not pledge himself to support an honest investigation into the causes of the "national distress, and into the means "of its effectual and permanent relief." "Require," says the council, "as many "other pledges as you please; but let "this one great pledge never be forgotten or omitted in any one single "instance." The council of the Birmingham Political Union has, no doubt, given this advice from the best possible motives; but with respect to this "great pledge," as it is termed, we must take the liberty of remarking that it contains nothing specific, and that, in our opinion, a candidate who does not pledge himself to support any specific measure, gives no pledge at all. But the Birmingham Union "pledge" appears to us to be a great deal worse than no pledge, and, if it had proceeded from the mouth of a *candidate*, we should have at once regarded it as a shuffling pretence for avoiding the giving of any pledge whatever to the electors. Indeed, we are under no apprehension that any body of electors will be found senseless enough to propose it; our only fear is, that it will be used by candidates for the purpose of getting rid of the system of pledges altogether. It will, perhaps, be said, that the advice of the Birmingham council expressly states that the electors may "require as many other pledges as they please." A very little consideration, however, will enable us to discover, that the "great pledge" will effectually prevent the electors from exacting any other specific pledge. Let us, for the sake of illustration, suppose that the "great pledge" which "is never to be omitted," has been required by the electors, and given by the candidate, and that they have proceeded to require "other pledges" from him, as, for example, a promise to support the abolition of tithes; what will be his answer? Why, he will, in all probability, say, "Gentlemen, in compliance with your "wishes, I have but this instant pledged "myself to support an inquiry into 'the "'causes of the national distress, and "'the means of its relief;' and as the "very end and object of that inquiry is, "to ascertain what particular measures "are necessary to be adopted for that "purpose, I am quite sure you will "agree with me in thinking that it is "at present rather premature to call "upon me to pledge myself to the support of any specific measure." The electors, we apprehend, will be somewhat puzzled to find an answer to this argument.

The Birmingham Union, we observe, have addressed themselves to "*all* their "fellow-countrymen of the United "Kingdom," without seeming to recollect that the Reform Bill, so far from conferring the right of voting for Members of the House of Commons upon *all* their fellow-countrymen, does,

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in fact, give it to a comparatively small portion of them only, and that the *millions* will still be only *virtually* represented in the reformed Parliament. This is a very important consideration, and neither the fact itself, nor the consequences to which it may give rise, ought to be lost sight of, for a single moment, by those who are appointed to perform the solemn duty of choosing fit persons to represent themselves, and the numerous other classes who are only excluded by motives of convenience and policy, and, as we think, mistaken policy from the exercise of the elective franchise. The millions have, unquestionably, the same constitutional right to choose those who are to make laws for them, as the body of electors who will enjoy the privilege under the Reform Bill; and, if they have for the present forborne to insist upon that right, their forbearance has not been owing to any doubt of its existence, but to the confident expectation that the comparatively small number of voters who are permitted to enjoy it, will exercise it in a proper manner, and for the benefit of the whole community. The present bill is regarded by the millions only as an experiment in legislation; and, if the experiment should fail, through the misconduct or errors of the electors, the least that can be expected from the disappointment of the great mass of the people will be, a demand of universal suffrage. If the electors should send to Parliament men who will not do what is necessary to relieve the distresses of the nation, the people will have a right to say to them, "You have "made an improper use of the trust "which was reposed in you for our be- "nefit, as well as your own; we will, "therefore, now insist upon our full "rights, and, if we do not send better "men to Parliament, we shall, at least, "have nobody but ourselves to re- "proach." This, however, is the most favourable view that can be taken of the state of things which will be the result of an improper selection of members for the reformed Parliament; it is more probable that the disappointment and indignation of the people will produce a general convulsion. We should not have made these observations, if we had not perceived in several quarters from which we expected far better things, a disposition to make an injudicious use of the newly-conferred elective franchise; but let the electors remember that their conduct will be narrowly watched by the people, and that they will be justly responsible for the misconduct of their members. The wants of the millions must be attended to, and some of them have a mode of making them known, which they have practised from the remotest periods, and which we should be sorry to see again resorted to. It is comprised in six words of tremendous import, which may be considered as the "hand-writing on the wall," and which ought to be plainly writing on every hustings, and on the door of the reformed House of Commons—The ENGLISH LABOURERS WILL NOT STARVE. Upon the whole, we are satisfied that, if the system of requiring *specific pledges* for relieving the distresses of the people be generally adopted, *every thing will go well*! but if no such pledges be required, we venture to predict that the next Parliament will occasion *more dissatisfaction and become more unpopular* with the great body of the community, *than any boroughmongering Parliament that has ever assembled within the walls of St Stephens.*

CITY GUTTLING.

WE have, as yet (I write on Monday) no certain intelligence with regard to the *day* when our city guttlers of an *unreformed* city parliament mean to have their feed and their guzzle, under pretence of a rejoicing on account of the Reform Bill, which they hate from the bottom of their souls. They proposed at first, to toss down to us a few pence a-piece of our own money, that the *freemen*, as they mockingly call us, might have a "*grand dinner*" in FARRINGDON market-place. I told them that I thought it "*highly probable*" that in the midst of their revelling at

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Guildhall, where they proposed to expend upon themselves about *twenty pounds a-piece*; that, in the midst of this revelry, they might receive the visit of a strong detachment from FARRINGDON market, where the pennies would not be very long in expending. Not seeming to relish such a visit as this, and wishing their guttle to be undisturbed, they have, it seems, changed their plan; and have "*ordained*" that the pennies which they mean to toss down to us shall be expended amongst the "*lower orders*," assembled in comparatively small groups in their several wards, adequately superintended by their swarms of beadles, and by their new Bourbon-like police. That this precaution was not wholly unnecessary seems to have been shown by what happened the other day in Kent. It seems that the MARQUIS of CAMDEN, who received thirty thousand pounds a year for his sinecure for so many years, who gave a part of it up in the year 1818, but WHO STILL RECEIVES NEARLY THREE THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR FOR THE SAME SINECURE; and who will continue to receive it to the end of his life, unless *pledges* be taken from the members of the reformed Parliament. It seems that this great tax-eater, who is lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent, caused a parcel of the yeomanry cavalry corps to be assembled last week, at his seat near Sevenoaks, in Kent; and that STRATHFIELDSAYE'S Duke was brought to the review. These yeomanry consist of tenants, half-pay officers, retired-allowance people, knights and esquires, who have sons in the army or navy, or in the taxing offices; dependent inn-keepers; parsons' sons and the like. It is said that these gave STRATHFIELDSAYE *three cheers!* After the review was over, a booth was erected on the lawn, in the front of the great tax devourer's house, separated by a fence from the rest of the ground. I will now take the rest of the account from the *Morning Chronicle* of this day (2d July). "Before the festivities of the evening "were over, *the people insisted upon* "*getting within the fence set apart for* "*the dinner, and at length tore down the* "*fence*. There were, we understand, one "or two broken heads. The Duke of "Wellington also was greeted *with no* "*very pleasant sounds in his way back* "*to London*. At Tonbridge there was "some dispute between the towns-"people and the yeomen, and the doors "of the inn in which *the latter took* "*refuge*, were, it is said, burst open, "but no mischief was done." Passing over this circumstance of the yeomanry being obliged *to take refuge from the people*; passing over the great tax-eaters *wisdom* in furnishing an occasion for this contest between the yeomanry and the people, let me remark on the prudence of our city guzzlers, as illustrated by this curious incident in Kent. The people in Kent smelled the repast; and by the mere smell, they knew that they were eating taxes within. They knew, that they had all helped to pay for the repast; therefore they could see no earthly reason why they should not share in it. Our guttlers, who understand these matters better than the great tax-eater in Kent, would take special care never to hold their festivities upon *a lawn*, and with so slight a protection as a *hurdle fence*: they get within the thick walls of Guildhall, and there devour our taxes snugly; all the avenues being well guarded by beadles twenty deep; and by their new Bourbon-like police, armed with swords, *no doubt*, in imitation of the great "THING's" police. They set every thing at defiance, short of cannon. Yet, they do not like to be disturbed by a *noise* in the midst of their festivities. They like all to be quiet while they are alternately swallowing our substance and spewing out their nonsense. They are extremely shy of *naming the day!* I wish they would name the day for their guttling. They have had time to prepare their bodies. I should not be at all surprised if they were, in their next account of the expenditure, to charge us with the *medicine* which they take before and after the guttling! Verily, if this set be not *reformed*, the Reform Bill is very little a subject of joy with us poor taxed creatures of the

city, at any rate. It is said, and I hope truly, *that the people of* PORTSOKEN-WARD *mean to carry* Mr. Alderman SCALES *in triumph, and to demand admittance for him, on the day of the feast at Guildhall.* If this should be the case, I should not at all wonder to see half-a-dozen regiments of horse and foot introduced into the city. He is the *alderman of the ward*; he has *a right to be there*, and I do hope that what I have heard in this respect will prove true.

P. S. Since the above was written, I see that the grand guttle is fixed for the 11th of July.

MANCHESTER.

FROM the silence of the London daily press, one would think that this famous town had recently been destroyed by fire, or swallowed up by an earthquake; for, the at once stupid and malignant fellows that conduct these newspapers, have not for some months suffered the name to find its way into print. Therefore, to remove any apprehensions which the public might entertain upon the subject, I insert the following address to the electors of that borough, from Mr. CANDELET, of MANCHESTER. It will be a comfort for the country to know, that so far from the people of that town being *all dead*, some of them are *clearly alive*, and in a state of considerable activity.

ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF MANCHESTER.

The day approaches when you will be called upon to exercise that franchise, which the exertions of an united people have wrested from a boroughmongering faction.

Convinced as we are that the sure means of attaining the blessings of cheap and good Government, are those contained in Mr. COBBETT'S FOURTEEN IMMORTAL PROPOSITIONS, viz., to abolish all SINECURES and UNMERITED PENSIONS, HALF-PAY, and DEAD-WEIGHT, to apply the church and other national property to the payment of what is really due to the national creditor, and to abolish the TITHES, CORN-LAWS, and STANDING ARMY,—and believing that no man can be so well adapted to carry these propositions into effect as the man whose powerful mind first gave them birth; the man whose prophetic spirit, twenty years ago, foretold the state of misery and weakness to which the debt and taxes would reduce us; the man who foresaw exactly the way in which that very misery and degradation would at last force reform upon the legislature; the man who saw precisely what would be the terrible effects of Peel's Bill, and told, years before it occurred, the stupendous ruin that would fall upon all classes of society, excepting only the tax-eaters; considering, too, that he cannot be sent to Parliament with the same weight and influence, the same power of effecting this mighty mass of good from any other place as from Manchester, the centre of commercial activity, of industry, and sound knowledge, we propose to you to assist us in returning triumphantly to Parliament that father of reform and friend of the people, WILLIAM COBBETT.

Be not deluded by the cry of the necessit of having commercial men to represent a commercial town, for depend upon it, that the interests of commerce will be best protected by a real statesman, a statesman who in vain warned the commercial men that in passi Peel's Bill they were ruining themselves; who in vain ridiculed the idea of free trade being possible, until a monstrous weight of taxation was removed; in vain, for the commercia men passed Peel's Bill, blind to all its consequences.

Let your motto be real reform, abolition o assessed taxes, and all taxes upon the necessaries of life, tithes, and corn-laws, and WILLIAM COBBETT your representative.

Lose no time, canvass your friends an; neighbours, exert yourselves to the utmost above all take care, by PAYING UP YOUR RATES previously to the 20th of July, to secure your right of voting, and report your progress to the committee, who sit every Monday evening, from 8 to 10, at their Committee-room, White Lion, Hanging Ditch.

P. T. CANDELET, Honorary Secretary.

Committee-Room, June 26, 1832.

The *Courier* newspaper (the basest of all the tools of the Whigs, TORRENS'S paper excepted), has called upon the Government "*to send down some gentle-*" "*man*; or else COBBETT will assuredly "be elected." Yes, "send down some gentleman," by all means; but not "a gentleman" that likes *sinecures*; for no sinecure will he find in *that job!* The Government, in its conduct towards Ireland and Scotland, and in its breach of promise to take up the subject of *duration of Parliaments* and the *ballot*, has not only *broken the compact*, to which I voluntarily became a party, but has rendered the Reform Bill so inefficient in comparison to what it would have been,

that it is now both just and necessary for me to contend, whenever the proper time shall arrive, for a *Parliament of a very short duration*, for *universal suffrage*, and for *polling by ballot*. What they have given us in the English Reform Bill, they have taken away, in great part, in the Irish and Scotch Reform Bills: they agreed, and indeed pledged themselves, to enter upon the questions of the duration of Parliaments and the ballot: they have broken the compact; and they are not to expect to hold us to our part of that compact. But with regard to their *sending a gentleman down to* MANCHESTER, that is nonsense; and, again I tell them, that to keep me out of Parliament, they must *pass an act* to exclude *me by name*; and, again I promise them, that if they have but the pluck to *do that*, they shall never hear upon the subject, petition, or complaint, from WM. COBBETT.

OLDHAM.

THE following address is so full of good sense, and so excellently well written, that, were there no other reason for my inserting it in the *Register*, that would be reason enough. It is signed, "a working man." Let one of the lounging vagabonds who talk of the *lower orders*, give us evidence of talent such as is here displayed; and then I will acknowledge that there possibly may be some reason for talking of the superiority of those who have the arrogance to style themselves the *higher* orders.

TO THE WORKING MEN OF THE BOROUGH OF OLDHAM.

FRIENDS,

THE working men of England have had their full share of the honour of compelling the Lords to pass the Reform Bill. If they had not exerted themselves the bill would not have passed, and if they do not exert themselves the bill will be of no use. We all know that it is our right to be represented in Parliament. We have been contented to join the ten-pound voters, who taking them as a body, never joined us; we have been contented to join them to do so much good as the passing of this bill and the destruction of the rotten boroughs does. They have promised us that the bill should do good to us as well as them; and the time is coming when that promise ought to be fulfilled. The ten-pound voter, who has wished this bill to pass, who has called upon the people to help in passing it, and who now gives his vote to any man not pledged to measures of justice to the working man, is guilty of foul ingratitude and base treachery. We must hope that no ten-pound voter of Oldham, who calls himself a reformer, is base to this extent; but we must recollect that the ten-pound qualification takes in the enemies as well as the friends of reform; we must bear in mind that it takes in the men who would rather be slaves themselves than see their countrymen free;—that it takes in the selfish as well as the patriotic,—the cowardly as well as the brave. We know that power, money, and influence, will do all they can to pervert the electors; and we must show those of the electors who are to be guided only by their interests and their fears, that there is some value in the gratitude of the working men if they be well treated, and some terror in the resentment if they be betrayed.

They say the elections will come on this year: let us make known what we expect from the men who represent Oldham. The working men are not represented in Parliament—let them demand that the little they have to live on be not taxed by Parliaments—let them demand that their necessaries, their malt, their hops, their tea, their coffee, their sugar, their soap, be *freed from taxes!*

Whoever may pay the taxes, we, the workmen, earn the money; and if the taxes be heavy we must suffer. Let us demand that all sinecures be put an end to, and all pensions and all pay out of the taxes not earned by real public service.

Sir James Graham said that the half-pay list was only another pension list. Let us demand that this pension list be cut down, and that none receive half-pay who have not earned it by real service abroad.

There are enough of us who find it hard to get bread: let us demand that the wicked laws for raising the price of bread be repealed; and, to do justice to the farmer, let us demand that *tithes* be put an end to.

There are many other things that ought to be expected; but those who do these things will do everything that justice to the people demands; and it is enough now to ask for that which ought to be done first. Let us unite then; let us determine that we will give our support only to those who will pledge themselves to these points. Let us make known to the ten-pound voters that we expect from them this justice to us—that they will not vote for those who will not do these things for us: let us resolve that we will enter no public-house—that we will deal at no shop, the owner of which shall show himself by his vote, at the next election, to be an enemy to the working classes. Let them have no excuse in our silence: let us all tell those electors whom we know, what we expect from them. Let us, on the day of election, go to the poll—look them in the face—encourage our

friends—and ask our enemies "If they dare, in the face of day, and in the face of heaven, *vote that our misery and our slavery shall be continued!*"

A WORKING MAN.

Oldham, 12th June, 1832.

ON THE DEAD BODY BILL.

TO THE EARL OF RADNOR.

Kensington, 2d July, 1832.

MY LORD.

FIRST thanking your Lordship for presenting my petition upon this subject, I beg to be permitted to observe, that I know the reporter must have misrepresented you, when he published, under your name, an expression of an opinion, that my petition represented some part of the people as believing, that the cutting up of a human body might have a tendency *to prevent its resurrection*. It is impossible that any Christian can entertain such a notion; and I am sure that your Lordship never described my petition as conveying a notion so unworthy of any man, who has ever read the gospels and the epistles.

Your Lordship, with that frankness and sincerity which form part of your exalted character, warned me that you should think it your duty to express your disagreement with me on the subject of this petition. This warning made me do that which I should not have done on account of such disagreement in any other man living; namely, to revise the whole of the petition; to reweigh every word of it with the greatest care; and to be prepared for the withdrawing of it if I found any part of it to be untenable. This strict re-examination only tended, however, to confirm me in all my opinions relative to the matter. It is with great sorrow that I find myself, in this important matter, at variance in opinion with your Lordship; and, laying aside those parts of the subject which are at all of an abstract nature, I am sure, that, if your Lordship know how many hundreds of afflicted people *in the country* have preferred almost certain death at their own houses, *rather than come to the hospitals in London*, with the risk of being sold to, and cut up by, the surgeons; if your Lordship knew how many poor people in the country have expended their last farthing, and, in many cases, plunged themselves into debt, in order to bring away from London their poor relations, lest they should die here and be sold and dissected; if your Lordship knew what watchings and what expense the poor labourers submit to, in order to prevent the graves of their deceased relations from being violated; if your Lordship knew how many hundreds of sick persons, when told that they had the cholera, and that they must be removed to an hospital, or die, have preferred *death* to a removal to a place which they thought would expose their dead bodies to dissection; if your Lordship knew the extent of the horror of this practice, which is rooted in the hearts of all the virtuous part of the working millions, towards whom you have always shown such kindness, and whose well-being has been the first object of your care; if your Lordship considered, that, from these causes, the bill is in reality a bill to shut the door of all hospitals against the poor, for whose benefit they were chiefly if not solely intended; if your Lordship knew these things, as well as I do, you would, I am sure, say with me, that, with so great a practical evil, no imaginary good is for one moment to be placed in competition.

Your Lordship is not one of those who regard the labouring people as not made of the same flesh and blood as yourself. I will not ask your Lordship how *you* should feel in a case such as that which I am about to suppose; but I can speak for myself, that to consider it barely possible, that my wife or one of my children, would, when dead, be stretched out upon a board, there to be hacked to pieces, would be ten thousand times more painful to me than any death that could be inflicted upon me; and that I would as soon pardon the murderer of one of them as I would pardon the wretch that should purchase, sell, or cut up, one of their bodies.

I am sincerely of opinion that this butcher-like work tends to cherish ig-

norance rather than to promote science; but a proof of the contrary would be no argument with me, until I could be brought to believe that *there is nothing so valuable as life*. The best, and, indeed, the only ground of defence of this bill is this; that, if it be not passed, *some of us will die sooner* than we should die if it were passed. I do not believe this; but if I did believe it, I should have nothing but this imaginary good to place against all the real and certain evils which must arise from the passing of this bill. Granting the truth of the assertion, I am prepared to say, that it is *better* that some of us should die sooner than we should die if this bill were passed; and of this opinion are the country people; for they prefer what they deem *almost certain death*, at their own homes, to *probable cure*, with a chance of the sale and dissection of their bodies in London.

I place very little reliance upon the *report* of the speech of your Lordship; but if you did make the observation imputed to you, namely, that the bill was *more for the benefit of the poor than that of the rich*, I must say that I think your Lordship has taken a wrong view of the matter. Your Lordship's view of it is founded on the assumption that the passing of this bill will make *surgical knowledge cheaper*. The surgical knowledge derived from this source is, in my opinion, already quite cheap enough. If some few thousands of the youths, called "young doctors," whom the puffed-up pride of the day has drawn from the plough, to lounge about under the name of gentlemen, were sent back again to the plough, or put to the making of coats or shoes, I am sure that the community would thereby be greatly improved. But, be this as it may, the bill exposes to the odious sale *none but the bodies of the poor*; and this the labouring poor very clearly perceive. They well know that the bodies of the rich will never be sold; they well know that the rich do not go to poor-houses and hospitals; they well know, that the rich are not *unclaimed*, when they die in barrack-rooms; they well know that the monster who robs the grave, and his *viler* accomplice who receives the stolen body, will never plunder the graves of the rich. And, my Lord, I beseech you to be pleased to bear in mind, that *injustice* consists much more in the *partiality* of a law, or of a judgment, than in the *severity* of either. And, in this case, the partiality is so manifest, that it is impossible for any person of plain sense not to perceive it; and, being perceived by the millions of his Majesty's subjects, it is impossible that their feelings towards the makers of the law should not be such as every friend to the harmony and happiness of the country must deeply lament.

To the duties belonging to *allegiance*; to all the duties enjoined by *the law*; to all these duties, is constantly attached the *right* of protection from the King and from the law. In the name of his allegiance, in the name of the law, the labouring man is called upon, and wisely and justly called upon, to come and to venture even his life in defence of his country and its laws; but, my Lord, the labouring man has rights as well as duties; and, next to the right of having his live body protected by the law, is the right of having it, when dead, protected against the unfeeling and sacrilegious monsters who violate the tomb. Therefore, my Lord, I contend for that species of protection for the poor, which I humbly pray for in the petition which your Lordship was pleased to present in my behalf, and the granting of which prayer was clearly within the competence of your right honourable House.

To all the reasons stated in my petition, may be added this, which in that petition I refrained from urging; namely, that, to reject the bill, would go very far with ninety-nine hundredths of the nation, in producing that *reconciliation* between the House of Lords and the people at large, which reconciliation present circumstances make it so desirable to produce. I need not be more particular in the stating of this opinion. I have thought it my duty thus to address your Lordship upon a subject, with regard to which I feel so much anxiety, and with regard to which I thought that your Lordship stood in

need of the information which I have endeavoured here to communicate. Whatever may be the course which your Lordship may think proper to pursue, I am sure that it will be dictated by your conscientious conviction of its rectitude.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble,
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

SOMERVILLE.

FROM the *Birmingham Journal* we learn that this soldier is discharged. The money that I have collected for that purpose I am ready to pay, at any time, to the editor of the *Dispatch*, and I thank those who have been subscribers upon this occasion.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS!

I TAKE the following from the *Kilmarnock Chronicle and Ayrshire Advertiser* of the 26. June.

"We are happy to state that a penny "subscription was commenced in this "town on Friday last, for the purpose "of assisting in the purchase of the "discharge of that 'noble of nature,' "Somerville. The collectors of this "patriotic and philanthropic fund have "been met almost everywhere with the "most cordial reception, and have had "sixpences, shillings, and half-crowns "offered them; but as it was deter-"mined not to go beyond a penny from "each individual, they confined them-"selves to this rule. We understand "that there is now upwards of six hun-"dred names got, and the subscription "is still going on. It was remarked "by some that it should first be ascer-"tained whether Somerville wishes to "get rid of his military life, but this "we conceive to be of little importance "on the present occasion. One great "object is to give the public an oppor-"tunity of expressing their sentiments "on military flogging in general, and "on the lamentable case of Somerville "in particular; and this, we think, "could not be more decisively done "than by the present method. The "subscription must be to his pecuniary "benefit in some shape or other, and "the *morale* of the thing will be more "effective than a hundred speeches in "Parliament against flogging. We "hope other places in Scotland will "follow our example, and infuse con-"solation into the mind of the patriot, "while they send shame and confusion "into those of his oppressors."

TRIAL

OF MEN FOR WALKING ALONG THE STREET.

THE Whig-prosecution of BENBOW, LOVETT, and WATSON, as the leaders of the *fast-day* procession, was tried at the Middlesex sessions, on the 16th of May. The pretended criminals were acquitted; but the report of the TRIAL which has been published by Mr. WATSON, is very well worthy of being perused and preserved. This was a stretch of the "*riot law*," greater than was ever heard of before. The *crime* of these Englishmen was that of assembling to walk quietly along the streets in the town in which they resided. For doing this, and nothing but this, they were put into prison and held to bail. The jury acquitted them, to be sure; but still they had to suffer a great deal for this pretended crime. The report of the trial ought to be read by everybody; for it shows in detail what sort of a government that is which we are living under. Mr. ATTWOOD, in his address to the people of BIRMINGHAM, expressed his disposition to secure "a full measure of liberty to all." I wish he had said something specific; for instance, the liberty of walking along the streets without being knocked down, or taken up, by a half-military police. In short, we live in a state of complete innovation. *English liberty* is nothing but a name. There is no compensation for loss of time to these suffering parties. They may be as effectually ruined in this way as if their goods were taken out of their houses by force, and disposed of for the benefit of those who seize them.

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IRISH TITHES.

From the following articles will be seen what is the disposition of the Irish people with regard to this enormous grievance; and the English electors will clearly see, that unless they exact pledges, with regard to the abolition of tithes in particular, the Reform Bill will have been of no use whatever. It is quite monstrous to suppose that the church can be suffered to go on in its present way. It swallows up a third part of the whole kingdom; and with regard to Ireland, it is still worse than with regard to England. The bishoprics, the deans and chapters, and all the great livings, are in the gift of the Ministry and the aristocracy. Without a reformation as to this matter, I, for my part, shall regard the reform as worse than useless. There can be no peace as long as the church remains what it is; and that the reader will be convinced of, when he has read the following articles, though he may have never thought of the matter.

IMPORTANT ANTI-TITHE MEETING AT LITTLE LIMERICK.

(*From the Dublin Morning Register of June 26th.*)

On Monday week, one of the most numerous and respectable meetings held for many years in that part of the country took place upon the fair green of Little Limerick, county Wexford, to petition both Houses of Parliament for the total extinction of tithes. The meeting comprised the parishioners of Kilcavin, Kilmahue, Kilmichaelough, and Kilnlnor, and crowds flocked in from the adjoining counties of Carlow and Wicklow. When the chair was taken, the persons assembled on the fair green could not amount to less than forty thousand, and included Protestants as well as Catholics, who joined with the true spirit of patriotism in the great constitutional struggle for the removal of a common grievance. The most orderly conduct was observed by the multitude, and not the slightest symptom of party spirit was manifested during the day. In consequence of the exertions of the committee and the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, C. C., the display of flags, banners, &c. was prohibited.

J. Burkitt, Esq., of Seaview (a Protestant gentleman), having been called to the chair amidst great cheering, spoke as follows:—Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have conferred on me by calling me to preside at such a respectable meeting. I shall ever be ready to co-operate with my countrymen in a constitutional way in everything that can tend to ameliorate the condition of ill-treated Ireland. I should despise myself did I shrink from my duty, if my humble efforts could be of any avail. (Bravo.) Though a Protestant, I must protest against the unjust and deservedly-execrated tithe system, which, I am sorry to say, is the cause of our present meeting. (Cheers.) Before I sit down, I cannot omit relating what occurred in my neighbourhood some time back. A poor cottier was distrained for arrears of tithe due for the years 1826 and 1827. The poor man was unable to meet the demands of the tithe proctor, and besides remonstrated with him on the injustice of asking tithe from him for those two years, as he had no potatoes in his little field either year, from his inability to buy seed. Remonstrance was unavailing, and the little furniture of the poor man was distrained to swell the coffers of the uncharitable parson (Shame, shame); and the wretched cottier, and his miserable family were actually obliged to eat their scanty meal of dry potatoes out of a basket in the middle of the floor. (Cries of "Shame!")

The Rev. Mr. Kennedy, C.C., in proposing the first resolution, addressed the meeting to the following effect:—When I entered the meeting this morning, I was determined to remain a silent participator in the events of the day; but when I see myself encircled by so numerous, and, I am happy to add, by so respectable an assembly, my love of country predominates over all prudential considerations of health, and I stand forward to raise my feeble voice in support of the rights of my countrymen. (Great cheering, with cries of "God restore you to health.") Though sickness has emaciated my body, and stolen from my cheeks the crimson glow of youth—though its influence congeals the current of youthful feeling, still I cannot diminish in my bosom the flame of patriotism, which burns the more vividly the more I see the land of my birth degraded by the perpetuation of a system as preposterously perverted as any ever recorded in the page of history. (Cheers.) The tithe-committee have, after very mature deliberation, arrived at the sapient conclusion, that the "distribution of tithes is a matter of extreme uncertainty." (Laughter.) It is ludicrous indeed to be told, in the nineteenth century, of the wonderful cloud which for so many ages enveloped the history of tithes, and which was so long reserved for a parliamentary committee to dissipate by the fervour of their luminous intellects. (Cheers.) This is another extraordinary manifestation of the march of intellect in this learned age. (Loud laughter.) If these learned worthies would take the trouble of consulting Sir William Blackstone, one of the most respectable characters in the judicial annals of Great Britain, and who, by the way, cannot be looked on as very favourable to anything Catholic, they might learn that the distribution of tithes is not a matter of such extreme uncertainty.

But, my countrymen, it is not for us to combat with parliamentary committees about the distribution of tithes, but to exercise the great constitutional privilege—the right of petition—with which we are invested—(cheers),—to seek their entire annihilation. (Cheers.) Shall we tamely submit to be manacled with a system, the bare mention of which filled our Catholic ancestors of the twelfth century with horror and disgust? (No, never.) No; the parson, or his tithe-proctor—if he can procure one—(a laugh)—may seize our property, may distrain to the plenitude of his merciless avarice, but we never shall yield a willing submission to a system based upon oppression, injustice, and blood. (Great cheering, and cries of "We never will.") I would touch more minutely upon this last reflection, but as the minister of peace, it is my duty to act according to the spirit of my sacred vocation, and not revive scenes at which human nature recoils, and at the reminiscence of which the blood chills in the veins of every Christian. If I know anything of human nature, I think I can read in the features of every individual before me a fixed hatred of the tithe system. I cannot better express myself on this subject than in the ever-memorable words of Dr. Doyle, "May your hatred of tithes be as lasting as your love of justice." Though I entertain the highest possible opinion of your morality, still, such is the depravity of human nature, that there might be some individual among you, who would wish to sow the seed of secret and illegal combination. If there be any such miscreant in this vast assembly, I here publicly protest he is an enemy to his country, to his religion, and to his God. (Loud cheers.) My countrymen, I am delighted with that cheer; it shows your determination to act as becomes you, peaceably and constitutionally. If you persevere in this spirit, I shall sink or float with you. Your interest and mine shall be entirely identified. This line of conduct alone shall ensure your triumph. I shall now have done, with a fixed resolution never again to appear in the field of politics, as soon as this engrossing question shall be satisfactorily terminated.

The Rev. JAMES REDMOND seconded the resolution. He said: My friends, why is it that I, a minister of the gospel, am present in an assembly which wears a secular and political aspect? Because my character, as a minister of the gospel, is not incompatible with my character as a citizen. (Cheers.) All order comes from God, and as God wills that there be citizens as well as Christian ministers, there can be no conflict between their respective duties. I therefore feel, that in being here this day, I am acting in as full an accordance with the divine arrangement, as when I ascend the altar to pray (loud cheers), particularly as I am here the humble advocate of justice, and to raise my voice against a system of most unjust oppression. (Great cheering.) You, my poor friends, know what it costs you to make your ground productive. See the farmer drawing his manure often twenty miles, toiling from morning till night, commencing his labour long before the rising sun, and closing it long after its setting, working like a slave on a scanty diet, not daring often to eat of the pig which he fattens, or of the ox which he feeds (loud cheers); and when he has thus collected the fruit of his hard labour, the minister or his proctor comes in and says, Give me my tenth. (Shame.) And what does the minister give for the tenth of this laborious accumulation? To the Catholic nothing, and often, I repeat, worse than nothing. He neither prays with him, nor for him (at least in a way the Catholic wishes) (laughter); he neither inquires into, nor labours to administer to his spiritual wants; he takes not his stand at the bed of pestilence to excite the contrition, to rouse the faith, to strengthen the hope, to inflame the charity of the dying Catholic. (Cheers.) He either eats his tithes in thankless silence, confines himself to his church service, and permits the Catholic quietly to pursue his own course, or (what often happens now-a-day) he volunteers a crusade against the Catholic's creed and the Catholic's priest, stigmatizing the one as idolatrous, and the other as a designing knave, who would keep the people under a cloud of ignorance, for his own individual and selfish purposes. (Cheers.)

Mr. MICHAEL FANNING, jun. proposed the third resolution. The Catholic Relief Bill, he said, which is still fresh in the memory of every one, was accomplished by the people. While the aristocrats of the land lay buried in supineness and apathy, the people rallied round Ireland's champion (cheers), and achieved, under his guidance, their political regeneration (applause); a victory the more exalted, as it was obtained without the effusion of a single drop of human blood. (Cheers.) Come on, then, fellow-countrymen, and learn from the past how you are to conduct yourselves on this trying and important occasion. Be firm, be temperate, act according to the spirit of the constitution, and you shall, you must be released from your grievance, as dishonourable to our enemies as it is grinding to us. (Cheers.) Union among ourselves will carry dismay into the camp of our enemies. Let, therefore, unanimity and perseverance characterise your constitutional struggles, and the victory is won. (Great cheering.) You full well know that "it is the voluntary slave makes the oppressor," and that those deserve never to have the impress of slavery obliterated from their foreheads who would yield a passive obedience to its galling influence. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. O'KENNEDY proposed the resolution expressive of the grateful sense of the meeting to Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P. There are individuals here, he said, who recollect the time when the priests of Ireland had to resort to the caverns of the mountains to worship the God of their fathers; but now a better era has set in, and the traveller can

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look with pride and pleasure on the magnificent Catholic churches which, on every direction, beset his path. And to whom are we indebted for all this, but to the immortal O'Connell, whose name shall be enshrined in the memory of his countrymen, when the enemies of Erin shall descend to the tomb of oblivion, never to be remembered but with a nation's curse.

The Rev. Mr. REDMOND—My friends, I am called on to second a vote of thanks to Ireland's first son, Daniel O'Connell. (Tremendous cheering.) I find my heart bounding with joy at his very name. May God bless him! I would as soon expect this island to be torn from its position, and floated in the Atlantic, as that his services would be forgotten by Irishmen.

MATTHEW ELLIS, Esq. having been called to the chair, and thanks having been voted to Mr. Burkitt, the immense assemblage separated in the most orderly manner.

TITHES.

GREAT RURAL MEETING TO SEEK REFORM AND ABOLISH TITHES.—The most imposing tithe meeting we have yet witnessed took place in the village of Moucoin, in this county, midway between Waterford and Carrick, on Sunday last. Our reporter started to attend it early on that morning, and on reaching Knocktopher, learned that thousands of persons, on foot and horseback, had some time before left it, from the neighbourhood of Carrickshock, Knocktopher, Ballyhale, and several miles around, and were then taking a journey of fourteen Irish miles, to record their hatred of tithes. Between Knocktopher and Ballyhale a considerable body of police and military were drawn up, under the command of Major George Brown and two officers of the 74th. Major Brown had the objects for which the meeting was called explained by Mr. Conway, of Ballyhale, to whom (after pointing out the injudiciousness of proceeding with music or banners) he entrusted the care of maintaining tranquillity and good order. This worthy officer, after expressing his confidence in the people, was repeatedly cheered by the thousands who then started for the place of meeting. On our reporter coming up with the party, about five miles below Knocktopher, it consisted of about 5,000 persons, a great number of whom had horses, each carrying two men, or one woman, with a woman seated on a pillion. The county Kilkenny men (every moment adding to their number, till they at last amounted to perhaps 2,000 horse and 8,000 foot-men) reached the place appointed for the meeting—a large field outside the village—where they were preceded by about 20,000 persons, similarly provided, from the immediate neighbourhood and the county Waterford. Mr. Stone, a respectable farmer, had already been called to the chair, and business had commenced. Soon after the arrival of the men of Knocktopher, those from Carrick made their appearance, to the number of about 10,000 or 12,000. The numbers present were variously estimated from 50,000 to 80,000. Among the speakers were Messrs. Sullivan, Fortescue, Nash, &c., of Waterford; and Mr. Conway, of Knocktopher. After the resolutions and a petition were agreed to, the meeting rapidly separated, every individual, as was previously recommended, refraining from taking any strong liquor, though many thousands had walked to the meeting fourteen miles, and had a like distance to go before they could reach their homes.—*Kilkenny Journal.*

IMPORTANT TITHE MEETING AT RATOATH, COUNTY MEATH.—On Sunday last, pursuant to requisition, a meeting of the parishioners of Ratoath was held in that town. The peasantry of the surrounding country continued to flock into town at an early hour in the morning; and at three o clock, the hour appointed for the meeting, there were at least ten thousand persons assembled. A large and commodious platform was erected at the extremity of the town, for the accommodation of the speakers, and those who intended to take a prominent part in the proceedings of the day. It was crowded with the wealth and respectability of the neighbourhood. A smaller platform was erected at one side for the accommodation of the ladies; but, from the rather tempestuous state of the weather, the fair visitants did not avail themselves of it; however, they occupied every window that could command a view of the scene, and many of them, in coaches and cars, formed not the least attractive feature in the proceedings of the day. Two handsome banners, inscribed "no tithes," and "peace and good order," floated gracefully from the summit of either platform. At three o'clock, Michael Thunder, Esq., J. P., of Lagore, was called to the chair, amid the enthusiastic applause of the meeting. —*Freeman's Journal.*

ANTI-TITHE MEETING IN THE NORTH.—An anti-tithe meeting was held in Gilford, on Thursday, the 21st ult. It was numerously attended by the neighbouring farmers. Mr. Andrew M'Gaffin was called to the chair, and Mr. Francis Campbell was requested to act as secretary. Mr. James Brown, in proposing the first resolution, said, that he concurred in opinion with the great majority of the people, that the tithe system was oppressive. It was unjust for Dean Mahon to enforce payment in that part of the country, as he never visited them; and, consequently, gives no value for the money demanded. He did not think it right that such immense sums of money should be levied off the people, particularly at the present time, when farmers could not make up their rents without depriving their families of necessary support. Several resolutions, expressive of the sense of the meeting, were then proposed and carried unanimously; and the business of the day being finished, the persons present gave three cheers, and quietly dispersed.

MEETING AT CARRICKMACROSS.—On Sun-

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day the people assembled at Carrickmacross, to the number of 50,000, and adopted resolutions declaratory of their hostility to tithes, church cess, and grand jury jobbing. A strong military force was in attendance; but the people, having passed their resolutions, quietly dispersed.

AN APPEAL

TO THE JUSTICE OF THE PUBLIC.

THE following is a copy of the *Address to the People of England*, in behalf of the poor men who are incarcerated for selling unstamped publications, which was adopted at the public meeting held at the Institution of the Working Classes, Theobald's-road, on Saturday morning:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

Reason and experience concur in demonstrating that ignorance is the prolific source of moral and political evil; and that, consequently, whatever tends to perpetuate its existence, is repugnant both to sound morality and to rational legislation. That persons who contribute directly or indirectly towards the expenses of the state should know what is the conduct of their representatives, and in what manner the public revenues are expended, no one can deny; but it is only through the medium of weekly or daily publications that this information can be communicated in sufficient *time* to prevent evil, and only by making such publications extremely *cheap* that this information can come into the hands of the wealth-producing classes. The heavy stamp-duty imposed upon all daily and weekly publications containing "News, Intelligence, and Occurrences," however, effectually prevents this, at least, to a very great extent, and it is equally notorious, that the acts of Parliament by which they were imposed, were avowedly enacted for the purpose of preventing the diffusion of political knowledge among this most numerous, and hence the most important class of our fellow-countrymen.

But the evils engendered or perpetuated by the taxes upon knowledge, are so great, that they have begun to effect their own cure. That these knowledge-suppressing laws cannot now be fully executed, is a fact proved by the admission of the Attorney-General himself. In the meanwhile, the enforcement of these *laws* against *some* publications, while *others* equally liable are permitted to circulate with impunity, is a disgrace to a civilized people, among whom law should be impartially administered alike to rich and poor. But it is now impossible for the Government to enforce the pains and penalties against cheap newspapers; for so great is the number of persons brought to destitution by a heartless system of political mismanagement, that individuals may always be found willing to defy those laws which are deemed by the public to be impolitic, unjust, and pernicious. No moral stigma attaches to the men who are prosecuted for the breach of such laws, but on the contrary, sympathy is powerfully excited in behalf of those unhappy prisoners, who are regarded as the victims of a vicious legislature, and as martyrs in the sacred cause of intellectual freedom.

Notwithstanding, however, that the weekly sale of many thousands of unstamped newspapers sufficiently demonstrates that the acts of Parliament, for the prevention of knowledge, have become to a certain degree inoperative, yet there is no doubt but that the number of cheap and useful periodicals would be greatly increased, and that the talent devoted to them would be of a more refined order, if the above-mentioned acts for the restriction of newspapers were repealed. At present these acts have only the effect of creating two very different monopolies, both equally dangerous to the Government, viz. 1st, a monopoly of the *unstamped* press, to which the friends of the Government cannot reply but at a sevenfold disadvantage; and, 2dly, a monopoly of the *stamped* press, which often dares to dictate to the Government, and seems to arrogate to itself the dignity of a "fourth estate." But if the taxes on newspapers were repealed, it would be seen that many able and honest men, capable of enlightening and instructing the popular mind upon the great question of social, political, and legal science, who now are deterred either by conscientious scruples, or by timid apprehensions, from writing and publishing in defiance of the laws, would, by the repeal of these laws, be at liberty to exert their talents for the preservation of whatever is excellent in the present system of society; while, on the other hand, many of the individuals now engaged in portraying the evils of the existing system, would be relieved from those feelings of excitement and irritation engendered by the conviction, that in order to discharge a great moral and social duty, they are compelled to violate the laws, a recollection which cannot fail to tinge their productions with bitterness.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—We call upon you to come forward at once, and to give us your aid and influence in our efforts to free the press from the trammels in which it is now held, so that our poorer brethren may be liberated from the mischievous consequences to which the taxes upon knowledge render them liable. It rests with the people to determine whether these taxes shall be continued. We have seen within the last two months that there is no power in this kingdom capable of resisting the united power of that people. If they direct against the taxes on knowledge, that torrent of indignation which has hitherto been directed, with success, against more seemingly invincible obstacles, they will find that the persons who now uphold these taxes, will be glad to obtain popularity by conceding what has at last been

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demanded by the voice of the people. Within the last three weeks, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has declared in the House of Commons, that all taxes which impede the diffusion of knowledge are evils in themselves, and in their operation. Let it become manifest to the Government that you also consider these taxes to be evils, and that you can no longer submit with indifference to their infliction—let every public-spirited individual familiarise his neighbour with the multiplicity and the magnitude of the evils which arise from political ignorance, and then let us with one accord raise our voices to the legislature for the removal of the taxes which perpetuate that ignorance. When those acts of Parliament are obliterated from the statute book, we shall all of us rejoice in the possession, and participate in the advantages, of a free and independent press.

We cannot conclude without referring to the sufferings of those devoted men who have become victims of these obnoxious laws; there have, during the last twelve months, been more than 200 commitments to the various metropolitan jails, for the supposed offence of distributing political truths in a cheap and readable form; many of the men thus committed have wives and children, who, during the imprisonment of their husbands and fathers, have necessarily endured the most heart-rending privations. A subscription commenced in their behalf nearly a year ago, is now all but exhausted, while on the other hand, the applicants for relief are daily increasing; they cannot, we are sure, be abandoned to poverty and neglect while fighting the battle of a free press. That you being the citizens of a free state, have a right to know, as cheaply and as often as possible, how the affairs of that state (which you pay so dearly to support) are carried on,

But we feel that we need not press this matter further on your attention; you will act as your own sense of impartial justice and of enlightened self-interest prompts you to act, and in coming forward for this useful purpose, you will, when consulting your individual ability, recollect also the increasing need for prompt and personal exertion.

CITY WORKS.

[*Read about Auditors.*]

A Common Hall was recently held, for the purpose of addressing his Majesty on the late atrocious attack on his person.

Mr. WILLIAMS introduced a resolution, the purport of which was to reprobate the late attack, to congratulate his Majesty on his escape, to manifest the unabated sentiments of loyalty and attachment of the Livery of London. He observed that it gave him deep regret that an occasion should have arisen which rendered such a resolution necessary; but it afforded him, in common with his fellow-citizens, the utmost pleasure to find that the brutal attack on his Majesty's person had been the solitary act of a being bereft of reason. All classes of his Majesty's people had given proofs, on his accession to the throne, of the deep regard in which they held their Monarch; but, on such an occasion as the present, it became all classes to come forward and renew their pledges of attachment and loyalty. No one could be insensible to the great obligation which the King had conferred on the country by the part he had taken in the furthering that great measure which had now become the law of the land. Every reflecting mind must feel that the great measure could never have been obtained without the powerful aid of his Majesty. He regretted that individuals could be found base and hypocritical enough to attribute the atrocious attack to the agitation consequent on the question of reform. Those who made such an assertion must feel and know that it was utterly unfounded and false. The reformers throughout the country owed and felt the deepest gratitude to the King for the noble part he had acted towards them, and they would repel with indignation any charge which should contain an imputation that the attack emanated from political feeling. It reflected the highest disgrace on those individuals who had attempted to connect the act of this man with the cause of reform. Such slanders had only one object, and that was, to destroy that cordiality which at present existed between his Majesty and the people. He begged to move the first resolution.

Mr. STEVENS seconded the resolution, and observed, it must have been pretty well remarked, that it was customary for certain gentlemen to assume to themselves the exclusive possession of loyalty; but the reformers who had made so noble a stand for their rights, and who had been calumniated as enemies of the King and promoters of revolution, would now show how groundless was the charge, and how strong were their sentiments of attachment towards their Sovereign. He did not think he should fall short of the truth if he declared that the life of the King was most important to the welfare of the kingdom. An opportunity had now occurred of showing to the enemies of the people that the reformers would no longer be kept in the back ground, but that they would come forward and declare to the King they formed a portion of his most loyal subjects, willing to fight day by day for their rights and liberties, and for the stability of the throne. There was a class of sycophants who were endeavouring to sow dissension between the King and his people. He was not anxious, on this occasion, to introduce violent political sentiments, but he could not refrain calling attention to the efforts of that faction, who, when driven from power, turned their attacks on the present Ministry. The King said he would not be separated from his

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people, therefore the oligarchy were compelled to turn to the Ministry. When the King pronounced for reform, the faction raised the cry of revolution; that the throne was in danger, for treason was intended to the Sovereign; and that Ministers ought to be impeached. This had been the language of the faction; and when they found it unavailing, they turned to those kindred sycophants who surrounded the throne, and by whispering hoped to influence those about his Majesty to procure a revocation of his sentiments. But the voice of the nation rung from one end of the country to the other. The reformers shouted, "We know your misdeeds—the reign of terror is past, and you shall no longer continue to rule the people of England." It was then that Lord Lyndhurst charged Ministers with deserting the King. He said, "Is William the Fourth King, or is Earl Grey Lord Protector?" He had introduced thus much into his address because he wished to show how utterly every prediction concerning the dangers consequent on reform had failed; and to show that the prophet Lyndhurst, when he asserted that the temple was destroyed, that he trembled for the constitution, and that anarchy and confusion must be the result of the measure, was mistaken, though the faction were endeavouring to bring in every trifling circumstance as a fulfilment of the prophecy. The whole country, he felt convinced, were ready spontaneously to express their abhorrence of the outrage on his Majesty's person. But mark the cunning of the faction; they wanted to make it a political matter, and to prove that it was the result of agitation—as if the act of an infuriated madman had anything to do with the people of England. He had frequently addressed the Livery with warmth in defence of their rights, but he never addressed a meeting with more warmth than the present, in which he had the honour of seconding the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously. An address to his Majesty, couched in loyal terms, was then read, and was also also carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF THE CITY OFFICERS.

The RECORDER having addressed the Livery, the Hall proceeded to the election of the following officers: Sheriffs, Bridge Trustees, Auditors, Aleconners, and Chamberlain.

As soon as the names put in nomination for the Sheriffs were announced,

Mr. DIXON begged to ask the Common-Serjeant if the dates of the nomination of some of the parties were stated, as many had been a very long time on the list, and, in fact, had grown old?

The TOWN-SERJEANT replied that the list did not furnish him with any such information.

Mr. C. PEARSON said, his worthy friend had asked a very proper question; and having called attention to the subject, he expected it would be the means of remedying an absurd practice. The election of Sheriffs had not been used to be treated with that importance which the onerous duties of the station deserved. It was doubly important at this particular period, because the Sheriffs would have the nomination of the returning officers for the voters in the new boroughs. The responsible nature of the Sheriffs' duties required the electors should be watchful that none but men of sound character and credit were put in nomination. The observations he uttered were not intended to apply to any gentleman now in nomination, but he begged to announce that it was his determination at all future elections for Sheriff, to require that the candidates make their appearance in the Hall, to answer any questions which the Livery might choose to put to them.

Robert Peck and John Humphrey, Esqrs., were then unanimously elected Sheriffs for the year ensuing.

In the nomination for two City Auditors, Messrs. Jones, Rose, Frank, and Saull, were nominated.

Mr. NICHOLSON cautioned the Livery as to the parties they selected to audit their accounts. It was a difficult matter to get a statement of affairs from the auditors, and the Livery were left in the dark as to the mode in which their large property was expended. There was a sum of 150*l.* set apart for feasting the city auditors, and this gave rise to some jobbing with respect to the lists. It was important that the Livery should elect men who would give them some account of the application of their funds, and who would tell them how much of *their money was spent by the Court of Aldermen*. He should like the Livery to be informed how much of their money had been taken to *support Alderman Hughes in opposition to the elected Alderman*. He should like the Livery to know what sum had been expended by the Aldermen in *their scandalous and illegal attempts to usurp the rights of the citizens*. He heard it whispered that nothing had been spent, but the auditors must prove it to be the fact. *The Court of Aldermen were in the situation of the Boroughmongers*—they would *shortly cease to exist*, if they did not act up to the feelings and wishes of the Livery.

Mr. WILLIAMS said, when he was auditor, he procured a statement of the accounts to be laid before the Livery. He pointed out one case in which their money had been expended by the Court of Aldermen. It was at the contest of Alderman Winchester and Mr. Wilde. *The Alderman had paid a sum of* 1000*l. on account*, and he believed the proceedings before they concluded would be found to have doubled that amount. The property of the city was enormous; the Livery could have no conception of its extent. He, when auditor, had the greatest difficulty in procuring information; but by dint of perseverance he succeeded in getting a little insight into their funds, and on account of their magnitude, he felt it was important they should elect auditors who would not only lay sums but par-

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ticulars before them. He advised, therefore, the election of Mr. Frank and Mr. Saull, who would perform the duties with ability, and give publicity to the accounts.

Upon the several candidates being put to the show of hands, Mr. Franks and Mr. Saull were elected by a large majority.

Mr. FEARON brought up the concluding report of the reform committee, and after announcing that its labours were happily at an end, finished by moving that an application for the expenses incurred (about 70*l.*) be made to the Common Council.

The Hall was then dissolved.

TOWER HAMLETS
AND
DOCTOR LUSHINGTON.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE TOWER HAMLETS.

Kensington, 2nd July, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

THE daily papers have smothered, as far as they are able, the account of your having scouted the pretensions of this DOCTOR of the SPIRITUAL *Court*, through which *so many unfortunate men have had to pass!* He would not give the PLEDGES! And how could any one think that he would! He pledge himself to the ABOLITION OF TITHES! He do that! What impostor could have had the audacity to say or to hint that he would do any such thing? Why, he is part and parcel of the thing called "THE CHURCH." I should as soon expect Lord GUILDFORD, who has the tithes of *five parishes* and who is a *prebendary* besides, or who very lately was, and also *master of St. Cross*. I should as soon expect him to pledge himself to the abolition of tithes. In short this LUSHINGTON, who married the daughter of CARR, Solicitor to *the excise*, will do nothing at all that shall tend to alter, in any respect, that *system* under which you groan, and under which he, and all belonging to him, get and keep so fat. I subjoin, below, the report of a trial on an indictment against him for an attack, *in his place in Parliament*, on Mr. WALKER, a most respectable attorney of Bristol. If you read the account of this trial you will find,

1. That he, in his speech, accused Mr. Walker of *perjury*.
2. That Mr. WALKER, in order *to enable him to prove, if he could, the truth* of his assertion, brought an action against him and Barrow, the editor.
3. That they made no attempt to justify; that Lushington got off by merely letting it *not be proved that he was the author* of the speech.
4. That the other parties were found *guilty* of publishing, and had damages given against them.
5. That Mr. WALKER then *indicted* this SPIRITUAL JUDGE, and brought him to the trial, of which I here insert the report.
6. That LUSHINGTON got off, as you will see, by the judge's deciding that to warrant a verdict of *guilty* the *proof-sheets of the speech* MUST BE PRODUCED IN COURT!
7. That, as you will see, the "SPIRITUAL JUDGE" *corrected the press*, and, of course, gave *his sanction to the publication*; but the proof-sheets could not be produced, or *were not* produced, by this BARROW.
8. That in this curious way the spiritual judge *got off*; though even his lawyers did not make any attempt to defend the attack upon Mr. WALKER. The whole trial ought to be read by you. It will add to the pleasure that you must derive from having acted towards this Lushington as you did on Friday, the 29th of June.

Stick to the PLEDGES; that is your only *security*. You can see that the two factions, TORY and WHIG, are now re-united against the people. They mean to have, if possible, just such a Parliament as there has been heretofore. The WHIGS are sending their reptiles into all the METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS; but the PLEDGES will defeat them; and particularly that great pledge of all, the ABOLITION OF TITHES. I now insert the report of the TRIAL, that you may judge for yourselves, as far as regards this Lushington.

THE KING V. LUSHINGTON.

Mr. MAULE opened the pleadings.

Mr. CAMPBELL addressed the jury. He had the honour of appearing as counsel for the prosecutor, Mr. Charles Holden Walker. He was a gentleman who for about thirty years

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had practised as an attorney and solicitor in the city of Bristol, and, as he (Mr. Campbell) had every reason to believe, with a character wholly unimpeached and unimpeachable. No imputation had ever been made upon him, except on the occasion to which the present indictment referred. He complained to-day of a most cruel outrage upon his feelings. He had long sought for redress, and he hoped to-day to receive it at the hands of the jury. The defendant was Dr. Lushington. That name would at once inform the jury that this was a prosecution against one of the most distinguished men of the present day. Dr. Lushington had long been eminent as a counsel at the civil law bar. He was now a judge of one of the ecclesiastical courts. He had gained great celebrity by his eloquence, and the patriotism which had distinguished his career in Parliament. Calumny proceeding from such a quarter was much more injurious than when it came from a person of less eminence and respectability. He (Mr. Campbell) regretted that it should have fallen to his lot to have to state this case against the defendant, because Dr. Lushington was one of his most particular friends; but he was sure Dr. Lushington would feel that he should be no longer deserving of his friendship, if in the discharge of his duty to his client on this occasion he did not exert himself at least as much as he should do if he did not enjoy the pleasure of his acquaintance. It would, however, be his desire, in conducting this case, not to show more or less zeal for his client (Mr. Walker) than he should have done if the defendant had been an entire stranger to him. He spoke from his instructions; and from those instructions he must say, that in this particular transaction, Dr. Lushington had not conducted himself with that liberality, or that regard to the feelings of others, which might have been expected from a person of his high character and eminent station. He would now shortly state the circumstances out of which the prosecution arose. A person of the name of Evans, a very old man, who resided at Bristol, had made his will in favour of his daughter, who had married an excise-officer of the name of Peddle. He afterwards made another will in favour of a niece; and on his death, a question arose which of the two wills was to be proved. It was a question of great nicety and delicacy, for the testator, after he had made the first will, had fallen into a state of great imbecility, and there was great reason to doubt whether he was afterwards capable of disposing of his property. A suit was instituted at Doctors' Commons, and Sir John Nicholl ultimately decided in favour of the second will, but without costs, thereby intimating that Peddle had great reason for questioning the validity of the second will. Mr. Peddle had for his counsel the present Lord Chancellor, then Mr. Brougham, and other counsel of great distinction. It had been thought fit by them that an appeal should be made to a higher tribunal, and, under their advice, the case was brought before the Court of Delegates. That court also considered that the question was one of great nicety and doubt; but after some consideration, they affirmed the judgment of Sir J. Nicholl, but without costs. The validity of the second will being thus established, Peddle had to pay his solicitor the costs of these proceedings. Those costs, he (Mr. Campbell) was sorry to say, far exceeded the sum in dispute. The amount of the property which the parties were in contest for was 1800*l*. The costs came to 2500*l*. Mr. Peddle thought, whether right or wrong was not the question now, that he had been very ill-used by his proctors, Messrs. Tollers. He considered that they had charged him most extravagantly for what they had done in the business, and that they had broken a contract which had been entered into between him and them. Mr. Peddle wished, therefore, to have their costs taxed, and he caused an application to be made to Sir J. Nicholl for that purpose. That application was refused. There was no harm in supposing that a judge had been mistaken, and that, from an error in judgment, he had not given that remedy which a party was entitled to. It was Mr. Peddle's opinion that Sir John Nicholl had been mistaken; that he had committed an error in judgment, and such was the opinion of Mr. Peddle's legal advisers. That being the case, and Mr. Peddle finding that he had no remedy in Doctors' Commons, thought fit to present a petition to the House of Commons. That was a fair and constitutional mode of proceeding, when there appeared to be no other remedy for a real or supposed grievance. For his (Mr. Campbell's) part, he thought that justice would be much better administered, and the laws much more respected, if, in the first instance, an appeal were made to those tribunals which were especially constituted for the redress of wrongs, and that no appeal ought to be made to Parliament until it were found, as it was in this case, that no other remedy existed. The petition which had been presented to the House of Commons on the part of Mr. Peddle, related to what he considered abuses in the Ecclesiastical Court, and to the circumstance of his having been, as he conceived, greatly overcharged by his proctors, the Messrs. Tollers, as well as to the application which had been made to Sir John Nicholl, and which had been refused by that learned judge. What had taken place in the House of Commons on the presenting of Mr. Peddle's petition, he would abstain from mentioning. He would only say that there was not the remotest intention on the part of Mr. Peddle of violating the privileges of that House. His only wish was to prove a dry, simple fact, which in his (Mr. Campbell's) apprehension might have been proved without the smallest suspicion of an intention to violate Parliamentary privileges. He did not complain of what had taken place in the House of Commons on the presentation of Mr. Peddle's petition. Every member of

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Parliament had full license for anything that he might choose to say in that House, and no member of that House could be questioned in a court of justice for what he might say within its walls. But there the privilege of a member of Parliament ceased; and if he afterwards thought fit to publish or to authorize the publication of what he had spoken or of what purported to be something that he had spoken in the House,—whether it was true or false, he was amenable to the law for such publication. The petition of Mr. Peddle having been presented to the House of Commons, Dr. Lushington, who was then a member of that House, made some observations upon it, and in a few days afterwards there came out in the *Mirror of Parliament*, a publication purporting to be an account of what had taken place in the House on that occasion. That account published in the *Mirror of Parliament* was the subject of this prosecution. He would here state to the jury, that during the pendency of the suit of "Peddle *v.* Evans," in the Ecclesiastical Court there was a commission to examine witnesses, and Mr. Walker, who was concerned as solicitor for Peddle, was examined under that commission as a witness on his behalf. Mr. Walker had at that time no more interest in the suit than any attorney or solicitor had in any action or suit in which he might be concerned for a client. He swore on that occasion what was perfectly true, and what was afterwards proved to be true, viz., that he had no interest in the suit. In the *Mirror of Parliament*, which was an extremely respectable publication, came out, on the 15th of July 1828, a report purporting to be an account of what had passed in the House of Commons, on the presentation of Peddle's petition. The matter complained of by Mr. Walker was contained in what was said to be a speech made by Dr. Lushington on that occasion. He (Mr. Campbell) admitted that Dr. Lushington would not be responsible for any statement contained in that speech, unless he sent it for publication, or authorized, or sanctioned, or concurred, in its publication; but he would be answerable for it if it should be proved, as it would be in this case, that he wrote it or corrected it, and authorized the editor of the *Mirror of Parliament* to publish it as his (Dr. Lushington's) speech. He would now read the paragraph of which Mr. Walker complained. It was contained in the *Mirror of Parliament* of the 15th of July, 1828, in a speech which purported to be a speech of Dr. Lushington. Dr. Lushington first of all defended Sir John Nicholl. That was all very well, but in doing so he was not to calumniate a respectable man. The learned counsel having read that part of the alleged libel which panegyrized the character of Sir John Nicholl, said the jury should now hear what was said of Mr. Walker. These were the words:—"I will only add, that this is not the petition of the person whose name it bears, but that of a pettifogging attorney, who has been guilty of perjury and attempted extortion." Now, did the jury ever see in so short a sentence a greater quantity of calumny against any one individual? Mr. Walker was first charged with being a pettifogging attorney, and next with the crimes of perjury and attempted extortion.

(*To be continued.*)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 29, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

SAXBY, R., Petworth, Sussex, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

DEVEY, J., Bishopwearmouth, Durham, shipowner.
EVANS, P., Pontypool, Monmouthsh., grocer.
INGRAM, C., Salisbury, Wilts, currier.
POMEROY, T., St. Sidwell, Exeter, brewer.
SWAIN, J. Manchester, woollen-draper.
VENABLES, T. A., Birmingham, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

HARPER, W. H., and D. T. Perry, Glasgow, manufacturers.

TUESDAY, JULY 3, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

WILLIAMSON, T.W., Lothbury, cloth-factor.

BANKRUPTS.

DALTON, J., Upper Thames-st., victualler.
DOVE, J., Cadogan-place, Chelsea, boarding-house-keeper.
LOCKER, J., Hanley, Staffordshire, grocer.
PICKUP, H., Yeddingham, Yorksh., innkeeper.
SCARNELL, T. Brighton, tavern-keeper.
TEULON, S., Nelson-street, Greenwich, upholsterer.
WAKELAM, T., Willenhall, Staffordshire, curry-comb and lock-maker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JULY 2.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat, English and Irish flour, English malt, and Irish and Scotch oats, have been, for the time of year, good: of English oats, beans, and peas, as also barley and seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

This day's market was, for that of a Monday, particularly in the early part of it, very thinly attended, both by London and country buyers; and the trade throughout very dull; with fine wheat, oats, malt, barley, and flour, at fully—each kind of middling and inferior corn, as also malt and pulse, at barely—last Monday's quotations.

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In seeds nothing seemed to be doing, whence they are quoted nominally, as on this day se'nnight.

Wheat	51s. to 65s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 30s.
——— fine	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
——— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
——— Grey	32s. to 35s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to 25s.
——— Poland	22s. to 24s.
——— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 47s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to 135s.
Pork, Mess, new	73s. 6d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	78s. to 80s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	78s. to 80s.
——— Cork	80s. to —s.
——— Limerick	80s. to —s.
——— Waterford	78s. to 80s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	56s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double	50s. to 68s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 52s.
——— Edam	46s. to 56s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 2.

This day's supply of beasts, which chiefly consisted of polled Scots, Welsh runts, and short-horned, principally Lincolnshire, steers, with a few steers and heifers of sundry other breeds, and some, but not a great many, lusty Town's-end cows, was, with that of porkers, limited, and, generally speaking, not over gaudy as to quality; that of sheep and lambs, which was chiefly composed, the former of South Downs, new Leicesters, and Kents, the latter of Downs, new Leicesters, and Dorsets, as also calves, was moderately good, both as to quality and numbers. The trade was throughout dull, with prime small beef at an advance of 4*d*., prime large ditto, as well as that of middling and inferior quality, 2*d*. per stone; with mutton, lamb, veal, and pork, at barely Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 1,827; sheep and lambs, 20,800; calves, 260; pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 6.

The arrivals this week are short, but the market is dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann., shut.

TWENTY-FOUR LARGE QUARTO PAGES,
Equal to an OCTAVO VOLUME,
For FOURPENCE.

This day (7th July) an EXTRA SHEET of EIGHT PAGES is given with

THE ATHENÆUM,

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Allan Cunningham
Charles Dance
T. K. Hervey
Thomas Hood
Mary Howitt
William Howitt
Leigh Hunt
Miss Jewsbury
J. H. Reynolds
Charles Lamb
Leitch Ritchie
Thomas Roscoe
The Author of 'Corn-Law Rhymes'
The Author of 'The O'Hara Tales'
The Author of 'Paul Pry'
The Author of the 'Rent Day'
The Author of the 'Hunchback'
The Author of the 'Dominie's Legacy'
The Author of 'London in the Olden Time'
The Author of 'Civil Wars in Ireland'
&c. &c. &c.

Such has been the demand for the ATHENÆUM since Christmas, that the Proprietors have been compelled to reprint five Numbers, to enable new Subscribers to complete their Sets,—a circumstance, they believe, unprecedented in the history of periodical literature. Therefore it is that this early notice is given, that such persons as reside in the country, and intend to become Subscribers from the first Number of the half-year, may give their orders immediately.

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BENCHERS OF THE INNS OF COURT.
Just published, price 1*s*. 6*d*.,

A CORRECTED REPORT of the OPENING SPEECH and REPLY of D. W. HARVEY, Esq., M.P., on the 14th of June, 1832, in the House of Commons, on moving for leave to bring in a Bill to empower the Court of King's Bench to regulate the admission of Students to the Inns of Court, and their subsequent call to the degree of Barrister-at-Law, with explanatory Notes; together with a Prefatory Address to the Electors of Colchester, touching the official appointment of Mr. Harvey under the Charities Commission, by Lord Brougham and the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 77.—No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 14TH, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.

"That many of us have not food sufficient "to satisfy our hunger; our drink is chiefly "the crystal element; we have not clothes "to hide the nakedness of ourselves, our "wives, and our children, nor fuel wherewith "to warm us; while at the same time our "barns are filled with corn, our garners with "wool, our pastures abound with cattle, and "our land yields us an abundance of wood "and coal; all of which display the wisdom, "the kindness, and mercy of a great Creator "on the one hand, and the cruelty, the in-"justice, and the depravity of his creatures on "the other. Nearly to this state of misery "have your Majesty's humble petitioners "long lived, anxiously looking forward for "better days; but to our great sorrow and "disappointment, we find oppression daily "press heavier and heavier on our shoulders, "till at length we are driven to the brink of "despair. This misery and wretchedness "do not proceed from any fault on the part of "your Majesty's petitioners, as we use every "exertion in our power to subdue those bitter "evils; but experience tells us that 'all is "vain.'"—*Petition of Hampshire Labourers, carried to Brighton by* JOSEPH MASON, *in Oct.*, 1830.

CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL

AT THE HAMLET OF SUTTON SCOTNEY, IN HAMPSHIRE.

Micheldever, 8th July, 1822.

I HAVE had so many hundreds of happy days in my life that it would be, perhaps, too much to say that YESTERDAY was the *happiest;* but certainly it was as happy a day as any one that I ever have known. *Every* thing was right; *every* thing was pleasant. The *weather*, a bright sun and a gentle breeze, after a shower in the night, which had laid the dust. The company precisely that in which I have, all my life long, most delighted: the accommodations the most convenient, and the supplies all abundant and all of the very best: and, above all the rest, the feelings of *exultation* which were depicted upon every countenance.

I am afraid that the "*feelosophers*," those who so delight in the *antallect*, will think our feast very little complimentary to our understandings and our public spirit; for, certainly, it partook much more of the *carnal* than of the *spiritual:* it was a practical illustration of my doctrine, which always begins with taking care of the body. There was the NOTTINGHAMSHIRE ham, which had been cooked at Kensington, under the direction of Mrs. COBBETT, so as to be done to the very bone, large as it was. I must stop here to observe, that all the farmers and tradesmen present were anxious to have a taste of this ham. I dare say that more than four hundred persons tasted of it; every one declaring, as I do, that it was superior to anything of the sort that any of us ever tasted before. Mr. NICHOLSON, the tea-merchant, gave us another ham, which was no cripple, for it weighed forty pounds.

Mr. SCALES, who was to give us one fat Lincolnshire sheep, and a piece of beef suet weighing twenty-eight pounds, omitted to send the suet, but he clapped in a second sheep; so that here were about two hundred and fifty or two hundred and sixty pounds of mutton. I added three capital rounds of beef, weighing about forty pounds a-piece. A farmer from WERWELL sent, probably, thirty pounds of bacon. Mr. STARES, of TICHFIELD, sent a quantity of cooked bacon and some bread. Mr. BUDD came with his wagon from BURGHCLERE; stopped all Friday night at *Whitchurch*, and had his sucking pig roasted, weighing *only thirty pounds*. He would take up nobody after he got to WHITCHURCH, unless they brought their own provision with them. He brought two geese, which he had roasted here for dinner, and which we had hot; also some veal pies ready cooked, and some boiled bacon and some roasted

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veal. To these he added a good lot of plum-puddings ready cooked, and some immensely large gooseberry puddings; the gooseberries mixed in the batter, baked in milk-pans, turned out when cold, so that they could be cut up in solid pieces and handed about. Mr. BLOUNT came with his wagon from UP-HUSBAND, brought with him every soul upon his farm, with a great parcel of cooked meat, and with a *sack* of bread. A friend on the other side of WINCHESTER, whose name was not told me, sent two bushels of flour several days beforehand. God knows how much bread there was in the whole. By way of super-abundant precaution, I, on my way down on Friday, stopped at BASINGSTOKE, and bargained with a baker to bake that night, a hundred and forty one-pound loaves, which proved extremely convenient in giving bread and cheese to the girls and boys. There were altogether about two hundred and fifty pounds of puddings. For the making of the plum-puddings, Mr. STOKES, of SALISBURY, sent twelve pounds of plums in addition to the twenty-eight pounds that were given by Mr. BARRETT, of FETTER-LANE. The POLITICAL UNION, from WINCHESTER, arrived about ten o'clock, preceded by music and banners, one of which was surmounted with a gridiron. The reformers from Whitchurch came in the same manner, and each of these parties brought three or four times as much provisions as they themselves consumed, so that, though there were, as far as I can judge, about seven thousand persons present, I verily believe that there was not one who had not as much to eat and drink as he or she wanted. Of the drink I yet know nothing, except of the four hundred pots of beer which Mr. DELLER, of ANDOVER, sent beforehand in the nicest manner; which beer was excellent in quality, and which was a present from Mr. DELLER and some other gentlemen of ANDOVER.

That which will occur to every one to ask is, How could you provide for *the peaceable distribution of all this*? The booth, which had been duly erected the day before, which had two tables capable of holding about three hundred people, leaving a broad passage between the tables and none on the outside of them, had, in the first place, to have all the *petitioners* who were present upon the spot, every one dressed in his smock-frock and with a blue riband in his hat. These, amounting to about a hundred and thirty in number, sat at the two ends of the two tables. The rest of the tables were filled by visitors from WINCHESTER, from PORTSEA, from the *Isle of Wight*, and in short from everywhere. I sat at the head of the tables during the time that I was present. Mr. SWAIN, Mr. BECK, and Mr. ALLSOP, who went from London, and several other gentlemen, did nothing but carve. Those at the tables, receiving always an instant supply of bread and meat, handed hunches out to their relations who were outside of the tent. When one got supplied, he gave way to another. I myself cut off and gave lumps of victuals to about thirty or forty. The puddings took the same sort of distribution. The goodness of the farmers and tradesmen who were present, I can never sufficiently admire. They seemed to care about nothing but supplying the people. Great numbers of them stood in the wide space between the two tables, took a bit of bread in their hands and a bit of meat upon it and cut it with their knives. So that, upon the whole, I defy this great thundering Government with any number of its police, or other coercive agents, to cause a distribution so equitable and so harmonious as that which took place upon this occasion. The booth, it will be observed, was erected on an inclosed ground; on the widest spot we could find amongst the houses of the hamlet, one end of it abutting on the WINCHESTER turnpike-road, and one side of it being close against the STOCKBRIDGE turnpike-road; so that, observe, the dinner party had no protection other than that which it derived from a sense of justice in the mass of the labourers assembled, who, if they had been so minded, might have carried off the whole provisions in a moment. When apprehensions were

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expressed to me upon this subject, and a suggestion was made to station some stout man to keep the people off, I said, "*By no means.* I would rather that "any consequence should take place "than be thought to entertain a suspi- "cion of an act of injustice on the part "of these chopsticks." When I was asked how I could possibly provide for the *distribution*, seeing that there was more than ten times as much as the party could want. I said, "I do not "know: it is one of the things that "must be left to do itself. Let all the "victuals be carried to the tent; and I "will warrant you it gets out again "in a manner much more equitable "than that of any rule which we should "be able to lay down." Thus it was; and I do not believe that there was a single soul in the hamlet but what was satisfied and pleased. I counted, and, indeed, I had a right to count, greatly upon the desire which every one would have to avoid the doing of anything which could possibly give me pain. I counted also on the good humour which must of necessity pervade every mind. At any rate, such a scene never was, I believe, beheld in the world: so many hundreds of hungry persons, seeing victuals of the best quality within their reach, without even asking for any of it; but waiting patiently until it was given. There was this of singularity in the case; namely, that it was *a festival in honour of labouring men!* It was a thing so new, so strange, so pleasing, calculated to excite feelings of such gratitude towards the donors, that it was next to impossible that anything perverse should take place.

There were gentlemen there, considerable persons in agriculture or trade, *from every town in the county*; and from all the most distant parts of the country. If you look at the map of Hampshire you will find that it does not contain a spot more distant from all market-towns, than this SUTTON SCOTNEY; every one who came had to come for the purpose. There were gentlemen there from SALISBURY; two or three out of SUSSEX; Mr. BUDD came from the very outside parish in the county in the north; and there were six or seven gentlemen from the ISLE OF WIGHT, having to cross the water in the morning, you will observe, and then to come about seven-and-thirty miles by land. The conduct of all these parties merits gratitude from me beyond that which I am able to express; but it is the admirable feeling which must have animated them towards these poor men which is worthy of admiration, that no man is able to express.

After I had remained long enough in the booth to be quite satisfied that all would be justice and harmony, I did not stop to waste our time in stupid toasts or any of that disgusting stuff, which, if the mind be sound, makes the best of dinners sit uneasy on the stomach: I quite willing to leave a monopoly of that nasty rubbish to the guttlers and guzzlers who are to swallow three thousand pounds of our money next Wednesday: when I had stopped long enough to see that all was going right, and that all would be satisfied, and being rather more than half-stewed with the heat in the booth, I said, "I am now going to "the inn, where I will make a speech to "you in about half an hour's time." To the inn I went, pulled off my coat and my shoes, and laid down upon the bed to get cool. At about three o'clock, Mr. BLOUNT had his wagon drawn up close under the front of the inn, the space opposite which is large and convenient. When I was informed that the eating work was all over, and nothing but drinking was going on, notice was given that I was about to make a speech. People soon flocked to the spot, and I got into the wagon, positively stipulating that no man should be in it but myself, except Mr. BUDD, who, I thought, might require to be seated. The motive of this stipulation was, that no preference should be given to any one; and that the persons nearest me while I was speaking should be the men, in honour of whom the festival was held. Some man put his little boy, about five years old, dressed in a smock-frock, and having a blue ribband in his hat, into the wagon. I set him down upon

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some grass that had been brought for the horses: and there he remained all the time.

Amongst the persons assembled were, in spite of MALTHUS and BROUGHAM, great parcels of *boys and girls*. These were not very likely (some of them being very small) to have had anything to eat, whose fault it was I do not know; but a thought came into somebody's head, that, as there was a great quantity of bread not disposed of, and as we had plenty of cheese at hand, and as these little creatures would naturally care but little about the speech, to draw them off, and amuse them with bread and cheese while the speech was going on. In pursuance of this thought, three or four hundred or more perhaps of hunches of bread and cheese were carried a little way up the STOCKBRIDGE road. Thither the children followed them, and as each got his allowance, he walked up the road; and there amidst laughing and shouting, that would have brought MALTHUS's and PETER THIMBLE's hearts down into their breeches, all these little things were satisfied also.

To give here *a report of the speech*, would be useless, if it were practicable. Before I began, I caused all the *petitioners* who were distinguished by having a COVENTRY riband in their hats, to come and take their posts as close to the wagon as possible; and I requested everybody else without discrimination, to make way for them, seeing that the festival was in honour of them. Every body cheerfully did this, and thus I had them all as close to me as possible. I began my speech by telling them that we were met to celebrate the passing of the Reform Bill, which had in fact pronounced the fall of the rapacious, the insulting, the cruel, and bloody-minded boroughmongers. I then proceeded to tell them, that every man of sense in the whole kingdom ascribes this Reform Bill to the *country labourers of England*; that, if I could do honour and do good to the whole of these labourers I would do them; but, as that was impossible, I had selected them, because they had signed that excellent and patriotic petition which JOSEPH MASON, of BULLINGTON, had carried to Brighton, and tendered to be presented to the King; and which excellent petition had, I now understood, been drawn up by that exemplary labourer, and exemplary son, ROBERT MASON. I then took the original petition and showed it them; and, the mixture of delight which was painted in their countenances, at seeing this paper; and of sorrow when they reflected on *the present situation of the two* MASONS; to have depicted this mixture of feeling, would have been worthy of the pencil of him who described the countenance of those that witnessed the death of ANANIAS.

I told them that it was for these reasons that I had chosen to hold the festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY; because it was in this hamlet that the petition was signed; and that I had chosen to hold it on *this day*, because it was the anniversary of the day on which I triumphed over the Whigs, who had prosecuted me with a manifest intention of procuring my utter destruction, for having been the author and publisher of a writing; the manifest and sole object of which was, TO INDUCE THEM TO SHOW MERCY TO THE OFFENDING LABOURERS! I told them that this was the sole object of that writing: that it pleaded for the sparing of the lives and the liberty of the labourers; that it pleaded for this with all the zeal belonging to my character, and with all the ability that I had at my command; that it spoke well of the Ministers; that it gave them credit for mercifulness of disposition; that it besought Lord GREY *to think of his own wife and children*, before he suffered so many widows and orphans to be made; that, in short, it was an earnest pleading for mercy to the labourers, their wives, their children, and their parents; and that, for the writing and publishing of this article, I was pursued by the Government with ten thousand times more bitterness than ever felon, or even traitor, has been pursued.

Having dwelt sufficiently on these topics, I then proceeded to make ob-

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servations on the rights, as well as the duties, of labouring men. I said upon these subjects, that which I have so often said, that I will not here repeat it. I treated with scorn the calumnies of those farmers who had been so infamously unjust as to ascribe to me a desire to see their labourers rebel against them, and to see their property destroyed. I reminded them that, upon my trial, I called as evidence to my disposition in this respect none but a noble Lord, a great land-owner, and four great farmers, all of whom declared that my writings had a contrary tendency; and, which was curious enough, that these farmers, all of whom gave some of my writings to their labourers to read, never thought it necessary *to insure their barns or their stacks*; and that one of them, while the thrashing-machines of all his neighbours were being dashed to pieces, had two such machines quietly going, without even an expectation of their being interrupted by the labourers.

I concluded, by exhorting the men of property who were present, and who would be voters at the ensuing election, to bear in mind, that, in point of *right*, every one of the labourers had as good a claim to a vote as themselves; that a farmer ought to consider himself as the representative of his men as well as of himself; that it was a *trust* which the law vested in him, and not a thing belonging to himself, or that he could use for his own private purposes; and that, therefore, he would be a base traitor to his labourers and his neighbours who had no votes, if he did not so give his vote as to cause to be elected the man who would do the best for them as well as for himself; which he could not do, unless he insisted upon the pledges that it had been resolved to be put to the members of the city of London, or pledges, at any rate, to the same amount.

Before I dismissed my audience I explained to the labourers the true causes of their low wages and their misery. I told them, that if the farmers, with *present tithes and taxes*, were to give them the means of living on bread and meat, nineteen-twentieths of them must soon become wretched labourers themselves, if not the inmates of a poor-house. But, said I, here is their sin, they *never complain of any burden but the burden of the poor!* They have plenty of proof of the monstrous waste of public money; they have plenty of proofs of this; they know how the millions are squandered away. They know that one hundred and thirteen of the nobility and gentry receive more out of the taxes every year than the amount of the poor-rate in the *six English counties which stand first on the alphabetical list*; they know this; they know "that more than two millions of English taxes have been sent to HANOVER and other countries *since the peace*," to give half-pay, to give allowances to foreigners who *were* in our service, and to their widows and children; they know these things, and never one word of complaint do they utter upon the subject; they know that the parson takes from them twice or three times as much as the poor take; but they complain of nobody but the poor; they complain of nobody but those who make to come all the food, all the drink, all the raiment, all that covers us by day or shelters us by night; these are the only persons, these persons by whose labour alone they profit; these are the only persons to whom they grudge to give a portion of their money. I trust, however, that they will *now* do their duty; I most earnestly exhort them to do it; and if they do it not, may they end their days in the most wretched of poor-houses, and under the mastership of the hardest of hired overseers!

These were the topics that I dwelt on. I did not touch *on the works of the Special Commission*, nor make an allusion to the fate of poor COOK of MICHELDEVER. On the evening of the seventh, and on the evening of the sixth (I having arrived at Sutton Scotney early on Friday), I had seen the fathers, the mothers, the wives, and the children of the transported labourers, not only of this place, but of all the villages round about. With the dismal stories of these parties, I will not lacerate the

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heart of the reader. I told them all that I hoped, and that I believed, *that the whole of them would be brought back within a year.* I told them perfect truth, for I do hope it, and I do believe it; and I do beseech the Ministers to remember what I said to them on the 7th of July last, to their faces; namely, that there never will be peace in this country again, until those men be brought back. The astonishment of the poor people at seeing a father, a husband, a brother, a son, condemned to death, and transported for life, for being one of four or five hundred of an unruly assemblage, who extorted a few shillings from a parson or a farmer: their astonishment at this, is utterly indescribable; and to speak of their other feelings is unnecessary. The particular instances I cannot mention at present; and it would be useless if I could. It shall be my object to endeavour to get the men back, and thus to cause a cessation of the feelings which now agitate the country. There is this to be said for the Ministers, that they never knew the truth upon the subject. Their information all comes through channels that totally disfigure the truth. If they could themselves but see the parties, instead of listening to those who represent mercy as weakness, and as tending to produce crime. If my Lord GREY, for instance, could but see the parties that I have seen here, an order for bringing the men back would issue in a week. With real incorrigible criminals the case is different. People acquiesce in that which they have been accustomed to see; but this was a wholly different matter. Nobody pretends that the acts were lawful; or that they ought to have been committed; but the circumstances ought now, at any rate, to be taken into consideration.

Of all the men living, I have always been the very last to inculcate laziness, whether by precept or example: I have always held the doctrine that "he who will not work ought not to eat." I have always made servants strictly obedient to me; but then I have taken care not to demand obedience of him who has got a full belly. Even a lazy man, however, is not to be punished in a degree beyond that of the nature of his crime. To be deemed a pauper, to be put into a poor-house, to have his pittance doled out to him reluctantly; these constitute a pretty heavy punishment: a man is not to be *starved*; that is to say, he is not to be *put to death* for being lazy or drunken. And, as to the man who is willing to work, he has as much a right to a good maintenance out of the land, as the landlord has to his rent. The labourers are, too, *so easily satisfied*; so *willing to work*; so proud of the character of being good workers, that so many sheep are not more easily governed, if they have but a sufficiency of good food and raiment. When, in the course of my speech, I was appealing to the farmers for the fact of their *willingness to work hard*, it was curious to hear the labourers exclaim with one voice, "Yes, sir, we are always willing to work "hard, if they will but let us have victuals and drink!" Those are amongst the vilest of all mankind who call them lazy, and call them unprincipled: they are industrious, they are virtuous, they are good and true in their very natures; and cursed be the man who is the advocate for treating them harshly! The fact is, however, that if the practice of harsh treatment be continued, it will finally produce its *own remedy*. I hope that it will not be continued; and that we shall have to congratulate ourselves that amongst the other great consequences of the Reform Bill, will be that of restoring peace to the village. I told the labourers that they were not to expect such effects all at once. I desired them to wait patiently for the good effects of the great change; that my hope was, that it would enable them all once more to brew their own beer, and drink it by their own fireside.

After the speech was over, the parties who came from the greatest distance began to set off on their return home. With those that remained, dancing and singing and drinking occupied the time until Sunday morning; and at last a dispersion of the whole took place without so much as a single blow, or a single dispute sufficient to make any

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noise, though there were not wanting persons to predict that "*the street of* "*Sutton Scotney would be streaming* "*with blood!*" Such people have always *blood* upon their tongue. It is not far from the heart to the tongue, and there there is an inexhaustible deposit of it. The only personal danger that appeared to me to exist was to the lungs and the throat; for so much laughing, and so much of that noise which is called *singing*, I never heard in my life, in the like space of time. My friends in LANCASHIRE and YORKSHIRE, can, upon a pinch, play the part pretty well in this way; but, man for man, or boy for boy especially, they are by no means a match for these chopsticks at this sort of work.

I, who went to bed early on the 7th, got up at half-after three on the Sunday morning, when the hamlet was as still as it ever had been since the first day of its creation. The booth was taken down completely, and gone. The morning was rather wet, but very pleasant; and thus ended one of the pleasantest things that ever was seen in this world; forming a contrast, wide as that between heaven and hell, with the guttle and guzzle which will take place on Wednesday next in London; for here the provisions for the entertainment were a voluntary gift; there they are to be taken from the pockets of the people, who are to be excluded from participating in the feast. Here it was the generosity of men of property contributing to the means of giving pleasure to meritorious labourers; and there it is a set of impudent guzzlers and guttlers, swallowing the earnings of working people, which they have no more right to swallow then they have to take the skins off our bodies. Here there was no time wasted in toastings; there, the nasty, fulsome, lying, insincere rubbish vomited out upon one another, reciprocally, will be even more disgusting than to behold the voracity of the guttlers and guzzlers, while they, straining and staring and swelling, send down our turtle and turbot and turkey into those bottomless vaults which they call their stomachs. Here there will be no after-claps; there we shall have to pay for "*summer-excursions*" for the guttlers and guzzlers, in order that they may take the salt-water to recover the tone of their voracious maws. Lord GREY would confess, I know, the truth upon this occasion, but if he have strength to resist the effects of what he will see and hear, I would bet my life that, when he has left CHARLEY and FIGGINS and TAYLOR and the rest, and got safe into his carriage, he will exclaim, "By G—d, I "wish I had been at COBBETT's chop-"stick dinner."

At six o'clock this morning (Sunday), I set off in my chaise from SUTTON SCOTNEY, to come to this village, in which, as my readers will recollect, HENRY COOK lies buried. My intention was, as my practice always is, *to go to church*, which I always do in the country, and never in town, because here, not only am I not offended by the sight of vanity and ostentation, but I have a very good opportunity of making an estimate of the condition of the people. When I got to MICHELDEVER I found that Messrs. ALLSOP, BECK, and SWAIN, had come this way in a post-chaise, on their way to PORTMAN LANE (which is in the London road from WINCHESTER), in order *to cover the grave of* COOK *with flowers*, which I found they had done. When I arrived at the public-house I found that there was no church-service this morning, but that there will be in the afternoon. Therefore, being compelled to wait so long, I have set to work, seeing that I shall have no time to lose. It is now pretty nearly church-time, and, therefore, I here break off.

Sutton Scotney, Sunday Evening, 8th July.

Before church-time I was joined by some gentlemen who had walked down from SUTTON SCOTNEY, a distance of about three miles and a half. They also went to see the grave of HENRY COOK, which they, like the former visitors, strewed with flowers, so that when I went to church I had no trouble in finding the grave. With a mind filled with reflections which that sight naturally suggested, I went into the church and took my seat amongst the chopsticks,

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paying, as I always do, very great attention to the parson. That part of the service which is prescribed by law, cannot, of course, be a subject of extraordinary and particular interest; but not thus is it with the *sermon*, which is the weekly piece of instruction which the pastor gives to his flock. This man's name is CLARKE, and, from circumstances that I need not mention here, I was not disposed to expect anything in the sermon which would greatly delight me. I was not disappointed. I never heard a discourse which I thought had less literary merit, and never one which I thought calculated to produce *less effect*. I will not say good or bad effect, but less effect.

He took his text from the 10th chapter of the book of Numbers, and it consisted of the 29th verse, in the following words: "And MOSES said unto HOBAB "the son of RAGUEL, the MIDIANITE, "MOSES's father-in-law, We are "journeying unto the place of which "the LORD said, I will give it you: "come thou with us, and we will do "thee good; for the LORD hath spoken "good concerning ISRAEL." This verse contains a simple historical fact. MOSES wanted his brother-in-law to go with him to a fine country; to assist him as a guide in the wilderness, and he encouraged him to hope that he will derive great good from the journey, seeing that the LORD had promised to give the country to MOSES and his people. There is not the smallest allusion here to any thing of a spiritual nature. The fact has, to us, very little interesting in it; and, when the parson gave out the text, I could not for the life of me imagine how the man would make it at all apply to any moral or Christian purpose. What then was my surprise when I found that he had discovered that this passage was entirely typical; that the invitation from MOSES to HOBAB was meant that the latter was to abandon all earthly connexions, and all earthly good; that he was all his life long to live in suffering without wailing, in order that, *after this life*, he might enjoy the kingdom of heaven! Was there ever anything in this world more contrary to the meaning of the words? the fact being, that the very foundation of the invitation of MOSES is, that the result will be worldly good to HOBAB! But is my memory correct? It is perfectly so. A gentleman who was with me took particular notice of this, and will vouch for the correctness of this substantial report.

But the context will prove it. In the course of his statement he cited the 14th chapter of *Luke*, 26th verse, where CHRIST says, "If any man come to me "and hate not his father, and mother, "and wife, and children, and brethren, "and sisters, yea, and his own life also, "he cannot be my disciple." He cited various passages of scripture, inculcating the necessity of constant privations, sacrifices and sufferings during this life, in order to be entitled to admission into the kingdom of heaven. And all this he contrived to spin out of the simple historical fact, that MOSES invited HOBAB, his brother-in-law, to go with him to the promised land, in order that he might there enjoy the good things of this world! I know that I am perfectly correct as to the drift and substance of the sermon; and I know that the parson will not contradict me.

With regard to this doctrine of the necessity of worldly privations, sacrifice, and sufferings, in order to ensure eternal life, it is at once the most absurd and the most mischievous that ever was held, and the most at variance with the whole tenor of the holy scriptures. It might, indeed, be proper enough for a congregation which, upon the whole, was the *very poorest that my eyes ever beheld*; the worst dressed; the most miserable in countenance, giving evidence of the worst living. Within these few years I have been in more than a hundred village churches in the south and west of England. I have always looked at the congregation with a very scrutinizing eye, and I would declare upon my oath, that I believe this congregation to be the poorest that I ever beheld. Even amongst the young women there was scarcely one dressed as she ought to have been. I do not say this at all out of prejudice. The farms are very large

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in the parish; and I have always observed, and have said it a hundred times over, that where this is the case, and where the farmers are opulent, the labourers are miserable. I do not impute blame either to Sir THOMAS BARING, the owner of the parish, or to the farmers who occupy the lands; the evil arises out of the system itself. Taxation presses everywhere; but where the farms are small it cannot be made to fall so heavily upon the labourers. When I came from the church I went into a poor man's dwelling to wait for my chaise. I wished to God that Lord GREY could have seen that dwelling; so complete a want of everything necessary to comfort I do not think I ever saw in all my life. My heart was sunk within me. A young man and young wife and three small children. The faces of the father and mother were like oak boards, from sheer hardship. The wife had been to church; I saw her there. The youngest child appeared to be ill, and she was hugging it very close to her bosom. I, looking at her very inquisitively, said, "Should you think "it right for your husband to hate you "and your children, for the sake of "getting to heaven himself?" "No, indeed," she said in great haste, and the husband ratified the opinion, that he should never go to heaven on such terms. Of all the virtues which I have most admired in the country labourers and their wives, is their excessive fondness for their children. This fondness very often induces him to things injurious to the children themselves; but, gracious God, what is there to be given in exchange for it!

That which was wanting in the parson's sermon was made up for by the lessons which he had to read to us from the Old and New Testament, which, if he had but given us a simple commentary on them, or on the first verses of each, might have very well contented us without his typical construction of the invitation of MOSES to HOBAB. The first lesson was the 41st Psalm, which begins thus—"*Blessed is he that consi-*"*dereth the poor:* the LORD will deliver "him in time of trouble. The LORD "will preserve him and keep him alive; "and he shall be blessed upon the "earth: and thou wilt not deliver him "into the will of his enemies. The "LORD will strengthen him upon the "bed of languishing: thou wilt make "all his bed in his sickness." What a sermon to a congregation of big farmers and miserable labourers might have been made from this exquisitely beautiful passage of scripture! I declare most solemnly, that this very passage which I have several times quoted in my writings, has *a great influence upon my conduct.* It is so just that a man should be blessed and protected; that he should be delivered from the grasp of his enemies; that his bed of sickness should be rendered less painful in consequence of his generous consideration for the poor; this is so just and so natural, that, especially when expressed with the force and solemnity and simplicity of this passage, that the passage must make an impression on any man who reads it.

The other lesson was the 4th chapter of ST. PAUL'S *Epistle* to the COLOSSIANS, which begins thus: "*Masters,* "*give unto your servants that which is* "*just and equal,* knowing that ye also "have a master in heaven." It is not at all curious that the two lessons for the afternoon should have contained these passages: for it is hardly possible to open the Bible, Old Testament or New, without meeting with some precept, some exhortation, some parable, something or another inculcating the duty of doing justice and exercising mercy towards the poor; something or another to show that the very first duty of the rich is to take care that their poorer brethren do not suffer from want; and, above all things, not to withhold from them, under any pretence whatever, their *due share* of the produce of their labour.

Oh, oh! What a sermon might have been delivered to the chopsticks and the farmers of MICHELDEVER upon either of these two passages taken from the lessons of the afternoon! How the preacher might have described that which the apostle meant by "just and equal!" How he

might have descanted on that which was not just and equal! How he might have shown, that it is neither just nor equal for one man to drink wine and sleep on beds of down, and have his table covered with roasted and boiled, while the man from whose labour he derives the means of having them, lives upon potatoes and water, and is lodged worse than his dog! And, with reference to the passage from the first lesson, how might the preacher have described the guilty grinder of the poor, harassed on his last bed by the unbearable reflections of his cruelty!

But, why do I talk about the sermon that *might have* been delivered upon the passages contained in these two lessons? The people of MICHELDEVER *shall have the sermon now.* The parson would not, I suppose, let me into his pulpit; but his congregation shall have the sermon in print; and very likely have it in this very *Register.* I am not sure of that yet; but I think it very likely. After the reading that, he will find it difficult, I imagine, to make them believe, that to suffer privation and sacrifice and misery all their lives is necessary to ensure their eternal salvation. But, indeed, to blow away this doctrine, what do we want more than these two passages? for, if it be necessary to be miserable and wretched, in order to ensure one's salvation, the poorer people are, the better it is for them; the more they suffer the better, especially as to worldly things; so that to have consideration for the poor is to do the best you can to lessen their chances of salvation. And, to be just and equal to servants must, for the same reason, be a wicked thing; because, to be just and equal to them, would be to make them well off; and that, according to this man's doctrine, would be to send them along the broad road which leadeth to destruction.

If the parson of MICHELDEVER should happen to read this *Register*, it will let him see, in the first place, that I attend to what I hear from the pulpit; and it will in the next place show him, that if he had me for a parishioner he must change his course. I saw forty persons who were asleep during the greater part of his sermon. I felt myself violently disposed to follow their example; but in order to keep myself awake, I stood upon my legs the greater part of the time. Ah, Mr. CLARKE, Mr. CLARKE! you have schools to teach the people to read! Poor things! they are told "*to read the Bible*;" but they never read it so as to understand it. They are taught to believe, that it contains matter like your preachings; and the less they *comprehend* of what you preach the more implicit is their reliance upon you. Those of them that can read, must have read about MOSES and HOBAB many times; but never did it enter into their minds, I will warrant them, that the passage had a typical meaning, and that MOSES telling HOBAB, that he would *do him good* in the promised land, meaned that it was necessary for HOBAB to be a miserable creature all his days in order to escape going to hell!

PARSON CLARKE, I tell you what the people want: they want a *selection of chapters* from the Old and New Testaments, relating to the rights and to the duties of the working people; relating to duties of the rich toward the poor, and of the government as arbiters between them; each chapter being accompanied with a suitable commentary, making the whole clear and intelligible to the commonest capacity. A little book like this, called THE POOR MAN'S BIBLE, would pretty soon put an end to all the impudent stuff that is put forth, in order to make the people believe, that the poorer people are, the greater their chance of salvation. This is the book that they *want*, and this is the book that they shall have FROM ME. If tithes should be still in fashion, which I hope they will not, you will soon find that there are greater doctors of divinity than you are; and that even the chopsticks of MICHELDEVER, must have something a little better to amuse them than the typified story of MOSES and HOBAB. They shall have this book in about a month or two. I intend to write an introduction to it, containing observations on infidelity and on ranting, calculated to do more for *real* religion, than has ever been done for it by

all the church clergy that ever existed since the foundation of this hierarchy; for which I am quite sure that that clergy will never forgive me.

Before I quit MICHELDEVER, even for this time, I must observe, that I am taking, in such manner as appears to me to be most proper, measures for erecting a TOMB over the grave of HENRY COOK; of whom it is well known that he was *hanged* at WINCHESTER, in fulfilment of a sentence passed upon him by VAUGHAN, and the other judges of the Special Commission; namely, PARK, ALDERSON, WELLINGTON, STURGES BOURNE, DENMAN, and WILDE. It is also known, that his crime was that of *striking* BINGHAM BARING, to whom he did no bodily harm, as the said BARING was the very next morning chairman of a meeting of magistrates at ALRESFORD. It is also well known, that some time after COOK was executed, there appeared in all the newspapers, and in the *Mirror of Parliament*, a publication purporting to be the part of a speech of DENMAN aforesaid; that this publication asserted, that HENRY COOK was a *carpenter, and was earning thirty shillings a week* at the time when he joined the rioters; and that *he broke a man's arm* in endeavouring to give BINGHAM BARING a second blow. It is now notorious, that the whole of this publication was a MOST INFAMOUS LIE; that HENRY COOK, was a ploughboy and ploughman all his life long; that he never was a carpenter for one moment in his life; that at the time when he joined the rioters he was receiving only *four and sixpence a week* as a *ploughman*; that there was no man's arm broken upon the occasion; and that no second blow was aimed by COOK at BARING.

We propose, that, in justice to this poor young man's memory, a tomb shall be put over him, to contain a record of all these matters. It is said, whether truly or not I do not know, that the parson has said, that *he will not suffer the tomb to be put up over the grave.* Whether he have the legal power of preventing this, I do not know; but I know that he has no power to prevent us from making application to him for the purpose; and that, in case of his refusal, he has no power to prevent an application to Parliament, backed by five thousand petitions for a law to enable us to do it. It is said, that *dead men tell no tales:* that is a maxim with murderers. But if they tell no tales themselves, the living are not forbidden to tell tales about them. It has been observed to COOK with great *naiveté* that *the tomb cannot bring his son to life!* Very true: neither can a monument bring any other man to life. Oh, no! we are not to be silenced in this way. Strong persuasions were made use of to COOK to have his son buried at WINCHESTER! Oh, no! COOK thought that hanging was enough, without leaving the body the chance of being dug up and hacked to pieces by the people called surgeons. To the everlasting honour of the labourers of MICHELDEVER, they constantly watched the grave of this poor youth, as long as it was of any use to do it. But this belongs to the character of the labourers of England. The father was too poor to pay for the watching; and, therefore, they did it for nothing, to quiet the fear of the father, and especially the mother.

Amidst all this, DENMAN, who was both ATTORNEY-GENERAL and a *judge* in the case, never disclaims the INFAMOUS LIES imputed to him by name in the newspapers and *Mirror of Parliament* aforesaid. He is very much deceived if he think that the people have paid no attention to this scandalous publication. However, I leave the matter for the present, with a pledge never to quit it till I have done all that is proper to be done, and all that I am able to do in such a case. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF MANCHESTER.

Winchester, 10, July, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

I HAVE come down into this county to perform the most sacred of all earthly duties, namely, that of upholding the innocent, poor, and needy, against the unjust, insolent and oppressive, rich and powerful. We have, at our festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, done justice to the

character of the two MASONS and their fellow-exiles; and we have strewed with flowers the grave of HENRY COOK. We must now turn our thoughts towards the means of getting the power to do far more than this: there is a people to be saved from starvation; to obtain the power of saving them, we must look to *the north*; and to what spot of that north with more confidence than to MANCHESTER?

If you have attended, as I dare say you have, to what has been going on since the REFORM BILL was passed, you must have perceived that both factions are united, in order to prevent that bill from producing any REAL CHANGE in the system under which we have lived so long, and which has, at last, reduced the middle class to ruin, and the working class to misery. But why need we be surprised at this strenuous joint effort on the part of these factions, when we clearly see that they must be beggars, if they do not succeed in making the ensuing Parliament resemble the present one, in its support of that system which fills their pockets with public money? Let us not, my friends, give ourselves the trouble to ask them what objection they can have to our abolishing the tithes; repealing the taxes on malt, hops, and soap; repealing the assessed taxes and stamp taxes, and repealing the Corn Bill: let us not trouble ourselves to ask them what objection they can have to this; but let us, with full as much reason, ask the fishes what objection they can have to the water being taken out of the river!

In short, my friends, the very existence, in that state of idleness in which they live; the very existence of these two opposing tribes of aristocracy, together with all their retainers, depends wholly upon two things, their being able to cram the next Parliament with men resolved to suffer *no real change* to take place, and their being able *to keep me out of Parliament;* or rather, it depends upon this latter one thing only; for, my friends, be you assured, that in that Parliament I cannot be with good health for one year, without some great change being the consequence. If you look at what is going on in the metropolitan districts, you will perceive that HUME goes about from one place to the other to be chairman, to introduce *Whig* candidates, and to keep in check every effort to introduce men of a different description. Of his notions with regard to *the change* that is to take place, in order to better the lot of the people, judge you from this circumstance, that the other night HOBHOUSE proposed to build a *new barrack*. We had *three hundred and one barracks* before, and HUME wished *to postpone* the consideration of whether we should have *three hundred and two!* This is much about according to the scale of reform which he has in view; he will labour like a horse, he will calculate like an actuary, in order to save us one shilling of taxes out of every three hundred and two! This man take off the taxes! This man, and those recommended by him, lighten our burdens! God forbid that you should believe any such a thing; for, if you were to believe it, you would be the most deceived of all mankind.

As far as I can gather from the newspapers which have reached me here, the combined *factions at* MANCHESTER are putting forward a *banker* of the name of LLOYD. I dare say that they have exhausted their ingenuity to discover some way or other of avoiding the doom which my being elected for MANCHESTER would at once pronounce upon the whole of them. They do not entertain the hope of keeping me out of Parliament, but they may entertain the hope ef preventing me from being sent thither by the greatest mass of industrious and discerning people to be found upon any one spot in this whole world; but that malignant hope will, for the sake of the honour and happiness of our country, be, I trust, defeated by your vigilance, your activity, your zeal, and all those public virtues which you possess in so pre-eminent a degree.

I am, with the most sincere friendship,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

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To the Editor of the Political Register.

Battle, July 7th, 1832.

SIR,

When, in October 1830, you gave a lecture at Battle to the working people, and in that lecture strongly urged the promotion of harmony and goodwill between the employers and the employed, that advice and the powerful reasoning by which it was supported made an indelible impression on the majority of your hearers, and has been productive of permanently beneficial effects; for although firing of property and risings of the labourers occurred at Battle and in the neighbourhood immediately afterwards, the question with honest minds is, to what extent would these have prevailed had your lecture, wherein you so successfully recommended a conciliatory spirit, never been given? That fires were kindled, and risings of the labourers took place, were not matters of astonishment to those who knew the distressed condition of the labourers, and the highly-excited state of their minds; but, Sir, the attributing the fires and risings to inciting language used by you in the lecture referred to, excited the greatest astonishment in the minds of all those who attended the lecture: such baseness, on the part of the enemies of the people, had never been contemplated, although instances were not wanting, at that period, to prove that to advise the labourers to preserve peace and good order was to subject the adviser to calumny and persecution. Yet even all this seemed "light as air," when the astounding fact became known that our *liberal* Whig Government had determined on prosecuting you for asserting that which every one knew to be a fact; *you*, who had delivered the peace-inculcating lecture at Battle; *you*, than whom, to use the words of the *Athenæum*, the poor have not a greater benefactor. They did prosecute you; but, Sir, *truth prevailed, and you beat them*; and on this day, *the anniversary of your triumph*, your friends at Battle have assembled *on the premises where your lecture was delivered, to commemorate your victory*; and they hereby respectfully present you their most hearty congratulations on that event; at the same time they desire gratefully to acknowledge the obligations they are under to you for the invaluable instruction your writings have afforded them, and they will earnestly implore that great and good Being who "*looketh with complacency on him who remembereth the poor*," that your life may be long spared to be a blessing to yourself, to your family, and to your fellow-men.

(Signed on behalf of the meeting)

JOHN GROVES, Jun.,
Chairman.

ANSWER.

Winchester, 10. *July*, 1832.

SIR,

It would, perhaps, be impossible for me to name the place or the persons from whom a letter like yours would have been so pleasing to me. To the people of BATTLE, and the villages round about, I have as sincere an attachment as I can have to anybody to whom I am not bound by natural and personal ties. If *gratitude alone* had been to be consulted, BATTLE would have been the spot whereon to hold my reform festival; but *here*, amongst this hardly-treated people, there was a *sacred duty* to perform; there were wrongs of the defenceless to be revived and kept alive in men's minds; there were the broken-hearted to cheer; there were the timid to embolden; there were confidence and hope to be given to those who had seen ground for nothing but despair. You have had the justice to perceive this, and to applaud, instead of censuring, my absence from you upon this occasion; but be assured that, as long as memory shall last with me, be my body where it will, the goodness, the kindness, the generosity of the people of BATTLE and its neighbourhood will always have a place in my mind.

I beg you all, and you in particular, to accept of my best thanks for this mark of your persevering friendship; and I remain.

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THIS book is now published, and is for sale at *Bolt-court*, and at the book-shops in general. So large and expensive a book, including forty-three maps, never was sold for less than twice the price before. Here all the new divisions of counties, and everything else relating to the new parliamentary distribution, is to be found in the smallest compass, and in an arrangement the most commodious. I here again insert THE TITLE and the explanatory preface. The reader will be astonished at the mass of matter; and when he sees the book, he will think that we are got into cheap times indeed, when such a book can be sold for twelve shillings. But it was my desire to bring it within the compass of book-clubs of the working people.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into COUNTIES, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with *a map*, showing how the counties are locally situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into CIRCUITS, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into DIOCESES; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the *cities*, *boroughs*, *market-towns*, *villages*, *hamlets*, and *tithings*, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of *the county*, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the *English counties*, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the *Welsh counties*, in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a map, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market-towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it

as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a *monastic establishment*, the nature and value of it are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The *distance from London* is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the *nearest* city, borough, or market-town, are stated; and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are *markets* or *fairs*, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure places, of which we want a knowledge. How many scores of places have I received letters from, and there being no post-mark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a transaction at *Tilford*, how are we to know where TILFORD is, and what sort of a place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of SURREY; but one should not know whether it were a town or village, or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index*, tells us that it is in SURREY; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a TITHING, that it is in the parish of FARNHAM, and that Farnham is a MARKET-TOWN, distant therefrom in a direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from London; and the *county-map* shows us, that this market-town lies at the WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases *the parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of SURREY, *Bagshot* is a hamlet, the distance of which from CHERTSEY, the nearest town, is not stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of WINDLESHAM, and that that village is 7½ miles from CHERTSEY; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things; which, if left unexplained, might lead to error. FIRST, under the name, in the Dictionary, of each county, is given the *number of parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out *townships*, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come to a correct knowledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, *the parishes*, so called, have, in the statistical table as well as in the Dictionary, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. SECOND, as the *Dictionary part* was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the *number of members of Parliament* returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and which it is now my business to describe.

IX. Next after the Dictionary comes a STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles, its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes; the population of

each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*, and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In TABLE No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order, and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in Parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities* and *boroughs* are, in the Table No. II. not accompanied by a statement of their population, TABLE No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, *and the number of voters which they formerly had*, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove tiresome to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that

there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the VERY ROOM in which Dr. Johnson wrote his plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toil.

Wm. COBBETT.

No. 11, *Bolt-court*, 28 *June*, 1832.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS !

On Tuesday last, the 3rd of July, a debate took place in the House of Commons, relative to this very ear-tickling as well as back-tickling subject. Mr. Hume proposed to make a motion for the production of papers relative to the trial and punishment of Somerville. He was induced to withdraw that motion in order to make a future motion to refer Somerville's complaint to a select committee. This debate is a curious and most interesting affair; and I beg my readers to go through the whole of it attentively. Pray, read the speeches of little Hobhouse. Do hear him say that *the minutes of the court-martial* said nothing at all about the political offence! It is the simplicity of this which one admires most: there is nothing profound; nothing dark; nothing crafty; but the simplicity of the little Secretary at War, in looking into the minutes of the court-martial to find out that the man was punished for a political offence. It shows us how amiable a man may become from a tender intercourse with the delicate lady-pensioner! We, who know what minutes of courts-martial are, and what members of such courts are, too; we, who know all about the thing, would no more expect to find in those minutes any allusion, even the most distant, to the political opinions of the prisoner than we should expect to find in those minutes an extract from old Latimer's sermon, in which he scolded Edward the *Sixth* for not receiving the people's petitions with his own hand as his forefathers had done. Little Hob had the honour to be applauded by Wetherell, who is always harping upon the fate of *Charles the First*. One would think, that, his own name being Charles, he is afraid of being beheaded too.

Mr. Robert Grant objected to producing the papers, "relying as he did "on the *honour and probity of five* "*gentlemen* bound to administer justice "by their oaths!" Burdett was for inquiry and a revision of the *Mutiny Act*; but "*from what* he knew of Major "Wyndham, he declared him to be *the* "*very last man who would be likely to* "*be guilty of anything approaching to* "*cruelty or oppression!*" The very identical words that honest Althorp made use of when he refused the committee upon the petition of the Deacles; the very identical words; and the same words have been made use of always when any man in power has been accused of cruelty. One would think that these fellows were all like "*new negroes*;" that they had no memories; and that they did not at all perceive it possible that the world would detect them. Detected they have been, however, for a long time past; the whole of their motives are clearly seen through; so that they might really spare themselves the trouble of putting forth this nonsense. Amongst the pledges proposed by a voter in Essex, is this, "the abo-"lition of corporal punishment in the "army." I would amend this, by leaving out all the words between the word *of* and the word *the*; and then the pledge would stand thus: "*the abolition of the army.*" And while I know that not one single soldier of it is *wanted* for the good of the country; while I know that I can discover, for keeping it up, no motive other than that of giving heaps of money to the aristocracy, their relations and dependents, I have great pleasure in seeing ground to hope, that the affair of Somerville will have a tendency to produce a state of things in the army, which will convince those who do not now entertain my opinions, that they are opinions which ought to be entertained.

I perceive that Peel's-bill Peel wished "to leave the army to its *natural protectors.*" Who are they, I wonder? Does Peel's-bill Peel mean the drum-major who furnishes the cats,

on the drummers who lay them on? Does he mean the officers? Then WYNDHAM was the *natural protector* of SOMERVILLE. This cuts the matter short, indeed. Colonel O'GRADY was against the inquiry, being *quite convinced* "that the officers upon the "court-martial had *acted as became gentlemen and men of honour.*" Sir RONALD FERGUSON, who is a general, I believe, "thought it would be better to leave "the case to the *proper military authorities*, and expressed his confidence "in the humanity of the officers of the "army." Lord *something* LENNOX expressed his utter disbelief in all the allegations of the petition; but wished for inquiry, in order to show the falsehood of all the charges against his friend, Major WYNDHAM. The *Morning Chronicle* blames Lord HILL for not having instituted an inquiry. Lord HILL! What! another set of officers to inquire into the conduct of the BIRMINGHAM set! Oh, no! it is the House itself that ought to make the inquiry; it ought to have SOMERVILLE and WYNDHAM before it, and also a parcel of the soldiers, and these ought to be discharged before they be examined. This is precisely what will not be done. However, it does not much signify; the matter will get rummaged about pretty well: the flogging will be abolished, I dare say, before the year is out; and the King, whom MELBOURNE *tells me has not yet decided upon my case*, will, I am pretty sure, order to be paid back my thousand pounds, with all the interest upon it. Happy result! Thus will this paternal Government have taken my money away and kept it for me against a rainy day.

Mr. HUME rose in order to submit to the House a motion of much importance, involving this great question—whether an Englishman, by becoming a soldier, forfeited his right as a citizen? It related to the severe and unjustifiable punishment of a private in the Scots Greys, of the name of Somerville, who had been treated with the utmost severity, merely because he had written a letter to a newspaper, called the *Weekly Dispatch*, of the sentiments of which letter every man in the country might be proud. It was true that other reasons had been assigned for the punishment of Somerville, but the fact was undeniably evident that it had been inflicted in consequence of the transmission of the letter containing the writer's opinions on public affairs. The fact was, that very soon after it was known that Somerville was the author of the letter, he, who was a raw recruit of only four months standing, was compelled to ride a horse which he was incapable of managing, and in refusing to mount it a second time, he had certainly been guilty of a breach of discipline. It was usual that the regiment should be drawn up in line when the punishment ordered by the court-martial was about to be inflicted, and that the commanding officer should harangue the soldiers, explaining the nature of the crime for which the offending soldier was to be punished. But on this occasion Major Wyndham harangued the regiment for upwards of a quarter of an hour, upon the wicked libel which Somerville had written, and upon the impropriety of a soldier's expressing political opinions, and giving encouragement to the mob; but he said little or nothing about the heinousness of the offence which was nominally the cause of the punishment which the regiment was called out to witness. (Hear, hear.) Now, when the House took into consideration, not only that the political offence, or what was said to be a political offence, was the theme of the commanding officer's address to the regiment; and that in a conversation, which that officer (Major Wyndham) held with Somerville previous to the court-martial, related altogether to the "libel," excepting only the one allusion to the situation to which the soldier had got himself, and which also was connected with the political offence, by the major's adding, "that it would make him repent of what he had done,"—that is, of writing the letter. (Hear, hear, hear.) From all these facts it was impossible not to see that the man was, in reality, punished for the expression of his political opinions, and not for the alleged breach of discipline. But there were still other facts which proved beyond all question, that the breach of discipline was laid hold of as a pretence for punishing Somerville. On the very day after the flogging of that man, a private called Andrew Scott flatly refused to go to the school. Well, was he flogged? No such thing. (Hear, hear.) The only punishment was confinement to the yard for 24 hours, and the being kept to the barracks for another day. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Hume) begged the House to consider the difference between the two cases. Here was Scott refusing, in defiance of all discipline, to go to the school at all, or attempt to perform his regular exercise, on the day after Somerville had been flogged for refusing to do what he had vainly attempted to do; the latter being a recruit, and his removal into a higher class, and his being ordered to ride an untrained horse, having all taken place within a few hours after he acknowledged himself to be the writer of the letter to the *Dispatch*. (Hear, hear.) If his refusal was so deserving of punishment,

why was the more culpable refusal of the other man (who had the example of the previous day's punishment before him) passed over with comparatively no punishment? If Scott believed that the punishment of Somerville was really inflicted for his refusal to do what he had attempted to do, and found to be impossible, would he (Scott) venture to refuse making any attempt or even going to school? Assuredly not. (Hear.) It was plain from his conduct that the regiment very well understood that the letter was the real offence. A strong corroboration of this was, that on a few days after the flogging, some officers of the regiment attended the theatre, and received some marks of disapprobation from a part of the audience; and in the course of that evening some of the privates got into a squabble with the towns-people, in consequence (as we understood) of what took place in the theatre. The soldiers, being intoxicated, returned at a late hour to the barrack, with their clothes torn, and in such a condition as would in a strict, or at least in a very severely disciplined regiment, subject them to punishment. However, although their conduct was much more disorderly than Somerville's, they were not punished. (Hear.) Yet such was the severity with which that man was flogged, that although the punishment was inflicted so long as seven weeks ago, and he had received only one hundred lashes, he was still confined to the hospital, and was in a bad way. The treatment which he had experienced since the flogging was a great aggravation of the punishment. (Hear, hear.) His removal from Birmingham to Coventry, on account of the feeling which was expressed towards him in the former town, had (we understood the hon. Member to say) retarded his recovery. Was such a case to be passed over by that House? Was it to be allowed that a man should be treated in such a way for the expression of his political opinions? He (Mr. Hume) had always understood the constitutional doctrine to be, that a private soldier was not only to think for himself on such questions, but that he was actually bound to know the law, and to refuse to obey his officer in doing an illegal act. He had known many instances in which privates were tried for their lives, for having acted upon the illegal orders of their officers. But it would be absurd to say that a private could be responsible in such cases, if it was to be held that he should take his political opinions from his officers, and that he was liable to be punished for thinking for himself on matters in no way connected with military discipline. (Hear, hear.) The hon. Member then read a passage from Blackstone, to show that, in free states, a man, so far from losing the rights of citizenship by becoming a soldier, was to be considered as having become a soldier "that he might continue to be a citizen," and protect the rights of himself and his fellow-citizens. But, he would ask, in what was the conduct of Major Wyndham to this soldier Somerville consistent with that doctrine? If such conduct was to be tolerated by the executive, and passed over by that House without reprobation, then the British soldier must henceforth be considered, not as a citizen, but a slave. (Hear.) What the consequence was to be, he should leave to the Secretary at War to consider. (Hear, hear.) But if the doctrine was to be admitted in respect to privates, why should not the same rule be applied to officers? But he knew many officers in that House who were in the habit of expressing their political opinions very freely, and not only in that House, but in places where their privilege of Parliament could not be pleaded to protect them; and he would put it to the Secretary at War whether, if it was to be the law that privates should be punished for political opinions, certain officers—hon. and gallant Members of that House—should not be flogged for expressing their political opinions in the strong language in which they sometimes indulged. (Hear, and laughter.) He wished some hon. Member connected with the law or the army would inform him whether such was to be the law, or Blackstone was right. If Blackstone was wrong, then he would say, that it was most dangerous to the liberties of the British people that there should be in this country so many thousands of armed men entirely subject to the tyranny of their officers, and bound to obey their commands implicitly, and to take their political opinions from them. That was a state of things which ought not to be allowed.

Sir C. WETHERELL—Hear, hear!

Mr. HUME would tell the hon. and learned Gentleman, upon the authority of Blackstone, that a standing army, ruled under such doctrine, could only be suffered under a despotic government; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman would assure him that such was the received doctrine at present, he (Mr. H.) trusted that the next Parliament would place the law upon such a footing that, if there was to be a standing army, the soldier should not cease to be a citizen. (Hear.) When he last spoke in that House upon the case of Somerville, he abstained from pressing any motion at that time, because he understood that the right hon. the Secretary at War had not yet received any information; and he hoped that, by postponing the motion, the right hon. Gentleman would be enabled to explain the circumstances, and to state what were the views of his Majesty's Government upon the whole transaction. There were now two courses open for him (Mr. Hume) to pursue. One was to move for the appointment of a committee of the whole House, to inquire respecting the legality of punishment inflicted upon a soldier by sentence of court martial for the expression of a political opinion; and that evidence should be heard at the bar of the House: for, although this was but a solitary case, yet it involved a question which concerned the rights of the whole people, and affected the liberties of every individual.

(Hear.) But that was a course which it might not be necessary to adopt; and there was another, which he thought might answer the purpose. He should move for a copy of the accusation against Somerville, of the minutes of the court-martial, and of the sentence; and the report of the commanding officer as to whether the whole sentence was carried into effect. This motion would enable hon. Gentlemen opposite, connected with the war department of his Majesty's Government, to explain the real nature of the circumstances connected with the punishment of Somerville, and to show whether or not that soldier's statement of his own case was correct. From this explanation he should be able to determine whether it might be necessary for him to found any other motion upon the papers for which he now moved. But he should reserve to himself to consider whether or not he should not take some ulterior step to ascertain what is the opinion of the Government respecting the interference of a soldier's military duties with his political rights. He concluded by moving for the return of papers (which he had already described) relating to the trial and punishment of private Somerville, of the 2d dragoons.

Mr. HUNT seconded the motion.

Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE never had been more taken by surprise in his life than he was by the motion with which the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Middlesex was concluded. He could not but think that it was usual, even between opponents in that House, much more between Gentlemen who had been in the habit of acting together upon many great questions, to give notice of a motion of such importance as the hon. Member for Middlesex attached to the present motion. As his hon. Friend had abandoned the motion of moving for a committee to inquire respecting the general question of the civil rights of soldiers, it was not necessary for him (Sir J. C. Hobhouse) to go further into that question than to say, that he did not think it had ever been questioned that a soldier could not be punished by a court-martial for the expression of his opinion on a political question. The motion which the hon. Gentleman had made was not founded upon anything of which the House had Parliamentary cognizance, but only upon a private document, in the possession of the hon. Member himself. But his hon. Friend thought that, on the authority of that document, he was justified in calling upon him (Sir J. Hobhouse) without motion, for an answer to the assertions contained in it. If that were once admitted, then any gentleman might come forward with any number of charges, and call upon the Government for explanation without previous notice, and might even say with his hon. Friend, that the Government ought to be glad to have the opportunity. But the fact was, that all that he (Sir J. Hobhouse) knew of the case was derived from the minutes of the court-martial; and from them he could not suppose but that he would be as much shocked as any man could be to suppose that punishment was alleged to have been inflicted upon the man for one crime, when it was in reality inflicted upon him for another, for which he had not been tried, or even formally accused. (Hear, hear.) Under such circumstances, he could not take it for granted that an officer high in command had contrived to get up a charge against a man, so as to bring it within the power of his officers to punish, nominally for a breach of discipline, but really for the expression of his political opinions. He could not, then, feel himself justified in according to the motion, not having had notice of it. He could not just then say whether there was any precedent for the laying of the minutes of regimental courts-martial before Parliament; although he knew that the minutes of a district court-martial might be produced. At least the hon. Member for Middlesex might have allowed him an opportunity of consulting the other Members of his Majesty's Government. He could not say whether there might be eventually any objection to the granting of those papers. He knew at present of only one objection, and that was, that this House had been always exceeding chary in interfering with the discipline of the army, except in cases in which grounds had been made out for a charge of oppression. (Hear, hear.) But he would ask, had any Gentleman in that House ever heard of a case in which an officer had procured the punishment of a private for a political offence?

Mr. HUNT—Yes. (Hear, hear.)

An Hon. MEMBER said—Several—many, many; and added some allusion to the writings of the right hon. Secretary at War, which was not heard in the gallery. (Hear, hear.)

Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE said, that he did not recollect to have heard of such cases, and that the grounds upon which he had always imposed flogging in the army were quite independent of any oppression that might be committed on account of political opinions. (Hear.) He had only to repeat, that he could not accede to the motion, as he had not had notice of his hon. Friend's intention to make it.

Sir C. WETHERELL *would support the right honourable Gentleman the Secretary at War in his opposition to the motion.* He thought that the honourable Member for Middlesex had preached a most extraordinary and unconstitutional doctrine. (Hear, hear.) He knew nothing of the case but what he had picked up from the speech of the hon. Member (Mr. Hume) himself. The private Somerville had been tried for a military offence by the competent tribunal; and the complaint made was, that that tribunal was influenced by the circumstance of his having previously done something which was supposed to amount to a political offence. But if there had been anything improper in the conduct of the court-martial, the proper mode of appealing against the decision of that court was by an application either to the King him-

self directly, or indirectly through the Commander-in-Chief. (Hear.) But if that House were to constitute itself into a Court of Appeal from the Military Courts, it would in fact place itself in the position which was taken by the House of Commons in the time of Charles the First, when it assumed the command of the army. (Hear, hear.) At the same time no man would deny that the House had the power of interfering, if a case of abuse should have been clearly established against a Military Court, or against any other court. (Hear, hear.) But as no case had been made out by the honourable Member for Middlesex, he hoped that Gentleman would see the propriety of withdrawing his motion.

Mr. TENNYSON had not received any intimation of the course which his hon. Friend the Member for Middlesex was determined to pursue, until he heard him make the present motion. He was not prepared, therefore, to say whether the course which he had adopted was or was not the best, by which he might have brought the case before Parliament. But he would say this, that he never heard a case which more urgently called for investigation in that house than that which had been made out in the statement of his hon. Friend. (Hear.) His *hon. and learned Friend*, who had just sat down, had stated that the House would be authorised only by a case of great abuse in interfering with the proceedings of courts-martial, or of any other courts. But that statement implied an admission that the hon. and learned Gentleman himself was opposing the motion upon insufficient grounds; for surely there never could be a case of grosser abuse than that which his hon. Friend had stated. (Hear, hear.) Whether or not the statement could be substantiated, it was of such a nature that the House ought to institute some inquiry, although he could not say in what form the inquiry was to be made. (Hear, hear.) The House ought to be informed by the right hon. the Secretary at War whether or not he had examined into the circumstances. For, although his hon. Friend (Mr. Hume) had not given notice of the precise form of the motion, yet he had already drawn the attention of the Government to the case, and the attention of the whole country had been drawn to it—nor had any case ever created a stronger feeling of surprise and indignation amongst the people. If the statement of the hon. Member for Middlesex was correct, there could be no doubt that the man had really been flogged for his political opinion, and he (Mr. T.) was glad to hear his right hon. Friend deny that the statement was correct.

Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE—What I said was, that there appeared *nothing in the minutes of the court-martial* to justify me in supposing that there was any truth in the statement that the man was punished for a *political offence*.

Mr. TENNYSON was glad that his right hon. Friend (Sir J. C. Hobhouse) had stated his opinion, that a soldier could not be punished by a court-martial for the expression of his opinion on a political question. If such a punishment as flogging was to be continued, he trusted that the House would at least take care that the power to inflict it could not be abused as in this case. He would support the motion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER complained that the hon. Gentleman *had not given notice* of his intention to bring forward a motion so unusual. It was said a man had been punished for an offence which did not subject him to a military court, under the pretence of his having committed a military offence. He (Lord Althorp) agreed, that if that was true, the transaction was one which called for the severest reprehension. (Hear, hear, hear.) But this was a case in which the House ought not to proceed, unless very strong ground should have been made out; nor ought it to interfere with the proceedings of a court-martial, upon the unsupported statement which had been made by his hon. Friend (Mr. Hume) on the authority of the individual himself who complained of being aggrieved. He entirely concurred with his hon. Friend, that a soldier had a right, in common with every other Englishman, to express his opinions upon questions of politics. But there must be a line drawn beyond which that right should not be exercised; and he thought it a question of very great delicacy and difficulty to determine where the line should be drawn in the case of a soldier. There was at present no reason for going into the discussion, and he should therefore merely put it to his hon. Friend and to the House, whether the motion ought to be agreed to, notice not having been given of the hon. Gentleman's intention to make it.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, the question was this—A man had been punished for one offence under the charge of having committed another, and beyond all that, he had been entrapped into the commission of the offence for which he was punished. It was stated that Somerville had been actually promoted a grade, in order to bring him within the reach of the commanding officer, and that he had been ordered to mount a restive horse—a horse known to be unbroken—in order that he might be subjected to punishment for disobedience. Not one word of this had been denied; and the only answer he had heard given was that of the right hon. Baronet (Hobhouse), namely, that it did not appear in the proceedings of the court-martial. It did not appear certainly. He knew not how it could; but then that was one among the many reasons for further inquiry; and he contended that the minutes of the court-martial should be produced, in justice to the officer if he was innocent, and in justice to the public service whether he was guilty or innocent.

Mr. ROBERT GRANT knew nothing of this case except what was contained in the petition presented to the House. He agreed in the statement of the case made by the hon. and learned Gentleman; but then he contended

that the case so stated did not warrant the exercise of the delicate jurisdiction which was vested in the House of Commons. There were other ways of coming at the real nature of the case, which might and should have been resorted to before the honourable Member for Middlesex applied to the House. He might, for instance, have applied in the proper quarter for an inspection *of the minutes of the court-martial*; and, after reading them, he could then have ascertained whether there was any just ground for the more solemn proceeding of an appeal to Parliament. With reference to what had been said of the conversation that took place between the commanding officer and the soldier, and to the assurance that if the soldier expressed his contrition for the one offence he should not be punished for the other, he was confident that the conversation had no effect on the minds of the five gentlemen who composed the court-martial, and that they decided purely on the evidence brought before them. Of this court-martial the commanding officer with whom the conversation is said to have taken place was not one; and he was confident—relying, as he did, on the *honour and probity of five gentlemen*, bound to administer justice on their oaths—that the soldier was tried and sentenced for the *military offence alleged against him*, and not for any political offence which might have been known to the commanding officer. There was no allegation in the petition, nor nothing in the statement read to the House by the Member for Middlesex, which connected the commanding officer with the conduct of the court-martial; and as that court-martial was acknowledged to have been held with strict propriety, and the punishment awarded according to the articles of war, he certainly did not see the propriety of producing at present the papers which were required.

Colonel PEEL was satisfied, from what he knew of the manner in which courts-martial were conducted, that the soldier had been fairly tried for the regimental offence alleged against him, and he should vote for the production of the minutes of the court-martial, in order *to do justice to the character of Major Wyndham.*

Sir F. BURDETT, whether the motion was pressed now or withdrawn to be produced hereafter in an amended form, would vote for it, as a method of procuring a satisfactory elucidation of the case. The question at issue was important to every class, for there could be no doubt that the punishment awarded on this occasion greatly exceeded the measure of the offence. Colonel Wyndham, from what he knew of him, *was the very last man whom he would suppose likely to be guilty of anything approaching to cruelty* or oppression. (Hear.) He admitted that (hear, hear); but it was necessary for the safety of the soldiery, the satisfaction of the public, and still more for the character of Major Wyndham, that the case should be fully understood. He should vote, therefore, for inquiry; and in the mean time he implored the Government to turn their attention to the subject, and *revise the Articles of War*, for it seemed to be undeniable that men were frequently punished for one offence under the pretence that they had committed another. The existence of such a thing was monstrous; but its abuse intolerable and detestable. The feelings of the people were much excited on the subject, and he hoped the Government would *at once revise the Mutiny Act*, and take away the possibility of the recurrence of such offences.

Sir ROBERT PEEL said, the charge was that a soldier had been punished for one offence, having committed another; and that was a question totally distinct from the corporal punishment to which the hon. Baronet had endeavoured to direct the attention of the House. He thought it would have been better if that question had been left untouched; but, convinced as he was, that if they constituted themselves a tribunal for the examination of the proceedings of this court-martial, on the mere statement of the offender, they would have a petition for the same purpose from every person who might hereafter be tried. He should certainly vote against the motion. By consenting to constitute themselves a tribunal on such grounds, for the investigation of the proceedings of a court-martial, they were withdrawing from the officers of the regiment, and from the commander-in-chief, the whole of the authority delegated to them by act of Parliament, and at the same time placing the matter under the worst possible jurisdiction which could be selected. He candidly admitted that nothing could be more highly condemned than that an officer should accuse a soldier of one offence and cause him to be punished for another. He would begin by stating this; but he must at the same time say, that it would be utterly impossible to maintain the discipline of the army if soldiers were allowed to be political partizans, correspondents of newspapers, or members of political clubs. (Cheers.) Then, indeed, a standing army would be in truth a curse—then might they bid farewell to civil liberty. (Cheers.) He thought, accordingly, that it was fully in the power of the officer in command to interdict a soldier's communication with the newspapers, and prevent him from being a member of a Political Union. He denied the truth of the doctrine that a soldier continued to enjoy all the rights of a citizen. It was quite clear the soldier must forfeit that portion of his civic right which would interfere with the discipline of the army. (Cheers.) But now to address himself to the matter immediately before them. The question simply was, had they sufficient *prima facie* evidence to induce them to believe that this individual had been punished for one offence while he had been accused of another? The expediency of corporal punishments had nothing to do with this charge; it was most improper to appeal to men's passions on this topic. Now he did not think a *prima facie*

case had been made out; he disbelieved the charge. (Hear.) He could not believe that Major Wyndham and the other officers on the court-martial could have violated their oaths, by trying a soldier on one charge and puuishing him for another (Hear.). He did not believe that Lord Hill and the other superior officers of the army would have suffered the proceeding to pass unnoticed, if anything appeared against this line of conduct pursued by Major Wyndham. (Hear, hear.) *Wishing therefore to leave the army to its natural protectors*—desiring not to establish a precedent for the interference of the House of Commons in such matters, which must be fatal to the discipline of the army—he would give his *decided vote against the proposition of* the hon. Member for Middlesex, however it might be shaped. (Hear.)

Colonel O'GRADY was quite convinced that it was impossible the charges brought against Major Wyndham and the other officers could be founded in fact. The charge against the prisoner was necessarily referred to one or more of the articles of war, and this most strictly, and no verdict could be given except upon the charge. He was quite convinced that the court-martial had been properly conducted, and that the officer upon it had acted as became *gentlemen and men of honour*.

Mr. HUNT strenuously supported the inquiry, and maintained that the Secretary of War had condemned Major Wyndham, by not coming forward to state that all the allegations in the petition were unfounded.

Sir R. FERGUSON thought it would be better to leave the case to *the proper military authorities*; and expressed his confidence in the humanity of the officers of the army, and their indisposition to resort to punishment.

Lord — LENNOX highly landed the personal and military character of Major Wyndham, and expressed *his utter disbelief of the allegations in the petition*. He showed that the assertion in one paragraph, touching the man's being kept in the guard-house to receive a second hundred lashes, was false, and contended that this ought to induce them to doubt the truth of all the rest of the petition. For the purpose of showing the falsehood of all the charges against his friend Major Wyndham, he would vote for the inquiry.

Mr. SLANEY was in favour of inquiry, though he disbelieved the assertions in the petition. *Inquiry*, he believed, was *soon to take place*; he therefore requested the hon. member for Middlesex to postpone his motion.

Mr. HUME said, that the right hon. Gentleman begged the question altogether. He said there was nothing in the charge respecting a political offence. Of course there was none. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that a man became a soldier in order to defend his rights as a citizen. Well, then, when the man was off duty, surely there could be no great offence in his expressing his political sentiments. It was true that there were *ex parte* statements. His very object was, that the other party should be heard. It was a reflection on Lord Hill that he had not yet taken notice of the subject. There was, therefore, no means of appeal but to that House, and that was the reason why he brought forward this motion. After the candid and manly observations of the noble Lord opposite, he did not wish to press the question in a manner to which the noble Lord might object. He was prepared, therefore, to withdraw the present motion, and give notice of a motion for this day week, *to refer the petition to a select committee*. He did this in order that no one might accuse him of taking the House unprepared.

The motion was then withdrawn.

TOWER HAMLETS
AND
DOCTOR LUSHINGTON.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE TOWER HAMLETS.

(*Concluded from No.* 1, *col.* 62. *Vol.* 77.)

THE KING V. LUSHINGTON.

If he were really a man of that description, he ought long since to have been struck off the roll of attorneis,—he ought to be expelled from all society, and held up to public scorn and execration. He (Mr. Campbell) did not expect that his learned friend the Attorney-General would deny that this was a gross libel, for which Dr. Lushington was answerable. On a subsequent day there came in the same pulication, the *Mirror of Parliament*, a report, purporting to be an account of a debate on the same subjects; and there Dr. Lushington was represeated to have said, in speaking of Mr. Walker, that which he would now read to the jury:—"I have, I acknowledge, used very strong expressions, not one word of which will I now retract; for I should be ashamed to avail myself of my Parliamentary privilege to state any matter which I could not afterwards substantiate." This was published on the 17th of July, two or three days after the first publication, and it showed that the former expressions had not been used inadvertently in the heat of debate. They had evidently been spoken deliberately. Dr. Lushington had refused all apology—all retractation; and he afterwards stated that he should be ashamed to avail himself of his Parliamentary privilege to state anything which he could not fully substantiate. This was very bold—very manly. It was just what might have been expected from Dr. Lushington; and if he had adhered to his resolution, if he had kept his word, Mr. Walker would not now have had to complain against him. Dr. Lushington had undertaken to prove Mr. Walker was a pettifogging attorney, and that he had been guilty of perjury and attempted extortion. What was his ground

for such a charge? The report in the *Mirror of Parliament* went on to state, that the hon. and learned member read a letter from Mr. Walker, in the postscript to which Mr. Walker had said, "I feel a little extraordinary anxiety in this case, because if Peddle be wrong, the whole burden of the costs, he being worth nothing, must fall on my shoulders, and I have already advanced 150*l.* on his account." It was upon this statement that Dr. Lushington appeared to have founded his charge against Mr. Walker. He had said that Mr. Walker admitted that he was responsible for the costs, and yet when he was examined as a witness, he swore that he was merely the solicitor for Peddle, and that Peddle had undertaken to pay the costs: that he (Mr. Walker) was disinterested in the cause, and that the payment of the costs was not dependent on Peddle's success. He (Mr. Campbell) would appeal to all his learned friends around him, whether there was any, the least inconsistency between what Mr. Walker wrote and what he swore. It was well known, that every solicitor practising in the Court of Chancery, was in the same situation as Mr. Walker had been. If his client lost his cause, and became insolvent, the solicitor lost his costs; but there was no partnership between the solicitor and the client, and the solicitor had no legal interest in the cause on account of his costs. Any of the attornies who were examined as witnesses at these sittings might say, that they had no interest in their causes, and Lord Tenterden would hold, as other learned judges had held before him, that they had, in fact, no legal interest. In the Court of Chancery and the common law courts at Westminster-hall, attornies, having no interest, were allowed to be examined as witnesses for their client. It was true that in the common law courts an attorney had a lien on the papers in the cause in respect of his costs; but in the ecclesiastical courts it was different. In those courts an attorney had no lien—the whole of the sum recovered was paid over to the client himself. There was another part of the speech of Dr. Lushington, as published in the *Mirror of Parliament*, to which he would call the attention of the jury. It was stated that an hon. member had adverted to the charges which had been brought forward by Dr. Lushington against Mr. Walker, and had said, that Dr. Lushington had stated that Mr. Walker had been convicted of perjury and attempted extortion, to which Dr. Lushington replied, "I did not say *convicted* of perjury, but *guilty* of perjury,"—repeating, therefore, the foul charge which he had previously made against Mr. Walker. The learned counsel proceeded to say, that some time ago an action was brought by Mr. Walker against Dr. Lushington, Mr. Barrow, the editor of the *Mirror of Parliament*, and other gentlemen who were connected with that publication. That was a joint action against all those persons. Dr. Lushington having stated that he should be ashamed to avail himself of his Parliamentary privilege to state anything reflecting on the character of an individual which he could not fully substantiate, Mr. Walker had determined to put him to the test; and therefore brought a civil action. To that action there was a plea of justification, by which the defendants undertook to prove the truth of what they had published; but, on that occasion, Dr. Lushington, instead of coming forward to justify, or attempt to justify, what he had stated, contented himself with saying "I am not guilty—I did not publish it. I am not the author of it: you may go against Mr. Barrow and the other proprietors of the *Mirror of Parliament*—you cannot come against me for anything that I said in my place in Parliament." This was the course which Dr. Lushington had thought proper to pursue on the occasion of the former trial. In consequence of there having been a justification pleaded to the action, Mr. Walker had prepared himself with a host of witnesses to prove the falsehood of the charges made against him, and to show that he had been most grossly calumniated; but Dr. Lushington and the other defendants who had put a justification on the record, shrunk from the attempt to prove that justification; they did not venture to offer a tittle of evidence in support of the charge, and consequently they admitted its falsehood. The result of that trial was, that a verdict was obtained against Mr. Barrow and all the other parties except Dr. Lushington. Mr. Walker, however, considering that Dr. Lushington was the author of this libel, and that he ought to be made to answer for it, had thought it right to prefer the present indictment. He intended to call as a witness in support of it Mr. Barrow, whom he could not examine on the former trial, he being a defendant. Mr. Barrow had been examined before the grand jury. He was an extremely respectable gentleman, and although he would certainly come forward reluctantly to give evidence to-day, he would not of course hesitate to speak the truth. By Mr. Barrow's testimony, he (Mr. Campbell) expected to be able to prove that it was Dr. Lushington's practice to correct his speeches for publication—that proofs of several of his speeches had been sent to him, and were returned by him with alterations and additions—and that proofs of the speeches in question were so sent and returned by him. If that were true—and he had every reason to believe that it was—he should bring home the publication to Dr. Lushington. If Dr. Lushington revised the proofs, and afterwards sent them to Mr. Barrow for publication, then he was fixed as the author of the speeches. His learned Friend, the Attorney-General, would not, he was sure, talk of Parliamentary privilege in such a case as this—of a privilege whereby a member of Parliament was to calumniate and injure the character of an individual out of Parliament. That question had long ago been settled. In the time of

Lord Kenyon a case was tried in which the Earl of Abingdon was defendant. He had made, or pretended to have made, a speech in the House of Lords, in which he cast some reflections on his attorney, whom he called a pettifogger. He afterwards published it to the world. An indictment was preferred against his Lordship. On the trial it was objected, on his part, that he was not amenable for what he had said in his place in the House of Peers. That objection was overruled by Lord Kenyon. The trial proceeded, and Lord Abingdon was convicted, and afterwards sentenced by the Court of King's Bench to three months' imprisonment, and that sentence had, he believed, been applauded by the British nation. There had been a similar case subsequently. Mr. Creevy, a former member of the House of Commons, had made a speech in the House reflecting on a person of the name of Kirkpatrick, an assessor of taxes at Liverpool. Some incorrect reports of that speech having appeared in the newspapers, Mr. Creevy published a corrected account of it, and addressed it to his constituents. An action was brought by Kirkpatrick against Mr. Creevy, and it was decided on that occasion that a member of the House of Commons was not entitled to publish in a newspaper, or in any other form, anything which he had spoken in Parliament reflecting on the character of individuals. The learned counsel read the reported opinions of Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Justice Le Blanc, and Mr. Justice Bayley, on delivering judgment in Mr. Creevy's case. He proceeded to say, that he apprehended the only question in this case would be, whether the evidence was sufficient to fix Dr. Lushington as having been concerned in this publication. That it was a grossly calumnious statement no one who read it could for a moment doubt. It denounced Mr. Walker as a disgrace to his profession, as being guilty of the foulest crime—that of perjury. So far from retracting the charge, he had said that he should be ashamed to avail himself of his privilege, as a member of Parliament, to state any thing which he could not fully substantiate. Under these circumstances, he (the learned counsel) apprehended that the jury would have no difficulty in saying that this was a libel, and that its publication had been authorised by Dr. Lushington, whom, therefore, it would be their duty to find guilty upon this indictment.

It was proved that the plaintiff had been admitted an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas in the year 1801.

Joseph Townsend—I was formerly a clerk of Mr. Walker, for about twelve years. Mr. Walker was employed by a person of the name of William Peddle, in a suit in the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was a suit on behalf of Mr. Peddle.

Cross-examined by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL—Do you know of any agreement between Mr. Walker and Peddle touching some costs?—No.

You don't know of any agreement by which Walker was to receive a moiety of the property to be recovered?—I do not.

John Jenkins—In July and August, 1828, I was in the employ of the office of the *Mirror of Parliament*. The publication of the number in July, 1828, was delayed in consequence of a speech which had been sent to Dr. Lushington not being returned. I was not in the habit of sending Dr. Lushington's speeches to him. It was the custom of the office to send the speeches. I don't say to Dr. Lushington—I sent to Dr. Lushington three or four times in July, 1828. I sent one of the messengers of the office to his house. It at last came back. *The Mirror of Parliament* afterwards published the speech of Dr. Lushington, which was contained in the proof-sheet sent to him.

Mr. Barrow, the editor of the *Mirror of Parliament*, was the next witness. He was shown the No. containing Dr. Lushington's speech, and was then examined by Mr. Campbell, as follows:—

Have you got the manuscript from which that speech was published?—No, I have not.

In whose possession is it?—I am not aware. I have not seen it since the last trial.

In whose possession was it then?—In the possession of the attorney of one of my co-defendants.

What is his name?—Briggs.

Lord TENTERDEN—You then saw the manuscript?—It was not in point of fact a manuscript: it was a print.

Mr. CAMPBELL—What became of the manuscript?—I presume it was destroyed with other papers.

How many proofs were there?—I think two.

Where is the first proof?—I apprehend in the possession of Mr. Briggs. That was the last time I saw it.

Where is the second?—Also in Mr. Briggs's possession, I believe.

Have you not seen it since?—Never.

Have you seen Dr. Lushington on the subject of this publication?—With great submission I should wish to ask whether I am bound to answer that question?

Lord TENTERDEN (to Mr. Campbell)—You can't go on without producing the proof-sheet or manuscript.

Mr. CAMPBELL submitted, that if he should be able to prove that the publication, as it appeared in the *Mirror of Parliament*, had been sanctioned by Dr. Lushington, that would be sufficient.

Mr. CAMPBELL (to the witness)—You are, no doubt, reluctant to say any thing in breach of the confidence reposed in you; but you are bound to answer the question. Have you had any conversation with Dr. Lushington on the subject of this publication?

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL submitted, that the paper ought to be produced before the witness was asked any thing respecting it.

Lord TENTERDEN—The particular paper should be put into the witness's hand, and he

should be asked whether he had had any conversation with Dr. Lushington respecting that particular publication.

Mr. CAMPBELL submitted that any thing which had been said by Dr. Lushington was evidence in this case.

The question was repeated to the witness, who said, I explained to Dr. Lushington, to the best of my recollection, the anxiety I felt that his speech should be correctly published, owing to the personal nature of the observations.

Lord TENTERDEN—Was this before or after the publication?—Before.

Mr. CAMPBELL—What did Dr. Lushington say?—He was kind enough to promise that he would endeavour to correct that speech. He expressed great unwillingness to do so as a general practice, and I think he added he had never corrected any speech of a similar kind before. That had reference to the speech of the 17th of July.

Mr. CAMPBELL—Did you at that time show him any proof?—I think I took it with me.

Did he look at it at that time?—No, he did not.

Did he say any thing?—No, not at that time.

Have you had any conversation with Dr. Lushington respecting the publication in the *Mirror of Parliament*?—I have not with reference to that speech.

Have you had any letter from him?—I wrote to him; I applied to him for information.

Did you receive any answer?—I certainly did receive an answer.

Lord TENTERDEN—A written answer?—No. I waited on Dr. Lushington, first with reference to the speech on the 17th, which was published before the speech of the 15th.

Did you leave the proof sheet?—I did.

What was the nature of the communication which you afterwards had with Dr. Lushington?—In consequence of his not having returned the proof in two or three days, I made an application to him by letter. I sent a proof of the speech of the 15th at the same time that I asked for a return of the other.

What answer did you receive?—The papers not being returned, I think I waited on Dr. Lushington and saw him. He then returned me the proof-sheet of the 17th.

Were there any alterations made by him?

Lord TENTERDEN—I think you must produce the paper itself.

He returned me the speech of the 15th and 17th at the same time.

Did he say he had made any alterations?—He expressed his regret that his occupations had not permitted him to correct his speech of the 15th.

What more?—And he gave me the proof of the 17th.

What did he say of the speech of the 17th?—That he had not had time to correct it as he could have wished, but there it was.

Did he know that you were the editor of the *Mirror of Parliament*?—I have no doubt he did.

What did you do with the two proofs?—I sent them forward to the printer.

Was this paper (the *Mirror of Parliament*) printed from them?—It was.

Lord TENTERDEN—The printer must answer that. (To the witness.) Did you compare the two?—No; I can't say I did that. I always look over the print to see that there is no omission; but I did not correct the print with the proof sheets.

Mr. CAMPBELL—And you believe it is correctly printed?—I do.

Have you seen Dr. Lushington since?—Once.

Have you had any conversation with him since?—No, except that I stated to him that Mr. Walker had served me with notice of proceedings.

Have you seen him since?—I saw him once afterwards. He said on that occasion that I must see the impropriety of his holding any further communication with me on that subject, and referred me to Mr. Chatfield. I met him in the street subsequently, and told him that I had received two letters from Mr. Walker, and that I would send him copies of them, which I did. Mr. Briggs was the attorney of Messrs. Winchester and Varnham. I left the two proofs in his hands, and saw them by mere accident afterwards. I think they were delivered to Mr. Briggs by my solicitor, Mr. Lawless. I have searched for them, but cannot find them. I have not myself applied to Mr. Briggs for them; but I requested Mr. Lawless to apply to him, and he told me he had done so.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL—Whether the speech was corrected by Dr. Lushington or not, it was published in the *Mirror of Parliament*?—It was.

And you paid the amount of the verdict and costs in the action which was brought by Mr. Walker?—I paid 50*l.*, and costs.

Lord TENTERDEN—The cause was not tried before me, I believe.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL—Yes, it was, my Lord, about a year and a half ago.

Mr. CAMPBELL—I take it for granted Dr. Lushington has indemnified you for the damages and costs.—He has not.

Mr. CAMPBELL—Was any attempt made to prove the truth of the charge against Mr. Walker?—I believe not.

Mr. CAMPBELL—Is Mr. Thomas Briggs in court?

[Mr. Briggs was called, but did not answer.]

Mr. Graham Simpson, a former proprietor of the *Mirror of Parliament*, stated (before he took the oath), that he had been served with a writ at the suit of Mr. Walker, and he conceived, therefore, that anything he might state to-day might prejudice him on a future occasion. He had been indicted by Mr. Walker, and had paid a shilling fine.

Lord TENTERDEN—And now there is an action?

Witness—After the indictment I was served with the writ on the very steps of the court as I was going out.

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Mr. POLLOCK (who was with Mr. Campbell) —Were you not told that if you gave up the manuscript you would not be sued?—Yes; but I had not got the manuscript.

The witness was then sworn and examined by Mr. POLLOCK.—He stated that he had seen Dr. Lushington on one occasion on the subject of his speech. He met him in the House of Commons, and in consequence of what he had seen stated in the morning papers, he asked him whether he would revise his speech. He replied, that his time was very much occupied, and he was afraid he should hardly be able to attend to it. He said you must send it, and I will endeavour to do what I can. Witness knew nothing about the sending of the proof-sheets. He had the possession of one of them, but did not know which. The one he had he gave into the hands of Mr. Briggs. He had seen Dr. Lushington once since the giving up the papers. That was after the former trial. Nothing particular passed on that occasion.

Mr. CAMPBELL submitted that he was now entitled to read the passages from the *Mirror of Parliament*. He had proved that the two proof-sheets were in the possession of Mr. Briggs, and it was to be presumed that they had been returned by him with other muniments in the office of the *Mirror of Parliament*.

Lord TENTERDEN did not see how that fact could be presumed.

Mr. CAMPBELL said he would abandon his intention of reading the proofs as the substantive libels; and he now submitted that he was entitled to read those libels from the *Mirror of Parliament*, it having been proved, as he submitted, that their publication had been authorised by Dr. Lushington. Mr. Barrow had stated that the proofs had been sent to Dr. Lushington, and he had returned them to Mr. Barrow, as the editor of the *Mirror of Parliament*. It must be taken, therefore, that he had authorised Mr. Barrow to print and publish to the world what was contained in those two proof-sheets. Mr. Barrow had stated that he had no doubt that what had been published in the *Mirror of Parliament* was published from those two sheets. There was, therefore, at least, evidence to go to the jury to determine whether or not Dr. Lushington authorised this publication. If he did authorize it, he ought to be found guilty upon this indictment, notwithstanding the non-production of the proof-sheets.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL begged to enter his protest against the supposition that Dr. Lushington had given any authority at all. The question was, whether this particular number of the *Mirror of Parliament* could be read, and that depended upon another question,—viz., whether the particular publication could be traced to Dr. Lushington. There was, he submitted, no evidence upon that question which could be properly submitted to the jury.

Sir J. SCARLETT (who was Mr. Walker's counsel on the former trial) was heard shortly on the same side. This was a manœuvre of his learned friend, Mr. Campbell, to make evidence of that which had never been attempted to be made evidence of before on any similar case.

Mr. CAMPBELL was heard in reply; and

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL made some further observations on the same point.

Lord TENTERDEN said, that the proofs sent to Dr. Lushington were to be considered as analogous to manuscripts in ordinary cases. In those cases, before you could give in evidence a publication from particular manuscripts, you must show that the publication had been compared with those manuscripts. Now here there was no proof that what had been published was printed from the proofs which had been sent to and corrected by Dr. Lushington. Witnesses might have been called to prove that the particular speeches referred to had been printed from those proofs. As it was, however, he (Lord Tenterden) did not think that the evidence had been carried far enough, and therefore the jury must find the defendant not guilty.

Verdict—*Not Guilty*.

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"tion. Par J. G. Fourcade Prunet, docteur "en médecine de la faculté de Paris." One vol. 8vo. of 352 pages, on good paper and print; published at Paris in 1826. Price 8*s*.

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"DE LA MEDECINE CONSIDEREE "COMME SCIENCE ET COMME ART. "Par P. H. Duvivier, docteur en médecine, &c. &c." 1 vol. 8vo. with marginal notes, and good paper and print. Printed at Paris, 1826. Price 8*s*.

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These books I have *just got*. They are all useful books; and no one should go to the United States without the *first* and the *tenth*. I sell them very cheap; and I do not know that I shall ever have any of them again: it is from a mere accident that I have these. Mr. MELLISH's book is the only book of the kind worth a straw; and it has a *map of the United States*, and a very-recently made one. No man, who means to acquire property in the United States, should go thither without this book and Dr. MORSE's book; but especially the former. They are both cheap enough, God knows! But we get *metal* for them, *as yet*, at any rate. But mind, if *honest* ALTHORP's committee should hatch a *legal tender*, I do not stand to these prices *in paper*. Mind that. But I hope the books will all be sold before the committee hatches.

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9. A LETTER from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting statements of the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, during the year ending on the 30th September, 1824. 8vo.; of 304 pages. Published by authority of the Government at Washington, 1825. Price 4s.

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11. SKETCHES, HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL OF THE FLORIDAS, more particularly of East Florida. By James Grant Forbes. 8vo.; containing 226 pages. Published at New York, 1821. Price 6s.

12. NATIONAL CALENDAR, and Annals of the United States, for the year 1824; being the fifth volume of a periodical work. Published at Washington, 1824. 12mo.; containing 280 pages of print. Price 2s.

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 6, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

LATHAM, W., Stow-park, Lincolnsh., farmer.
YOUNG, H., Southampton, builder.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

COVENEY, T., Benended, Kent, farmer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLCOCK, J., and W. Wilson, Jermyn-st., St. James's, tailors.
BOSTOCK, J. B., and W. H. Musgrave, Wenlock-basin, City-road, screw-manufact.
BOXALL, J., Brighthelmstone, hotel-keeper.
CLARK, J., Godalming, linen-draper.
COBB, E., Manchester, commission-agent.
COLEMAN, S., and M. Chapman, Liverpool, silversmiths.
HOOD, A., Darlington-place, Southwark-bridge-road, spirit-dealer.
OGDEN, W., Heywood, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

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SAUNDERS, T. jun., Austinfriars, merchant.
SAXE, C., Conduit-st., Hanover-sq., tailor.
SELL, W., St. Martin's-lane, bookseller.
SUMMERS, W., Wilson-street, Finsbury-square, bricklayer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MANSON, J., Kyleakin, Isle of Skey, Inverness-shire, coal-merchant.

TUESDAY, JULY 10, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

DEUDNEY, J., Brighton, hatter.
RUDD, T., Bishopsgate-street, tea-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BELL, R., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, joiner.
BROOM, J., Kidderminster, carpet-manufac.
BULLOCK, J., Southend, Essex, printer.
CHAFFEY, R., Thorncombe, Devon, clothier.
GIBSON, J. sen., Norwich, kiddier.
HALL, J. sen., J., and T., Burslem, Staffordshire, earthenware-manufacturers.
KINGSLEY, J., Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, corn-factor.
LAWRENCE, J., Round's-green, Hales-Owen, Shropshire, coal-master.
MEREDITH, E., Liverpool, victualler.
SHUTE, E., Bristol, wine-merchant.
TAYLOR, J. jun., Manchester, currier.
WELCH, F., St. James's-street, Pall-mall, bill-broker.
WITHERS, W., Loughborough, Leicestershire, lace-manufacturer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JULY 9.—The weather continuing favourable for the growing crops, and having an ample supply of wheat from Essex this morning, with some quantity from Suffolk remaining over from last week, occasioned a general dulness in the trade, for even first samples barely supported last Monday's prices, and no sales could be effected of any descriptions that were not quite fresh.

The malting season being now at a close, the value of fine barley is merely nominal, as not a sample of that kind appeared to-day, but the secondary sorts for grinding were disposed of in small quantities to the corn-chandlers at from 30*s.* to 34*s.*

The oat trade continues exceedingly heavy, and may be noted 1*s.* per qr. cheaper than on this day se'nnight, but not lower than on Friday, although the sales were to a very limited extent.

In beans and peas there is no alteration

Wheat	66s. to 76s.
Rye	33s. to 34s.
Barley	30s. to 33s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	36s. to 38s.
——— Boilers	36s. to 38s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
——— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoe	22s. to 23s.
——— Poland	—s. to —s.
——— Feed	21s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 47s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to 135s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	78s. to 80s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	78s. to 80s.
——— Cork	80s. to —s.
——— Limerick	80s. to —s.
——— Waterford	78s. to 80s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	56s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double	50s. to 68s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 52s.
——— Edam	46s. to 56s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 9.

This day's supply of beasts—a full moiety of which were short-horns (principally Lincoln) steers, for the most part not more than half fat, the remainder about equal numbers of (for the most part) prime Galloway and Highland Scots, Welch runts, Hereford and Devon steers and heifers, some Townsend cows, &c.—was, with that of porkers, rather limited; of sheep and lambs, chiefly consisting of Downs, Kents, and Leicesters, great; of calves, moderately good. The trade was throughout dull; with prime small beef, lamb, and veal, at fully—other kinds of ditto, and pork, at barely—Friday's quotations; with mutton at a depression of about 2*d.* per stone.

Beasts, 2,140; sheep and lambs, 23,610; calves, 254; pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 13.

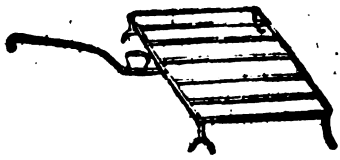
The supplies are moderate, and prices the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83⅛	83⅛	83⅛	83⅛	83⅛	83⅛

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

Vol. 77.—No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 21ST, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.



BOROUGH OF OLDHAM,

IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

Languard, Isle of Wight, 16th July, 1832.

READERS OF THE REGISTER,

I AM about to lay before you a piece of intelligence, not only more agreeable to you, but of more importance to us all, than any piece of public intelligence which has reached our ears for a long time past. It is this, that to a *certainty*, God being pleased to spare my life, and the peace of the country being preserved, the *certainty* of my being seated in the next Parliament, unless the present law be set aside before an election shall take place. This intelligence has been announced to me in a letter which I shall presently insert, and which I am sure you will read with the greatest satisfaction. I never had, and have not now, the smallest doubt in my own mind of being elected for MANCHESTER; and I have no doubt of being elected for PRESTON; but MANCHESTER is *too large* for the very best-informed persons to be able to speak upon the subject with that positiveness with which it is desirable to be able to speak when so much is at stake. For, it would be weakness, it would be in fact insincerity in me to affect not to regard my election as a matter of the very greatest importance to our whole country. However, I will defer making farther remarks until I have inserted the letter to which I have alluded, and also my answer to that letter.

Royton, Oldham, Lancashire, July 9, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

From some circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I believe that you have for some time past been aware that it was the intention of a portion of the electors of the borough of Oldham to put you in nomination for the said borough at the ensuing election. I now write to inform you, that some steps have been taken to carry that intention into effect, and to solicit your concurrence thereto. I am aware that it would have been more regular, and quite as decorous, to have written to you for your consent before your name was publicly announced as a candidate, but an unexpected canvass having commenced in Oldham, on behalf of Mr. WILLIAMS *the barrister*, and Mr. CREEVY (of Liverpool, I believe) another lawyer, left your friends no alternative but that of at once announcing your name along with that of some other gentleman of well-known liberal principles and sound political views. This has accordingly been done. The person with whom you are associated, is your very worthy and excellent friend Mr. JOHN FIELDEN of *Todmorden*. A deputation waited on that gentleman on Thursday last, respectfully requesting that he would allow himself to be put in nomination for this borough. He agreed on the condition, which he made very binding, *that you should be his colleague*, or, if not his colleague, that *you should be in Parliament for some other place, to represent which you might prefer to* OLDHAM; for he evidently felt, and fully stated, that he had an insuperable objection to the highly-responsible and arduous task of legislating for this country, in its present perilous condition, without you being in Parliament at the same time to aid, by your knowledge, talent, and experience, the carrying into effect those great measures which, in the estimation of almost all thinking men, are necessary to the political regeneration of our country by quiet and tranquil means.

At a meeting of a great number of the electors, held at the Albion Inn, Oldham, on Friday evening last, a resolution was

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passed that I should write to inform you of the foregoing particulars, and to request that you would formally announce your willingness to stand for the borough along with Mr. FIELDEN. A requisition to this gentleman was regularly presented on Saturday, signed by upwards of five hundred out of the twelve or fifteen hundred electors of the borough, all obtained the preceding day. I know not of course the numbers who have declared in favour of Mr. WILLIAMS and Mr. CRESSY; but from the flattering result of the hasty canvass in favour of yourself and Mr. FIELDEN, and the spirit generally shown by the electors, it is very probable that the canvass for those gentlemen has been decidedly unsuccessful.

Mr. FIELDEN's address to the electors is expected to be out to-morrow. I had once thought to have deferred writing to you till it was out, that a copy might have been enclosed, but it was, on farther consideration, deemed advisable not to delay apprizing you of what was going on, that you might with all convenient dispatch regularly announce to the electors of the borough, your views and feelings on the subject.

Believe me to be, most respectfully,
Yours,
WM. FITTON.

To William Cobbett, Esq.,
Kensington, London.

ANSWER.

Longwood, Isle of Wight, 15th of July, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received your letter of the 9th instant, stating that the people of the borough of Oldham have done me the honour to put me in nomination for that borough, and that I have the great additional honour of being put in nomination along with that humane, sincere, able, and upright man, Mr. JOHN FIELDEN.

Upon this occasion I have little else to do than to express the great gratitude I feel for the honour that has thus been done me; because I am very sure, that there is not one man in the borough, friend or foe, who is not convinced, that I, if elected, shall exert every faculty of my mind to rescue the nation from the difficulties and the disgrace in which it is involved; and more especially to restore the working millions to the enjoyment of those rights and of that happiness, of which they have been, step by step, bereaved by men who made laws, not with their assent but in their defiance.

The sensible, the public-spirited, the generous people of OLDHAM are aware of my having been put in nomination for Manchester: they are aware, too, of the very strong probability of my being chosen for that borough; in which case, they are prepared for my being the representative of that borough. The full knowledge of all this adds greatly to the disinterestedness and generosity in this case, on their part. They are of opinion, that my services would be likely to be greatly beneficial to their country; and they have taken this step for the purpose of making sure of the means of enabling me to render these services; a proceeding, the merit of which can find an equal only in that of Mr. JOSHUA MILNE, of whose conduct I shall only say, that I should have expected it in a LANCASHIRE man, and in a man of no other country in the world.

I have only to repeat an expression of my gratitude for the great honour thus bestowed upon me, and to beg you, sir, to assure the people of OLDHAM, that, if there were wanted still a motive to exertion on my part, they have now created that motive in my breast.

To yourself, I beg to present my best thanks, and to say, that this announcement is the more gratifying, as having reached me through your hands. It is now fifteen years since I had the pleasure first to know you. We were brought together by a common desire to produce Parliamentary reform: we have both lived through all the persecutions that this crafty and cruel Government has been able to inflict upon us: I have always witnessed in you steadiness and prudence exemplary in the pursuit of just and rational ends; and I have accordingly always entertained and expressed towards you that

high degree of respect, to which you will now please to add the profound gratitude of,

Dear Sir,
Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. It is perhaps hardly worth while to notice Messrs. WILLIAMS and CREEVY: they are a couple of men sent down into Lancashire by the Whigs, in pursuance of that plan of *packing a Parliament*, which has now so manifestly been adopted, and which to a certainty will fail.

If the readers of the *Register*, all over the kingdom, knew Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, they would congratulate me that at last I had received more than ten thousand times a sufficient reward for all the injuries that I have had to endure at the hands of this savage Government, and from the stings of the base reptiles which it has been paying for more than six-and-twenty years for the purpose of destroying me. In the first place here *is the greatest of, I believe, all the manufacturers in the kingdom*; so that here is the lie given to that swarm of infamous wretches who have been employed to fill the foolish rich with fears with regard to the effects of my principles. Here is a man, one of four brothers who employ thousands of working people, and of owners of machinery to an extent quite immense. It is not on above ten different occasions that I have seen Mr. JOHN FIELDEN in the course of my life. I do not recollect that I ever received a letter from him, and I am sure that I never wrote to him in my life more than twice. That high opinion with which he honours me has been purely the result of reading my writings and observing my conduct.

But it is not the wealth, it is not the commercial greatness that makes me set so high a value on the good opinion of Mr. FIELDEN. This value, this high estimate of the worth of his good opinion is founded on the fact, a fact perfectly notorious, that he and his brothers are famed for their goodness to every creature who is in their employ; it is founded on the knowledge that I myself have of the fact, that, let others do what they may, these gentlemen have preferred a little profit, and even no profit, to great gains from half starvation of the people from whose labour they derive those gains. This is the great title of Mr. FIELDEN to that admiration in which I hold him. I do not know that he has not many imitators in LANCASHIRE: but these facts I know of him and his brothers; I know that they deduct from the means of luxury, of show of every sort, of all sorts of things which the world calls pleasures, and which men are so prone to indulge in to the utmost of their power; I know that they deduct from these the means of making thousands of families comfortable. And as I deem it a great merit in myself to go, when I am travelling, without a dinner or a breakfast at an inn, that I may have to give the amount of the saving to some poor labourer on the road; as I deem this to be a great merit in me, how high is the estimate at which I must take the merit of the FIELDENS of TODMORDEN! And is not the honour of being chosen by such a man as Mr. JOHN FIELDEN as his colleague, I at three hundred miles from him at the same time; is not this more than a reward for all that the hellish boroughmongers and their base and bloody press have been able to inflict upon me and upon my family? In answer to my petition to the King for a restoration of the money which had been taken from me on the soldiers-flogging score, and which petition I published the other day; in answer to this petition I received, just before I left town, a letter from insolent and stupid MELBOURNE'S clerk; not from himself: oh, no! that would have been beneath his dignity! The answer was, that the petition had been laid before the King; and that his Majesty had not been pleased to give any COMMANDS upon it. He had not, had he? Had not had time to consider, perhaps? Several gentlemen have proposed to restore the money to me by subscription. I have, thanking them at the same time most sincerely, rejected the offer, being determined to have it in the right way,

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or to lead those who keep it a life such as it is not very pleasant to lead. This announcement from OLDHAM, and especially accompanied with the circumstances relating to Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, is the reply which I give to LAMB's disdainful and insolent letter. In short, this affair at OLDHAM, and the manner of it as well as the matter of it, wipes away everything that infamous combination has been able to affix upon me.

Besides all the great honour which I feel conferred by such unqualified expressions of approbation and of confidence from a man of Mr. FIELDEN's great commercial importance and exemplary character and conduct as an employer, there are the great knowledge of public matters and the great talents of Mr. FIELDEN to be taken into view. Many of my readers will recollect that the people of Manchester did me the honour to give me a dinner in the month of *January* last. I have a great dislike to public dinners, and to all the toastings and interchange of compliments which generally arise out of them; but being pressed upon the subject, I gave my consent, upon condition that Mr. JOHN FIELDEN would consent to be the chairman, which I deemed a sufficient security that sense and sincerity would prevail. He consented; and, to the astonishment of us all, he made one of the finest speeches that I ever heard in the whole course of my life. All who knew him knew that his *knowledge* with regard to the causes of the country's distress was surpassed by that of no man: they all knew that he possessed the knowledge and the talent, but we all knew that his *diffidence* was such, that we thought it insurmountable. With very great composure, however, and without a single hesitation or repetition, he examined the great questions of the currency, of the banking schemes, of free trade, and of the corn-laws, with a degree of accuracy and of neatness, which, at the time, filled all my readers in every part of the kingdom with admiration. Here was an answer to all the vile creatures that were running about the country, telling the farmers that the giving votes to the great towns in the North would be the *ruin of agriculture*, because these towns would send men to demand a repeal of the Corn Bill at once. Here was one, at least, of the greatest of all manufacturers, openly declaring, in the midst of the greatest manufacturing town in the kingdom, that, to repeal the Corn Bill, until the land had been relieved of its intolerable load of tithes and taxes, would not only be unjust and wicked in itself, and cruel in the last degree towards the persons engaged in agriculture, but that it would be greatly injurious to the manufacturers themselves, by so beggaring the millions engaged in cultivating the land, as to render them wholly unable to purchase the manufacturers' goods. Here was the answer to all these vile and stupid creatures, who represented the manufacturers as the enemies of the farmers. Soon after this dinner, Mr. FIELDEN, having been attacked, on account of his speech, by some of the paper-money tribe of MANCHESTER, published THREE LETTERS on the subject of his speech at the dinner. I see that Sir HENRY PARNELL is hammering away at his old work about Scotch banking. I beseech him to get, somehow or other, these THREE LETTERS of Mr. FIELDEN. If Sir HENRY be not too far gone, they will operate like the taking of the film from the eyes of a man who has been born blind. I read these letters in the *Manchester Advertiser*; they ought to have appeared in the *Register*; but they never did, owing, first, to my absence from home, and next, to the hubbub into which we were plunged about the Reform Bill. And here is another, and to me, who have so much experience with *authors*, a most striking instance of the greatness of mind and of the goodness of Mr. JOHN FIELDEN. I ought to have inserted the letters in the *Register*; it was a duty I owed to my readers; it would have been bare justice to the author. I have never before seen a man in my life, so circumstanced, who would not have taken measures to remind me of this duty. Yet not one word did I ever directly, or indirectly, hear from him or

any friend upon the subject. Nay, I have seen him since the publication of those letters, and do not recollect that he and I have ever said a word upon the subject. Where is there another man in the world who would not, under such circumstances, have felt something like offence, at being treated with such apparent neglect! I will, however, discharge this duty now, if Mr. Whittle will be so good as to send me up the papers containing the letters, which are particularly applicable to the present time, when all sorts of wild notions are afloat relative to those tremendous affairs, CURRENCY and BANKING.

Such, my friends, readers of the *Register*, is the man who will not consent to receive the great honour of being chosen, even by the sensible and public-spirited people of OLDHAM, unless on the express condition that I be chosen along with him, and that I sit for OLDHAM or some other place. Here, then, I stand before my country, recommended as the person best calculated to save it, by a PEER of great estates, and of still greater character; and by a MANUFACTURER, such as I have truly described. I should not conclude this article without stating that Mr. JOSHUA MILNE was thought by many of the electors to be a very proper person to represent the borough; that I have understood that his principles, his knowledge, his character, qualify him well for the important task; that I know, that he was personally active and zealous in causing justice to be done to the borough in the Reform Bill; and that I now am informed from a quarter other than that of Mr. FITTON, that, with all these fair pretensions for himself, Mr. MILNE made one of ten gentlemen who waited upon Mr. JOHN FIELDEN to request him to be put in nomination along with me. As I have said in my letter to Mr. FITTON, I know of no soil but that of Lancashire in which such men are apt to grow.

Let not the readers of the *Register* imagine that this most honourable proceeding has taken place on account of any dimness which has arisen in the prospects at MANCHESTER. It has arisen, in the first place, from the persuasion that without me in the first reformed Parliament there will be no chance of any great change for the better; and that, therefore, to secure my return ought to be the first object. In the next place, the people of OLDHAM see, that, for me to be elected for more than one place, would give additional weight to all my words and propositions. They are most sincerely anxious that I should be elected for MANCHESTER; because they are aware of the great weight which that would give me; not with them; not with the reflecting people of LANCASHIRE, but with the millions who are not in Lancashire, nor near it, and who must, generally speaking, be swayed, in a great degree, by outward and visible impressions. From every thing that I hear, I regard my election at Manchester as certain: I laugh at the idea of the people of that town being prevailed upon to reject me for the sake of taking *a trafficker in the vile paper money*, who, if he had carried on his traffic in their days, the apostles and the ancient fathers of the church would have ordered him and his tables to be flung into the street, as their GREAT MASTER ordered the money-changers and their tables to be flung out of the temple; who, if his traffic had been observed by St. AMBROSE, would have been told by him that that was not *property* which he called his, but the "*goods of the poor*," which he had squeezed out of their sweat and blood; who, if St. CHRYSOSTOM had observed his ways, would have been told, that he was the man pointed out by HOSEA, *chapter* xii. *verse* 7: "He is a *merchant*, the balances of deceit are in his hands; he "loveth to oppress;" for this holy father, and most profound statesman, would have told him, that every man who made a profit by any traffic; who got money by a transaction which *created nothing* good to man; which changed the nature of no goods; which conveyed no goods to one part distant from another, that every such man who made a profit by merely changing money, by merely shifting money or goods from

hand to hand, was a "*merchant*," according to the description of HOSEA; that he was an "*oppressor*," and a "*despoiler of the poor*." This is what St. CHRYSOSTOM would have called this man who calls himself a banker: while MOSES's *law*, and *every christian law*, from the Gospel of St. LUKE down to the common law of England, would have told him that he was an USURER; and that usury does not mean taking more than *five per cent.*; but that it means taking anything at all in the shape of interest for money; and that every per centage and that every discount is an act of open violation of the precepts of CHRIST and his apostles. The banker would tell us, that the *law allows* him to take discount; and allows him to get rich by merely signing and shifting about bits of paper, without doing any one thing good to man. Aye, and it seems, that *the law is likely to allow*, very soon, the dead bodies of the poor to be sold: the law allows a great many things: it allows justices of the peace to transport men for having the dead body of a hare in their possession. The law allows this pretty Government to take two thousand five hundred a-year out of our pockets, and to pay it in a pension to BURKE, who has been dead three-and-thirty years. The law has allowed Lady JULIANA HOBHOUSE and old mother FOX and her two daughters, to take a pretty many thousands out of our pockets in the shape of pensions. The law allowed VAUGHAN and the rest of them to hang HENRY COOK of MICHELDEVER, for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him any bodily harm! Poh, then! Banker LLOYD! don't tell us what the law allows you to do, while by both Testaments, by those great law-givers, the fathers of the church, and by every christian law, your traffic is condemned. Tell us not of "your and your family's connexion with MANCHESTER;" but tell us of what you have ever done for MANCHESTER. Tell us what work you have ever done; what wages you have ever paid to useful working people. In short, all that MANCHESTER knows of you is this, that you have risen from poverty to riches in Manchester, and that the working people of MANCHESTER have constantly been growing poor and more miserable, whilst you have been growing rich and spreading yourself out in splendour; and every man of sense can now see, that this poverty and misery have principally arisen from your unchristian traffic, and the traffic of others of the same stamp.

Now, I am not to be persuaded that the people of MANCHESTER will choose a man like this on any account. They must see clearly that the measures which their welfare demands would be instant destruction to his traffic; they must see that the system must remain just what it is, in order, not only to perpetuate his traffic, but also to prevent *inquiry into the past* relative to that traffic; and let all the grinding usurers of every description, beware. If they be prudent they will now be still. Silence and retirement may possibly obtain that oblivion of their deeds which malignant hostility to the rights of the people would prevent. Their oppressions are clearly understood; and if they now render themselves conspicuous in opposing the rights of the people, let them remember that they are promised in the prophet AMOS, "a turning of "their feasting into mourning, and of "their songs into lamentations."

However, it is useless to waste one's time upon this man. I set it down as impossible that any portion of the people of MANCHESTER can be found to vote for a barefaced, notorious money-changer like this. From PRESTON I have not heard lately; nor from DUDLEY; but to the people of those places I beg leave to observe, that though they were *certain* of my being elected elsewhere, they would act wisely and patriotically in electing me; because, by so doing, they add greatly to my power of serving the country, and they do no possible harm to themselves, but, on the contrary, good, because they gain time and experience, and they have still the seat in their hands. Suppose, for instance, Mr. WM. EAGLE, Mr. THOMAS SMITH of LIVERPOOL, or Mr. WHITTLE of MANCHESTER, or Mr. PADDISON of

LOVETT, a better or more able man than whom I do not know. Suppose either of these to be without a seat, there would be a seat, or, at any rate, there would be the seat as there was before, for the electors to dispose of as they please.

Besides my natural dislike to affectation at all times, it would be scandalous insincerity in me to affect to believe that my return to Parliament, with all the weight which the nation is able to give me, is not of the greatest importance to the country. To affect not to see this is a sort of hypocrisy of which I am not capable. I am satisfied in my own mind that the regeneration of the political state of the country would not take place; and that instead of regeneration, anarchy and confusion would come, were I not to be in the first reformed Parliament; there being no man in whom the people have that confidence in his judgment that they have in mine, in the proportion of a thousand to one in my favour; that is to say, that there are a thousand men who have great confidence in my judgment, where there is one man who has the same confidence in anybody else. I am not pretending that I *possess* this superiority of judgment to this degree, or in any degree at all. In a case like this, your capacity to do good depends almost entirely in the belief of your having that capacity. I have named no man as fit to be a member of Parliament who has not great capacity of that kind; and I could name others nearer to myself, but here is this singular thing belonging to me, that I am *known*, more or less, to every rational creature in the kingdom; my enemies are the trumpeters of my talents. All men know that I want nothing for myself or for anybody belonging to me. All men are well acquainted with my wonderful capacity to labour, and the still more wonderful extent and variety of my knowledge; and there is this further singularity, which, I believe, was never before the lot of man; that, somehow or another, by the means of my various writings, by the means of my travellings all over England, by the means of those persecutions which I have had to undergo, and which I have undergone with such signal fortitude; by one means or another it has become written down upon the heart of every working man in England and Scotland and Ireland, too, that I am his sincere, zealous, kind and compassionate friend. A long undeviating course; a course of thirty-two long years, unbroken by one moment of relaxation in my efforts in behalf of the working people, has produced this belief which it is no more possible to root from the minds of the people than it is possible to root out natural affection from their hearts; and it would be as impossible to persuade any half-a-hundred of the working people in England, or in any part of the kingdom, that I would make use of any power that I possessed to their injury; it would be as impossible to persuade them to believe this as to persuade them that there is neither sun nor moon.

Well, then, my very name is worth a great deal to the nation: my bare name might be *peace* amongst the millions; who would only have to learn that I possessed power to do them good, to be sure that the good would come. I have viewed myself in this light for many years past. I have always cherished the hope of being able to still those waves which I foresaw would swell up, and which I know must swell up, though everything that can be done may be done to prevent it. Disturbance, and such disturbance too, never took place in such a mass of property and of all human possessions, without producing terrible shocks previous to their adjustment. Mr. JOHN FIELDEN expresses his belief that my presence in Parliament is necessary to the peaceable readjustment. I have long been of that opinion myself. Low motives of lucre never even came athwart my mind: I should turn from my own offspring with anger, if I had ever discovered the smallest particle of such motive lurking in them: to my end I must come at no very distant day: let me come to it first seeing my country rescued from that horrible state in which I never assisted to plunge it, and I should be amply paid for all my toils. But

again, I conjure those who are anywhere assembled together, and are able to choose me as a member of Parliament, to do it for the reasons before-mentioned; seeing clearly, as I think they must, that nothing but good to themselves and their country can arise from such a proceeding. I think that the people of PRESTON ought to elect me as one of their members. I think this on every account. I do not want to obtrude upon them any of my opinions with regard to anybody else. Nothing done towards me by anybody has ever, for one single moment, diminished the real regard and affection that I had and have for them. I have never forgotten the manner in which they took their leave of me after the combined scoundrels had defeated us in 1826. I have never forgotten that; my sons have talked of it from that day to this. Nothing that any of them have said of me since has ever made me angry: I have only had to call to mind, which I always have done, their zeal, their disinterestedness, their devotion, their voluntary sufferings for me in 1826; I have only had these, the equal of which, I believe, was never witnessed out of Lancashire; I have only had these to call to my recollection, to obliterate at once from my mind, everything that any of them may have uttered since that time in the way of hostility to me. I have heard particularly that Mr. IRVIN has said ill-natured things. Nothing on earth shall make me speak ill of Mr. IRVIN. So much goodness as he showed me in 1826, does not admit of being obliterated from my mind.

I say all this *now*, because the seat for PRESTON is not *necessary* to my being in Parliament. I very anxiously wish to be elected for PRESTON; not only for the sake of the weight that it would give me, but for the gratification of my feelings, in which I think, it will not be deemed unreasonable, if I think that I ought in this case to be indulged: but still more I wish it for the gratification of the feelings of so large a part, and the virtuous part, too, of the people of PRESTON. Were I chosen for PRESTON, MANCHESTER, and OLDHAM, I should certainly, for all the reasons before given, take MANCHESTER; if for OLDHAM and PRESTON and not MANCHESTER, I should take OLDHAM, OLDHAM having been the first to give me a formal invitation; but I would sit for PRESTON in preference to all the other places in the kingdom, those two excepted. I am determined to rouse up the *western division of the county of Surrey*, which is my own native county. Perhaps I shall offer myself there; but if chosen there, it should be with the previous clear understanding, that I should give the preference to MANCHESTER, OLDHAM, and PRESTON.

I have never thought of the squabbles at PRESTON without great uneasiness. The squabbles are about nothing after all. If I could have staid there another week last winter, I would have put an end to the squabbling one way or another. I never have been a party in the squabbling, and I never will. No man has ever heard one word from my lips, one word in disparagement of any of the good fellows of PRESTON. I hope that they will be reunited most cordially; that they will on no account let the old enemy into the camp; and I pray them to take from me this observation, that it is true as holy writ, that he who is the *last* to consent to be reconciled is generally the *most in fault;* and that he who has been the *least* in error is generally the *first* to forgive. Injuries are sometimes so deep that reconciliation on the part of the offended would be baseness; but these are not injuries of that sort; and let me therefore hope, that in this day of the dawn of our restoration to liberty, no cloud of contention will be found to hang over PRESTON. This is a matter very near to my heart; and I hope that what I have said may tend to produce the desired reconciliation. But be that as it may, deeply as I may lament the failure of my advice, nothing, as long as I have the power of doing any good, shall ever prevent me from doing all the good in my power to the people of PRESTON.

WM. COBBETT.

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PUDDLE IN A STORM;

OR,

KING TOM IN HIS TANTRUMS.

To the young Men and working People of Birmingham.

Languard, Isle of Wight, 17th July, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

I have lying before me a publication entitled as follows: "The Substance of "the extraordinary Proceedings at the "Birmingham Political Council, on "Tuesday evening, July 3, on the Sub-"ject of PLEDGES intended to be taken "from the Candidates for Birmingham; "Mr. Attwood's Condemnation of the "proposing the same." This publication is printed by Mr. J. Russell, No. 21, Moor-street, Birmingham, and it gives me the following information.

Some days previous to the 3d of July, the Birmingham Council appointed a committee to take into consideration and to report, with respect to the pledges which ought to be given by any candidate for the representation of the borough of Birmingham. It appears that the Council met on the 4th of July to receive the report; and it is the published account of what took place on that occasion which has induced me to give the above title to this article; for if ever puddle in a storm, rolling about its own little dirt, trembling and quivering and bubbling up as far as its shallowness would allow; if ever this ludicrous appellation, together with the other mock-heroic designation, representing nothingness as assuming sovereign power, and setting, while in a passion, all decency at defiance; if ever the use of these two appellations were justifiable, as applied to the conduct of the same person, the application of them is justifiable here; and this will be the opinion of every one of my readers, from the north of Scotland to this most southern spot on which I am now writing. I am sorry that Mr. Attwood should have behaved thus; I am sincerely sorry for it; because he has done some good things. It is impossible I can be actuated on this occasion by any bad motive. He has nothing in him for me to envy. I have no ambition that is not to be amply gratified. He does not come athwart my views in any way whatsoever; and I cannot be actuated by any motive other than that of a sense of duty towards my country, in the making of this exposure of him.

The pledges which the committee proposed for the adoption of the Council were as follows:

1. "To inquire into the general dis-"tress of the country, and cause the "adoption of adequate remedies with "the least possible delay."

2. "The total abolition of tithes, "and the separation of church and "state."

3. "A repeal of the assessed taxes, "stamp taxes, the taxes which obstruct "the extension of knowledge, and all "others that diminish the happiness and "morality of the people."

4. "To support a revision of the "corn-laws, and to abolish every tax "imposed upon the necessaries of life."

5. "To abolish all sinecures, unme-"rited places and pensions, and to limit "the public expenditure to the lowest "amount, consistent with a due regard "to an efficient system of constitutional "government."

6. "To support all efforts for the "abolition of colonial slavery."

7. "To require the repeal of the Sep-"tennial Act, the extension of the suf-"frage to all householders, and the re-"moval of every property qualification."

8. "To support every legislative ef-"fort made to extend the liberty and "promote the happiness of the nation."

These were the pledges proposed, and we are now going to see how they stirred up the PUDDLE; how they drew forth the latent views of the king of the Council. The first of these pledges, you will please to observe, was the very pledge which Mr. Attwood himself, as chairman of the Council, promulgated as necessary to put to all candidates; and observed, that in that same "ORDER IN COUNCIL" he graciously permitted all electors all over the kingdom to put "*what other pledges they pleased.*" But when this report was made, and all these eight pledges

were proposed to be put to the candidates *for Birmingham*, then the puddle began to swell. There is nothing in these pledges which can be objected to by any man who means to do his duty by the people; but, at any rate, they did not justify Mr. Attwood, in representing, as THE DARKEST OF VILLAINS, the man to whom he thought proper to ascribe the invention of the pledges. This my readers will find him doing; and they will find him guilty of injustice and audacity such as never were witnessed, except in the corruptest of boroughmongers and the corruptest of their tools. I have to observe here, that the Birmingham Political Council, holds its meetings in a large room, and that the members of the Union are admitted to be hearers and spectators of their proceedings. This observation is necessary, in order to account for some part of the transactions that is here recorded. I now insert the published account, begging my readers to go through it with attention, and then to be so good as to attend to my remarks upon the subject.

IMPORTANT and EXTRAORDINARY!

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL.—TUESDAY, JULY 4TH, 1832.

At nearly eight o'clock, Mr. ATTWOOD, the Chairman, being absent, Mr. MUNTZ was called to the chair; and, after some formal business, the report from the committee was read on the subject of the pledges proper to be taken by the candidates that might offer themselves to represent the borough of Birmingham in Parliament.

Mr. PARR moved that the report be received. This, after some desultory observations, was agreed to. A question then arose as to whether it was advisable to proceed with the pledges, or to discuss and decide whether any pledges should be taken or not.

MR. PERRY spoke against taking any pledges at all. (Great disapprobation from the body of the members of the Union, accompanied with hisses.)

Mr. R. HADLEY, with great warmth, here [illegible] the seat of his chair, and requested, "for God's sake," that such conduct on the part of the members of the Union might not be repeated. The Council, it was true, was the creation of those members; yet nevertheless he must say, that, in this instance, their behaviour was most unmanly and improper, to endeavour to overawe its deliberations by such a disorderly expression of feeling. He was aware they could not always control their feelings, by the *approbation*, from time to time, they were too ready to bestow upon the different speakers. He said *too ready*, because he considered such applause an interruption to business; and silence, therefore, on their parts, would become them much better, and he thought would tend more to the interests of them all; but *hisses* were intolerable, and he most earnestly re-requested that such a course of clamouring down an individual might not be repeated. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. PERRY then proceeded. He did not mind being hissed: he rather courted it, if an honest expression of opinion could not be exercised without such insult. This, probably, would be the last time he should give an opinion before them; but now he would say that he considered pledges wholly useless,—they shackled a representative without any sufficient advantage being derived in return. "Look clearly," said Mr. Perry, "at all the conduct of a candidate's political career; that, I take it, is the securest course to be followed—the sure, the true method of guarding against fraud. And I must further add, that as regards 'the Father of the Union,' and the two gentlemen candidates for the borough of Birmingham—tried and proved 'good men and true,'—I say, that for us to demand *more* pledges of these men, is nothing better than vile ingratitude on our part, and in the highest degree insulting to them." (Applause.)

Mr. PARR and others considered the policy of taking pledges very useful in a general view, though perhaps not necessary in Birmingham; but if recommended for adoption by the country at large, it would come with a bad grace

from Birmingham to make their own town an exception. The question was put and carried with only one (Mr. Perry) dissentient.

The first pledge was then read from the chair.

Mr. JONES thought this pledge was anything rather than well worded: it was too general; in its present state he could not agree to it, and he should therefore move as an amendment, "That "he (the candidate) would support a "thorough investigation into the tithe "system, with a view to the more bene-"ficial application to its income." He did this partly to prevent mistake. Some might think it was intended to go back again to the Catholic church; this was not his view, nor did he think the application of tithes under that church could be again returned to; therefore to leave the subject open to the legislature, he begged to move the above amendment.

Mr. EDMONDS had no objection to the pledge; but he did not think it of that importance attached to it. Like my Lord BROUGHAM, who, when pledges were required from him at the York election, he thought the people were not always the best judges of their political wants. He would answer any questions put to him by an elector, in the most candid way; but to tie a representative down by positive instructions on important subjects, he did not think the most politic and beneficial course for the people themselves.

Mr. PERRY wished to know what they would do with the value of the tithes, provided they were abolished? Was the amount to go into the pockets of the landlords? If so, this would be a spoliation of property—a wild transfer from one person to another, without any national advantage whatever. Seven or eight thousand pounds were given for the tithes of Aston parish a short time ago. If tithes were abolished wholesale, this and similar property should be taken from one set of proprietors, who paid for it, and given to another—the landlords, without any equivalent whatever.

Mr. SADLY, as churchwarden, wished to say a few words upon tithes. (A laugh.) As the resolution originally stood, he thought no man, with *three grains* of sense, could agree to it. Tithes were a species of property, and, if looked into for a time, like all other property, the title would be found bad. (Applause.) To adopt the pledge as it stood would be to make one set of people rich at the expense of another. This he could not sanction. He must first see how the people were to be benefited by the proposed change, which he thought most likely to be accomplished by, and should therefore vote for, the amendment.

Mr. HADLEY supported an amendment of the original motion. He wished tithes to be restored to their three-fold application, namely, to support the poor, repair the churches, and the last third for the income of the priest. Thus it was in the time of The Eighth Harry, and to that practice he, for one, should like to see the produce of tithes restored.

[At this point of the discussion, Mr. ATTWOOD entered the council-room, and was warmly greeted.]

Mr. BIDDLE liked the original resolution best. To sweep them all away at once was the most effectual, and he thought the best course. (Laughter.) Some confusion then followed relative to the pledges.

Mr. ATTWOOD requested the chairman to read the pledge under discussion, which being done, Mr. A., in a strain of indignation, declared his perfect *surprise* and utter *disgust* that such a course should have been adopted. It would be disgraceful to adopt any such tests—it showed a mean, dastardly suspicion—which was likely to destroy the Union, and clearly proved that there was treachery in the camp. No true friend to freedom could have resolved on such a plan. It was calculated to break down the strength of the Union in the eyes of the country, by showing plainly that they had not confidence amongst themselves. In this view it could not be too highly deprecated. He first heard of these pledges on his return from London. He was much

surprised—nay, extremely disgusted, and could scarcely believe what he had heard. But, if it were true, he felt it must have been the work of an enemy to the Union, and was inclined to believe that the dirty *Court Leet* had been at work to break up their union, by sowing distrust and spreading foul suspicions amongst them. He knew not if that junta were at the bottom of the business. On his inquiry, however, another person had avowed himself a party in this work. That person, he doubted not, conceived himself to be a sincere friend to the liberties of the people; but he (Mr. A.) believed him to be a rash and indiscreet man. The person he alluded to was Mr. Russell. Had he (Mr. A.) taken that person's advice, no reform would have been carried in England. Mr. Russell was one of those reformers who, with great zeal but very little judgment, rushed forward to his object regardless of consequences. He would run his head against a wall or jump into a draw-well rather than accommodate his impracticable principles to circumstances. Mr. Russell advised him (Mr. Attwood) at the commencement of the Union, to demand universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, and the ballot—objects utterly impracticable in the then state of things; though Mr. Russell—who was a kind of ancient IAGO—thought otherwise. This subject of pledges, and confined to Birmingham as it expressly is by the report before us, shows such a want of confidence on the part of the Union in its confidential leaders, that it lacerates the tenderest feelings of my heart! Do my past services, my friends, deserve so unkind a return? Look at the whole of my political life, then tell me if it merit your esteem. Ever have I felt the strongest attachment to the liberties of my country, the welfare of my native town, and this Union in particular;—your demanding a pledge from me, therefore, wounds me to the quick. But no, no; you could not mean this. (Enthusiastic cheers and clapping of hands.) Mr. A. then went on to say that, with respect to the pledges personally, he had little objection to any of them, and should act in conformity with their object. It was their believing these pledges to be essential *in Birmingham* that annoyed him. There were three candidates for that borough—Mr. EDMONDS, Mr. SCHOFIELD, and the humble individual who then addressed them. Did not the past years of their political lives sufficiently guarantee their future integrity? To take pledges from such men,—notwithstanding he might be charged with egotism,—he would say, was to "gild refined gold, "to paint the lily—to throw a perfume "o'er the violet!" Then were such men to be catechised by "*TAG-RAG and BOBTAIL?*" (*!!!*)—(Applause; but mingled with some disapprobation.)

Mr. JOHN GILES, evidently much excited, here rose, and said it was with great pain he had listened to the long and unjust accusations of their worthy chairman. With respect to the committee who had drawn up the proposed pledges, he could answer for every member of it that no insult was intended, neither was any suspicion felt as to the integrity of Mr. Attwood, Messrs. Schofield and Edmonds. As to the gentleman so personally alluded to, and so positively and opprobriously stigmatized, he was *not* the author of the pledges; and, therefore, most undeserving the censure and ridicule so sedulously heaped upon him. Pledges had been deemed necessary by many persons, and he (Mr. G.) was amongst those who were in favour of them. He wished to say, and with as much respect as was consistent with independence, that, in his opinion, in addition to personal allusions, Mr. Attwood had scattered his random shots on all around him, reckless as to the effect of his oratorical artillery. It was with extreme difficulty that he (Mr. G.) kept his determination of not quitting the field of action till, like a stout soldier, he had proved to his leader that he had wounded a firm and constant friend.

Mr. ATTWOOD—"I see my words have had an effect upon you: you are not the man for whom they were intended."

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M. PARE said he was as much asto-

nished as Mr. Giles at the reprobation of the chairman, and likewise felt that no share of blame could rest upon him or any member of the committee; they had only discharged their duty in obedience to a delegation from the Council itself; and as regarded the propriety of pledges, the chairman himself had set the example, by requiring a pledge upon one particular point—that of the distress of the country; and it did appear most strange that he should denounce others for framing pledges more specific. "Distress" was so indefinite, that, in his opinion, even a Tory, putting his own construction upon it and its remedy, might leave the thing, after inquiry, in as bad a state as before. This would not be the case with pledges to redress specific injuries, such as the Septennial Act and the alliance between church and state. Thinking this, he must confess himself an advocate for the proposed pledges, notwithstanding the strongly marked manner in which they had been reprobated.

Mr. Hadley with much energy observed, that although he felt a respect for their chairman greater than for any other friend or relative in the world, scarcely excepting his own father, yet he (Mr. H.) must differ with the chairman on this particular subject. Mr. H. then read the pledge above-mentioned relative to the distress of the country, which very pledge had not only been dictated to the Council by Mr. Attwood, but his own words were, "require as "many more pledges as you may think "fit;" and yet Mr. A. was not only surprised but *disgusted* that they should ask for pledges! Assuredly the chairman could never have intended this pledge to hold good, or, if so, his indignant warmth, which never till that night he had witnessed, must have entirely stripped him of all power of retrospection. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Attwood—"My objection to pledges applies only to Birmingham."

Mr. Salt was very *savoury* in a laconic but humorous endeavour to conciliate matters; and, not only from the light yet admirable style in which his good efforts were executed, but from the excellent feeling which prompted him to such a praiseworthy essay, which ultimately had the intended effect, he must by no means pass unnoticed. He reminded one of Liston double refined, or of a laughing philosopher.

Mr. Edmonds felt surprised at some expressions of the chairman; yet he was not at all hurt or uneasy, believing that all will end in a satisfactory explanation. He had heard all that had passed with perfect composure, and only regretted that the time had not been better employed.

Mr. Muntz said he was not likely to become a member of Parliament. He must confess he could not see the vast utility of pledges, unless, indeed, we could make a man keep his pledge. But the pledge said to have been proposed by Mr. Attwood, he considered most extensive in its effect yet so simple in detail, that no candidate could refuse to take it, and consequently more effective than all those now proposed put together.

Mr. Jones was of his opinion. The general pledge concerning "distress," he thought preferable on the ground that it did not let out particulars which would be better concealed. He should now propose that the further discussion of the question be adjourned.

Mr. Attwood, before the question was put, requested to explain, saying that he by no means wished to have accused the members of the Council with having entertained a wish to annoy him, and felt sorry that it had been so interpreted. It was his duty and interest to conciliate all classes; believing as he did that he should be one of the members for Birmingham, he wished to lay upon those who were to use influence a gentle hand to hold the scales even between all parties and be just to all men; with such feelings and a determination not to disgrace by his future conduct his previous professions, he did hope at some future time to enjoy the confidence and secure the support of all parties. The motion of adjournment was then put and carried.—Mr. Attwood said he had received a note from Mr. Russell

who desired to explain in a few words, and as he had so pointedly mentioned his name he thought it right to afford him a hearing. Mr. Muntz, who was quitting the chair, said, he hoped some one else would take it, and then the meeting could hear Mr. Russell as long as it thought fit.

Mr. EDMONDS protested against this. Mr. Muntz had presided during the accusation, and it was but fair to hear the defence.

Mr. MUNTZ resumed the chair. Mr. Russell then rose and said he conceived as a matter of right and not as a favour he was entitled to explain; this he would do briefly. It was not true that the business of the pledges which had given so much offence, were his; on the contrary, they were the act of Mr. Attwood's colleagues, who by a resolution at the public meeting had caused a deputation to attend the Council on the subject. If the pledges had been his it would only have entitled him to more credit, for he firmly believed it was patriotic to demand such security, and as an elector he had done his duty in starting such a plan and getting all he could to support him in it. Mr. Attwood had strongly reprobated his conduct without adequate cause, true it was he opposed "tooth and nail" Mr. Attwood's darling paper-money, believing that baneful agent to have produced wealth in masses, and want, destitution, and extreme wretchedness amongst starving millions; the immense debt that now oppresses the industrious classes could not have been contracted otherwise than by paper; to such a system he should be a most uncompromising opponent. Mr. Attwood should remember that extreme popularity was frequently in a short time changed for an adverse situation. It would be more just to limit his reprobation within bounds, and not as on the present occasion launch out to such an extent against a person who had done no more than differ in opinion on the best method of securing political improvements; but this was not the first time he had witnessed, in that very room, honest politicians unjustly vituperated; the leaders of that excellent association in London, "the Union of the Working Classes," had been so condemned on the very day that a jury of their countrymen awarded them a triumphant acquittal; it was the "fast-day rioters," as they were insultingly called, to whom he alluded, the trial of those enlightened poor men was printed; and let their proud oppressors and calumniators refute their arguments and invalidate their reasoning if they could, but if, as he Mr. R. believed they could not do this, let them prepare to ensure social happiness by conceding their rights to injured millions who would not much longer be kept out of them—to such men as Hetherington and Lovett, who bravely withstood the tyrannical militia laws, it was that he looked to see justice done to the industrious classes, and not by the issue of a fictitious paper: he could not conclude without stating the pain he felt at the avowal of Mr. Edmonds, that he was quite at ease and heard with composure the observations of Mr. Attwood, knowing as Mr. Edmonds did how undeserved they were. Had Mr. Edmonds been the subject of attack and placed in similar circumstances to him, he (Mr. R.) could have made no such declaration, but however unequal to the task would have endeavoured to rebutt such undeserved calumny.

Mr. EDMONDS explained. He saw Mr. Russell was present, and felt satisfied that he would, as he now had done, become his own advocate.

Upon receiving this publication, which reached me in this island on the 15th of July, I thought it my duty to make known my disapprobation of the conduct of Mr. Attwood, as quickly as I possibly could. The quickest means appeared to be to write to Mr. Russell, and to authorise him to publish my letter if he chose. I did this immediately, and I have sent him off my letter by post. I will now insert that letter, and to that I will add such other observations, as it appears to me proper to make upon this occasion.

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To MR. J. RUSSELL, PRINTER, BIRMINGHAM.

Isle of Wight, 15th of July, 1832.

SIR,—I have read an account of the proceedings in the Birmingham Political Union on Tuesday evening, July 3, on the subject of pledges. It is very curious that I should have been writing my remarks on the addresses of Mr. ATTWOOD and Mr. SCHOFIELD (which remarks appeared in the *Register* of the 7th of July) at the very moment when the proceedings in the Council were going on! It is very curious that, at the very identical moment, when I was putting into print the most substantial reasons why Mr. ATTWOOD's *past life* ought not to *exempt* him from giving pledges, he should have been representing the asking of a pledge from him to be like "gilding *refined gold*—painting the "*lily*—throwing perfume over the "*violet*"!!! Curious, indeed, that he should have been uttering this piece of poetical presumption, at the very moment when I was referring to sedate publications of his own, showing, that of all men in the world, he was the very last to plead an exemption from pledges.

But, sir, the tone of the whole of Mr. ATTWOOD's speech, is such as to make one almost believe that flattery, uniting with conceit, has puffed him up to a degree of pride bordering upon madness. The name of IAGO, applied to you, and by name too, appears to me to be one of the most atrocious attacks ever made in the world, merely on account of the difference in political opinion. IAGO (an invention of the mind of SHAKSPEARE) seeks the destruction of *his* generous superior: seeks also the destruction of that superior's innocent wife; secretly stabs another innocent man; and accomplishes the destruction of a whole house, purely out of revenge, because his interested views had been thwarted. And you were to be exhibited in this light before your townsmen, merely because you had proposed to put pledges to Mr. ATTWOOD, as a candidate for representing that town!

By the date of this letter you will perceive that I am at a distance from my books. I shall not return home for a fortnight; and there is no likelihood of my being able to refer to Mr. ATTWOOD's pamphlets before I do return home. I should suppose that all his pamphlets are easily to be found at Birmingham. If he act a fair part, he will produce them to you at once. In a pamphlet, published about eight years ago, and which, I have some notion, was addressed to the paper-money Baronet, Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, you will find Parliamentary reform represented as the ground-work of spoliation and plunder, and the reformers very little better than a set of would be-felons. In another pamphlet, published in 1828, or 1829, you will find him asserting that Parliamentary reform, if it took place *before his little shilling scheme should be adopted*, must of necessity be productive of a total breaking up of society, and of misery without limit and without end: yet he has been calling for reform for more than two years, without at all coupling it with his little shilling project. A man so fickle, a man so vehement in his fickleness too, ought not to call his neighbour IAGO, merely because he wishes to hold him steady by the help of a pledge. It is indeed, modest in such a man to compare himself to "*refined gold*," to the "*lily*," and to the "*violet!*" "*Lily*" and "*violet*" as he is, I trust that the spirited young men and the working people of Birmingham, will take care that he shall not have the name of their representative, unless "*refined gold*" as he is, he will submit to the giving of pledges.

Besides, sir, was he not chairman when the Council agreed to recommend to every body of electors in the kingdom, to exact from candidates a pledge "to "inquire into the causes of the national "distress?" Was he not chairman upon this occasion? What right then has he to complain of the principle of pledges! But further, was he not chairman of the Council, when the Council issued an invitation to every reformer in the kingdom, to give, *under his hand*, a pledge the most solemn that he would do everything in his power to

prevent the Duke of WELLINGTON from ever becoming minister again? So, here is a lump of "*refined gold*," here is a "*lily*," here is a "*violet*," calling upon every body else to take pledges, and to sign them too, while it becomes puddle in a storm, and calls people IAGO, when called upon to take a pledge itself! There was a Mr. PERRY, it appears, present upon this occasion, who seems to be a person of wonderful profundity; for he could not see what was to become of the value of tithes if they were abolished. He seemed to think that the *landlords* would get the whole amount of tithes that the parsons would. Now, there should be somebody, some little girl or boy, in the neighbourhood of Mr. PERRY, to tell him, that when the lands of a country are burdened generally with tithes, if you take the tithe from one farm and leave it on the rest, that farm will rise in rent above the rest in consequence of taking off the tithe; but that if you take the tithes from the whole of the farms at once, no such consequence can follow; because you cannot make thereby an augmentation of the whole of the farming capital; you cannot bring in capital to be applied to the whole of the land, as there would be capital brought in and applied in a single instance; so that, in fact, the landlord would only share in the benefit of the abolition in common with the rest of the community. Is Mr. PERRY weak enough to imagine, that the tithes are now so much *of cost to the farmer?* Is he so weak as to suppose, that a sack of wheat does not go to market loaded with tithes; and cannot he see, that the consumer of a loaf pays his share of the tithe? These are strange notions of Mr. PERRY: notions that one would expect from a washerwoman, and not from *the member of a council!*

The truth is, and this the farmers and labourers know well, let the farmer keep that which he now gives the parson, and he has more money to pay wages with, and the labourer is better off than he is now. The whole community would share in the benefit; the landlord amongst the rest, but only in a proper and just degree. In conclusion, sir, I cannot help expressing my sorrow at perceiving that my forebodings, with regard to the BIRMINGHAM UNION are so manifestly likely to be verified. That it has been an instrument in the hands of the Whig Ministry ever since the 13th of April, is now but too clear to every body. I mean as far as regarded some of the leaders of it. If pledges had been suggested by the Ministry, my opinion is, that the giving of them would have been urged by the Council. The Ministry are dreadfully hostile to pledges; and, therefore, the Council is hostile to pledges. The reformers of Birmingham must beat the Council, or that great and public-spirited town will sink into the same state of disregard as that in which the Council itself now is.

I shall publish this letter in the next *Register*: you may do it sooner if you please. You are an utter stranger to me; but I resent the unjust and insolent treatment that you have received; and

I remain,

Your faithful and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

With regard to the immediate transaction before us, very little more need be said. The conduct of Mr. Attwood is so at once despicable and hateful: his calling his neighbour and brother councillor IAGO, merely because he differed from him in political opinion; his comparing himself to refined gold; his giving to himself the purity of the lily and the incomparable sweetness of the violet; these things would mark him out for the scorn and the abhorrence of his neighbours, it being impossible for a man, however blinded he may be, not to behold here the excess of the vanity of vanities mixed up with malignity, such as one would hardly suppose to inhabit the bosom of a fiend. But, I remember well David Williams's horrible picture of vanity: he called it the vice of vices; he said that the vain man was never to be trusted; the proud you had some guard against; the perfidious even might be held off by precautions, but that the vain man became perfidiously cruel, any thing to gratify his vanity or to obtain vengeance upon

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those who thwarted it. To have called Mr. Russell devil, would have been mere vulgar abuse; but to call him Iago, was to call him in one short word *traitor, murderer*, and every thing of the most wicked belonging to the human heart; and this, merely because he suspected Mr. Russell to have been the suggester of pledges, which he could not give, without thwarting the views of his inordinate vanity.

I trust that there is justice enough prevailing in the breasts of the people of Birmingham, to make them show their detestation of conduct so truly diabolical. I am aware of some obstacles that may be in the way of exercising public virtue, even in a town like Birmingham here are two bankers set up as candidates; they have all the rich with them, and these have great influence over the voters. But you, the working people of Birmingham, who have no votes, and particularly the young men among you, would have a great deal more influeuce than the rich if you chose to exercise it, as the working people in Lancashire are resolved to exercise it. It is they, and not the insolent rich, who are the customers of the voters; and with that sense and that spirit which have always marked the conduct of the people of that county, and which sense and spirit kept the flame of freedom alive when it appeared to be extinguished everywhere else, the working people of Lancashire are resolved to use their influence whether they have votes or not, and the Whigs have yet to resort to the use of the ballot, or to suffer Lancashire to send them a score of members firmly pledged to those things, from the naming of which, the refined gold, the lily and the violet of Birmingham, turns with a degree of rage, hardly describable by pen or tongue. In short, you ought to form yourselves into little societies, clubs, or something or another: you ought to furnish yourselves with accurate lists of the voters in the several divisions or precincts; you ought to go to them and claim your right of being attended to. Bear in mind if you please, that the doctrine upon which this restricted suffrage was founded was this: that the ten-pound voters *would be the representatives of the working people who had no votes.* On this ground you have now to stand: go to them as your representatives, and tell them to vote for no one that will not take the pledges. I trust that they will see their duty and will perform it; but at any rate, you have a right to interfere in order to induce them to take care of your interests, and not to be tools in the hands of bankers and other rich men. If Messrs. Attwood and Schofield will give the pledges, they may be fit men; but if they will not, they cannot be fit men, and other candidates ought to be chosen.

The whole country has perceived, that, ever since the second reading of the last Reform Bill in the House of Lords, the *leaders* of the Political Union at Birmingham, have upon all occasions, been pulling in the same direction with the Ministry; have been in fact, like the corporation of London, tools in the hands of the Ministry. This has been seen by the whole country, and nowhere more clearly than at Manchester and the other towns of Lancashire, while, indeed, the leaders of the Birmingham Union have always been rather suspected. This proceeding of the 4th of July can leave a doubt upon the subject in the mind of no man. What is it that has so enraged Mr. Attwood? What is it that has thus stirred the puddle? What is it that has thus carried him beyond all the bounds of decency? Read the pledges: To abolish the tithes; to repeal burdensome taxes; to revise the corn-laws; to abolish sinecures and unmerited places and pensions; to support efforts for the abolition of colonial slavery; to repeal the Septennial Act; to extend the suffrage to householders; to abolish all property qualification, as is the case in America; to support every effort to extend the liberty and support the happiness of the nation.

What is there here to throw a man into a paroxysm of rage? What is there to induce the supposed author of the propositions a perfidious and bloody-minded man, as Attwood calls Mr. Russell. To hear Attwood's lan-

guage with regard to Mr. Russell, one would suppose that the latter had wished to pledge him to smother his wife between two feather beds, as Iago did, and thereby expose himself to the gallows. Aye, aye: Attwood knew very well that Russell proposed no such thing as this; but I verily believe that Mr. Attwood knew that he had made a *bargain with the Whigs that no pledges should be given at Birmingham*, in the hope that the whole country would follow the example, and that thus the Reform Bill would be rendered of no earthly use in the change of the system. Mr. Russell's pledges *thwarted this deep-laid scheme*; they place Mr. Attwood in the necessity of giving pledges, or refusing to give pledges; if he did the former, away went the scheme of the Whigs, and Birmingham became an example for the giving of pledges; if the latter, Mr. Attwood *lost his seat*, and his vanity underwent a crucifixion, the torments of which are not to be conceived by anybody on earth who is not a lump of refined gold, a spotless lily, or a sweet-smelling violet! Here, then, is the true history of puddle in the storm: this it is which has flung King Tom into his tantrums, and brought down upon poor Mr. Russell the charge of being the blackest of traitors and the bloodiest of murderers.

Working people, and especially young men, of Birmingham, bestir yourselves now; but not like puddle in a storm. Meet, consult, resolve, publish your resolutions, rescue the character of your celebrated town from the disgrace which it is now intended to heap upon it; dissipate all the plots and schemes of the Whig-ridden Council; let it never be said that a town of which I used to say that, in the language of the celebrated poet, it claimed for its motto ARMS and the MEN: let it never be said that this town was rendered a poor noodling thing, by the intrigues of a handful of hangers-on of the Ministry; a parcel of puffed-up things, who are seeking to become lords perhaps, or to gratify themselves by some other means equally despicable: suffer not yourselves, for God's sake, to become the subject of a parodied farce, exhibiting you as the subjects of KING TOM THUMB, issuing his orders in council in conjunction with his two statesmen NOODLE and DOODLE!

However, I make sure that all this advice and these exhortations are useless: long before the day of election will arrive, you will have swept away puddle and all the rest of it; and I will pledge myself that you will send up to help me two Warwickshire lads pledged to the "Iago" propositions. This is my firm belief; and in this belief I remain,

Your friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

N.B. If I do not receive a republication of the whole of this article from Birmingham in the course of a week from next Saturday; that is to say, before the 28th of July, I will have it republished in a little pamphlet myself, and send it down to be distributed at Birmingham. I request any one that may re-publish it to re-publish *the whole*, from the words "Puddle in a Storm," down to the words "WM. Cobbett."

The following petition was sent yesterday to Mr. O'CONNELL, with a request that he would be pleased to present it to the House of Commons.

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of William Cobbett, of Kensington, in the county of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That your humble petitioner, perceiving that your honourable House has discovered that it is impracticable to put the Reform Act, which was passed on the 4th of June last, into execution, until at a time now considerably distant, a fact very alarming, but by no means surprising to your humble petitioner, who, having now had the means of attentively looking at all the provisions of that act; at all the com-

plexity in the rights of voting, which it attempts to establish; at all the troublesome and vexatious regulations which it imposes upon the voters; at all the cumbrous and expensive machinery of assistant-barristers, and their several sets of under-agents, at the discretionary interference and powers of judges, justices, and other persons; having now had the means of attentively examining all these provisions, your humble petitioner is convinced that the said act, in its present form and meaning, cannot, and never will, be carried into effect; and that unless a remedy be speedily applied, by the passing of another act, to amend the act aforesaid, the consequences will be fatal to the peace of the country.

That it is quite evident that all this complexity, all the difficulty and delay, and all the now-manifest impracticability, have arisen from the desire of your right honourable House to exclude from the right of voting all but a small part of the people, and to keep that right exclusively in the hands of the rich; that your petitioner deems it to be a principle, the justice of which is wholly undeniable, that every man arrived at the state of manhood, and being of sane mind, and untarnished by indelible crime, has a right to vote in the choosing of those who shall make the laws, because every such man not only pays taxes, direct or indirect, but is liable, between the age of eighteen and fifty, to be compelled to assume the military garb, to submit to military discipline, to quit his home, his parents, his wife and his children, and to venture his life in defence of the country and its laws; that, therefore, your petitoner is prepared to hear no argument that can possibly be opposed to such general claim to a right to vote; that, however, as applicable to the present prayer of your humble petitioner, the right thus extensively enjoyed, would at once put an end to all those difficulties which now embarrass your honourable House, and threaten the country with confusion.

That your humble petitioner, therefore, prays that your honourable House will be pleased to repeal all the clauses of the aforesaid act, passed on the 4th day of June last, from the eighteenth clause inclusive to the end of the said act; and that, in lieu of the clauses thus repealed, your honourable House will be pleased to pass an act, providing that every man, in every part of the kingdom, being eighteen years of age, and upwards, being of sane mind, and untarnished by indelible crime, shall, in future, have a right to vote at the election of members to serve in Parliament; that you will be pleased to provide that the parish-officers in every parish shall make out lists of the persons in that parish entitled to vote; that they shall place these on the church doors, on or before the 1st day of September next, notifying to all persons that they may come and demand the insertion of their names, if those names have been improperly omitted; that when the day of election shall arrive, the parish officers shall receive the votes by ballot, and the next day make a return of them to the returning officer for the county, part of county, or borough in which the parish is situated; that the returning officer, after due examination, shall make his declaration of the member or members who have the majority of votes; that the election shall be on one and the same day, and only on one day, throughout the whole kingdom, and that the returning officer shall make his declaration and his return on the next day.

That your humble petitioner further prays, that the penalty of five hundred pounds forfeiture, for the use of the parish, shall be inflicted on any parish officer who shall neglect any part of this his duty; and that, if fraud or corruption be proved upon him, he shall be transported for life; that with regard to sheriffs, and other returning officers, if they be proved guilty of wilfully making a false return, or if they shall refuse to make a return in due time, they shall forfeit all their goods and estates to the king, and be banished for life.

That your humble petitioner can see no necessity for any delay whatsoever;

that the lists, having remained on the church doors during the month of September, will enable your honourable House to provide for having the election taken in the first week of October; that your petitioner here sees the simple means of getting rid of all the cumbrous machinery with which the present act loads a matter that ought to be most simple of execution; that here all the scandalous swearings are got rid of, it being impossible that any man should present himself to vote without being well known to the parish officers, which parish officers must of necessity be men of respectability in their parishes.

That your humble petitioner is convinced, that, upon serious reflection on the matter, your honourable House must be satisfied that the act of the fourth of June aforesaid never can be carried into effect; that it contains within itself a mass of complexities which renders it absolutely inexecutable; and that, after all, if it were practicable to execute it, it would not answer the intention of your honourable House; for that, those, to whom your honourable House have given votes, must of necessity, in numerous cases, be compelled to act under the control of those who have no votes, or else to incur all the consequences of their bitter and just resentment; and that thus ill blood in neighbourhoods, a general hatred of the poor towards the rich, a disrespect for the laws, and strife interminable, must be the consequences.

That to abandon error as soon as it is discovered is one of the true marks of wisdom and of goodness; that your humble petitioner trusts, that he shall find this mark evinced in the conduct of your honourable House; and, therefore, he again most earnestly prays, that you will now, with all speed, be pleased to pass a bill, repealing the aforesaid clauses in the act of the fourth of June, and containing the provisions above stated, with the most profound respect, by your humble petitioner;

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

PEEL'S BILL.

(Courier, 10th July.)

The *John Bull* of Sunday last maintains that "*Peel's Currency Bill of* 1819," was the cause of the *prosperity* which, according to the statement of the writer, exists in the town of Birmingham, and throughout the empire generally. Now, with the facts which we all have before our eyes, and knowing, as we do, that even those whom our cotemporary would desire to please by his indiscreet reference to "Peel's Currency Bill, of 1819," *are deeply sensible of the truth* that the measure alluded to has been one of *the chief causes of the severe distress under which the country now labours*, we are surprised that any one should venture at this time to maintain a fallacy so monstrous as that the country *is in a state of prosperity*, when the contrary is notorious, and that such prosperity has been caused by Peel's bill. In our paper of yesterday, we referred to a collection of petitions, in which the people have described their condition with an earnestness which is a fearful indication of the fidelity of their representations. Among those petitions is one from Birmingham, signed by 25,000 persons. If our cotemporary can succeed in persuading these petitioners that they are mistaken in supposing themselves to be in a state of extreme want, he certainly will do a great good to them and to the country at large. But until then we think it better to employ ourselves in the endeavour to show the cause of the *strange anomaly* of the existence of distress among the great mass of the population, while the country possesses the most abundant means of furnishing employment and all the necessaries and comforts of life in the greatest profusion to all its inhabitants.

Good; though it does come out of the political Nazareth. Nothing more clearly proves the insincerity of the Whigs, and their desire to carry on the present ruinous system, than their having so sedulously abstained from all attacks upon PEEL and his mischievous bill. There are many of them, and my Lord GREY himself amongst the rest, who now act their part in that bill, the chief of them who took a very active part in it, old dunderheaded TIERNEY, and HORNER and RICARDO and ABERCROMBIE: these dunderheaded devils are all dead or off the stage. WILLIAM LAMB never had brains enough to think upon such a subject; and as to Lord HOLLAND, he talked about it, to be sure, a little, but he never applauded the stupid measure: my Lord GREY expressly said that he would have no part in it,

and I wish he had said the same with regard to the *Special Commissions* in Hampshire and Wiltshire.

Now, then, that which has struck me as a sort of natural wonder, is, that these Whigs should have suffered that great, tall, staring, noisy thing PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, to stand up before them as the statesman *par excellence*, laying down the law to them; telling them what they ought to do and what they ought not to do; calling them every thing but gentlemen and men of sense; desiring them to look to him for lessons whereby to govern the nation; it has filled me with wonder that they should have suffered this great tall thing to go on at this rate, while only a bare recital put into the form of about three resolutions; while only a bare recital of the notorious ruin and misery, of the suicides innumerable, of the internal commotions, and of the external embarrassments occasioned by the bill of which he was the author, and of the consequences of which he was duly forewarned; while, I say, a bare recital of these in a formal manner laid upon the table of the House, would, unless the fellow be made of stone or brass, have made him afraid ever to have opened his lips in that house again.

The truth is, the Whigs mean to carry on the present system. Therefore, they dare not enter on any violent hostility against their opponents. But the RADICALS have no such design, I believe; and if PEEL'S-BILL PEEL has been unable to provoke the Whigs to call him to account, it does not follow that he is to be equally unsuccessful with the RADICALS. PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, a word in your ear! Now, Peely, according to the reporther, you said, about six weeks ago, that you *commended* the Attorney-General for his "*manly* conduct in prosecuting Cobbett." It was manly, was it, Peely? very manly above all things. But, Peely, what should you think now of bringing your own case into court? However, I'll say no more on that subject at present. Turn it in your mind a bit; look through Hargrave. You will find nothing about *currency* there to be sure; but, Peely, there are such things as *principles* and *analogy* and *parity*; and these go to the making up of *precedents* as well as positive instances. A case in point does not consist of facts of the same nature. Consider of this, Peely; for I am not like Thomas Attwood, to content myself with mere talk: this reform, to be of any use must look *backward as well as forward*, and so I bid you farewell for the present, and turn for a moment to the nonsense of Sir Henry Parnell, of which we have the following account in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 13th inst., which I request my readers to go through with attention; and if they read but the first forty lines they will instinctively button up their breeches pockets if they have got any gold in them.

A valuable pamphlet, under the title of "A Plain Statement of the Power of the Bank of England, and of the use it has made of it; with a refutation of the objections made to the Scotch system of banking; and a reply to the 'Historical Sketch of the Bank of England,'" has just made its appearance. It is attributed to Sir HENRY PARNELL. In this pamphlet great pains have been taken to show, from the very highest evidence, that the Bank of England have either principally caused or greatly added to the various commercial embarrassments of the country during the last fifty years. The Bank is bound to make out a case to justify the departure from the principle of freedom of trade; it is bound (he says) to show "that the public will be more benefited by the renewal of the monopoly than by trusting to the general principle; first, with regard to the management of the currency; secondly, with respect to accommodating trade; and thirdly, with respect to acting as the Bank of Government. But so far from the Bank of England being able to make out such a case, the facts are, that with respect to the first, it has been mischievous in the highest degree; with respect to the second, it has been almost useless; and with respect to the third, the Government would find no difficulty, and incur no risk in employing another Bank or other Banks, if the Bank of England were to cease to exist." "The public are not, perhaps, fully aware of the extent of the advantage derived from the keeping open the Bank Question till the meeting of the reformed Parliament. Ministers, it is shown by Sir HENRY,

naturally dislike any change from which they anticipate increased trouble; and the sort of men of whom Parliament is now composed, are with few exceptions utterly ignorant of the merits of the question. It is clear that we were in a fair way to be sacrificed. The following observations with which Sir HENRY concludes his pamphlet, speak volumes on this subject:—"The securing (he says) of measures based upon sound principles of legislation, on this occasion of making a new settlement of the banking system of England, is a matter of such vast importance, that no pains can be thrown away in guarding against the repetition of error from the want of knowledge among our statesmen and members of Parliament, of the elementary principles of law-making. If, when we investigate the history of our political conduct, of our policy, as well foreign as domestic; of our treaties, our wars, our commercial regulations, our legislation; we see they are marked by errors, which are the produce of disgraceful ignorance, we surely ought not to put our whole trust in our cabinets of Ministers, or our committees of Parliament; but rather, while it is yet time, we shall instruct the public, and excite it to look after its own interests and make itself heard, in the way we now know will effectually secure attention to them. It is only by the public taking this course *that the new arrangement for the management of the currency and banking trade will be rescued from the influence of loan-contractors, stock-jobbers, and bill-brokers, and laid on a foundation having for its object the welfare of the industrious classes.*"

The author of this pamphlet examines minutely the circumstances connected with the commercial embarrassments of 1783, 1793, 1797, 1816, 1818, and 1825, and proves conclusively that the bank either produced or greatly aggravated them.

We can only now do little more than call attention *to this valuable pamphlet*, of which we intend to avail ourselves more fully on a future day. The author shows, we think, that the Scotch system of banking might be introduced into England with the greatest advantage, and that all the difficulties urged with respect to the management of foreign exchanges, by a number of banks, are mere phantoms. The Scotch, at present, are obliged to attend to the exchanges with London. "The bank directors," says Sir HENRY, "seek to frighten away all meddling with their monopoly, by raising up this phantom of foreign exchanges. The management of the currency, with reference to the foreign exchanges, consists in nothing else than making a gradual contraction of it as soon as the exchanges fall; or as anything occurs which is an indication of a strong probability that they will fall. . . . . If the banking trade of London were under the management of several banks, the directors of them would be not only as able, but more able and competent to keep the currency in a sound state, than the directors of the Bank of England. The greater number of them would bring forward a greater quantity of skill, experience, and forethought. They would be far from all partial influences, and in consequence, all their issues being made in discounts and loans to the trading classes, they would always have the means in their hands of readily contracting or increasing the currency."

Sir Henry satisfactorily meets the argument founded on the supposed magnitude of the commercial transactions of England, as compared with those of Scotland. "What has been," he asks, "the cause of so few failures in Scotland? The freedom of the banking trade, and the establishment of opulent banks. Therefore, so far as confining the power of issuing paper money in the hands of opulent bankers is a public object, the Scotch system of banking is just as fit for London as it is for Edinburgh."

The mode in which the opulent bankers in Scotland league together for their common safety in checking every deviation from true banking principles, has already been imitated to a considerable extent by the English country bankers, since the partial destruction of the bank monopoly in the country beyond a certain distance from London.

It is understood that *several of the authorities* quoted by Sir Henry as affording evidence of the injury the country has hitherto sustained from the Bank of England, are *now recommending a continuance of the monopoly*. It will be curious to see how they will get over their own principles.

One can hardly distinguish here the words of Dr. Black from the words of wise Parnell himself. They are, it must be allowed, an admirable match, colour, height, black legs, star in the forehead: they were made to run together. I cannot help looking at that great mass of power and delusion called the Bank; I cannot help looking at this thing, upon which this Government rests as completely as a house rests upon the earth: I cannot help looking at this great heap of mischief, and seeing Doctor Black and Parnell at work, without thinking of a couple of tom-tits hammering away with their little feeble bills, crying *chee-whee*, and pecking away with all the sprightliness imaginable upon the bark of an old oak tree, the top of which being dead, and the inside hollow, has still a crust capable of resisting the assaults of iron and of steel. These tom-tits will never produce any effect, I imagine; but they will serve to set wild notions afloat. The Bank cannot destroy

itself long, let what will happen; in the second week of May last it was proved that there is nothing but the bark left. It is a good convenient thing now, because we can drive at it when we like. Henry Parnell would blow it up at once. His pamphlet which Dr. Black describes as *so valuable*, really seems to be the production of idiotcy: it is a busy, conceited, shallow man, with perhaps no bad intentions, but with a wonderful capacity *not to comprehend*. For the soul of him this man cannot see why this Government cannot go on with this system too without the Bank of England. Well, let them do what they like; they will never have any interruption from me: I am sure they will destroy the thing themselves, and the destruction is what I want to behold. I shall have other fish to fry. I shall have to dry up the waters which feed this destructive thing, and Henry Parnell will soon find that his Scotch banking will not be necessary, because there will be nothing to bank about.

Lanyuard, Isle of Wight, July 17, 1832.

TO MR. COBBETT.

Morpeth, July 3, 1832.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING observed in your *Political Register* of last week, that you make some observations on the speech of the chairman at the Reform Dinner at Morpeth, and make use of my name, if you will have the goodness to refer back to the *Tyne Mercury*, you will perceive I only took the chair during dinner, in consequence of Dr. Trotter's indisposition: after the cloth was drawn, Dr. Trotter entered the room and took the chair, and as it was his speech and not mine, you will have the goodness to correct this mistake in your next, as I do not wish to be made responsible for opinions and sentiments contrary to my own. I have the honour to be,

Your obedient humble servant,

ROBERT SMITH.

SAVINGS BANKS.

THE following letter and its post-script, together with a communication which the writer sent to the *Morning Journal* a good while ago, will be found to be extremely interesting. They will show what works are going on in order to get money out of people's pockets to put it in these Savings Banks. I have no room for comment. It is a subject for laughter; for it shows to what tricks this once insolent system is at last compelled to resort.

Saturday, July 7, 1832.

SIR,—I am induced, from perusing an article in your *Register* of the 30th of June, entitled "*National Faith*," to take the liberty of addressing you respecting your just animadversions on the system of "SAVINGS BANKS." I own it is not until lately that I have felt any interest, or at all thirsted after political information, owing to the first seven years after I left home being employed in the sea service of the East India Company, to and from India and China, the last ship being the *Kent*, that was burned in the Bay of Biscay, on March the 1st, 1825; but happening to get hold of one of your *Registers*, I thought the remarks contained in it so *interestingly clear, fearlessly candid*, and so *conclusively just*, that I have continued a constant reader of the *Register* ever since, and intend my children shall also, as soon as their young minds shall have attained to a sufficient degree of reason and understanding to digest and retain what they read; the particular reason of my presuming to address you is, that from the tenor of your remarks in saying, "Be the parties what they "may, they have CHOSEN to become "fundholders; they have NOT been "COMPELLED to become FUND-"HOLDERS; they have not been COM-"PELLED to prop up this mischievous "system, &c. &c." You do not seem to be aware of the fact, that the industrious class, the bees of the hive, coming under the denomination of labourers in the East India Company's civil service, and being almost the whole of that vast body, ARE COMPELLED AND HAVE

BEEN COMPELLED (that is, all those who entered their service on and after January 31, 1822,) to become depositors on entering their service, or employment is withheld, unless agreeing to those terms; and that in March, 1830, when the Duke of Wellington adduced as a proof of the prosperity of the country, a reference to the Savings Banks, that on that occasion I addressed a copy of the enclosed letter to the Editor of the *Morning Journal*, but cannot say if it was inserted in that paper or not. I have thus far presumed to trespass on your invaluable time, conceiving by your remarks, that you were not in possession of the existence of such a circumstance.

I remain, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
A LABOURER IN THE SAID SERVICE.

P.S. I should have stated in my letter of the 2d of March, 1830, to the Editor of the *Morning Journal*, that the condition of their belonging to the Savings Banks was imperative to their being employed, commencing January 31, 1822, but that all who were on the establishment antecedent to the above law, with very few exceptions (perhaps not more than one in twenty or thirty) joined the system upon the specious lure being held out of an increase of the *scale of pension to all those who signed their names to belong to it.* Though perhaps not more than one in fifty or a hundred ever attains to the period of enjoying the full scale of pension—which is 11*s.* 6*d.* for 35 years' servitude.

COMMUNICATION.

SIR,—In perusing a noble Duke's speech of Thursday evening last, I find he adduces as a proof, that the distress of the labouring classes of the country is not so great as it is represented, by referring to the Savings Banks; in the first place, it is very well known, that it is not the labouring classes that form the majority of the depositors in the Savings Banks; it is confined chiefly to persons in easy circumstances, such as clerks, petty tradesmen, &c. Likewise perhaps it was not generally known in the House, when the noble Duke brought forth such a trifling argument, as a reference to the Savings Banks, to prove that the country was not in the suffering state it was said to be; that a great body, coming under the denomination of labourers, and being upwards of 3,000 in the Hon. East India Company's employ, are LITERALLY OBLIGED *under penalty of* LOSING THEIR SITUATIONS to become depositors of this same fund of THREEPENCE PER WEEK OUT OF THEIR WEEKLY PAY, and yet this is brought forward as an argument against the existing distress!

To the Editor of the *Morning Journal*,
March 2, 1830.

PLEDGES,

DEMANDED OF CANDIDATES IN SCOTLAND.

To the Editor of the Kilmarnock Chronicle.

SIR,—A meeting of the Political Union of this place was held upon Tuesday the 3d inst., for the purposes mentioned in Mr. Ramsay's excellent letter, which appeared in last *Chronicle.* A very great proportion of the electors here are members of the Union. The subjoined Confession of Political Faith was submitted to the meeting, and was unanimously resolved, that every person who may offer himself as a candidate for the county representation be required to give his assent to the propositions therein contained. The electors who were present at the meeting have called a meeting of all the electors in the parish of Loudon and barony of Greenholm, to be held upon Tuesday, the 10th instant, to take such steps as may be in their power to secure the return of a proper person to represent the county in the reformed Parliament. The Political Union of Newmilns earnestly request the friends of freedom in every town, village, and parish, in the County of Ayr, to exert themselves and adopt similar measures, as they wish to obtain practical good from the Reform Bill.

By giving this and the subjoined Confession a place in your first publica-

tion, will be considered a favour to us and to the Reformers in general.

ROBERT STEEL,
Pres. of the Union.

It is admitted by every person that the end of all government is the general good. It will, therefore, surely not be denied by any that the cheapest way in which that end can be accomplished is the best.

Do you consider it to be the duty of a representative at all times to obey the instructions he may receive from a majority of his constituents, when those instructions are communicated to him in a regular and lawful manner? And do you consider it to be his duty to resign the trust committed to him into the hands of his constituents, whenever he cannot conscientiously obey their instructions?

Do you promise that, in the first session of Parliament, you will do every thing in your power to procure a total abolition of tithes, a repeal of the assessed taxes, of the soap, the malt and hop taxes, a revision of the Corn Laws, and a repeal of the Septennial Act, that most daring and flagrant invasion of the rights of the people?

Do you promise to do every thing in your power to procure a total abolition of all sinecure places and unmerited pensions?

Do you promise never to relax in your endeavours to procure economy in the national expenditure until it be reduced as nearly as possible to a level with the expenditure of the United States of America?

SOMETHING NEW!!!

On Friday the periodical removals of some of the Horse Guards regiments took place—the 2d Regiment of Life Guards for instance, quitting the Albany-street, Regen's Park, barracks, and proceeding to the Knightsbridge barracks, to succeed "the Blues," *alias* "the Old Gentlemen of Windsor." These removals would be unworthy of notice, except for some curious circumstances that occurred. The 'Blues,' it appears, have not a tip-top character for leaving the places that they may have occupied in the most *clean* state that could be imagined; at all events, on the arrival of their successors, with their horses, waggons, *&c.*, early on Friday morning, they found the barracks left in so dirty a state by somebody or another that *they refused to enter them* till they were put in such a state as they would be obliged to keep them in, or be subjected to divers fines. Instead of entering the barracks, they *drew up in the Park*, and there awaited the result of *non-compliance with divers persuasions and efforts to induce them to enter the barracks.* The extraordinary proceeding, the *temporary encampment*, naturally enough attracted numerous spectators; and eventually they were surrounded with crowds. The affair occasioned no ordinary *consternation* and *embarrassment with the authorities*—for the men were resolute in not being compelled to clean after others, or to be fined for the dirtiness of the places which they or their horses might occupy. Communications were sent backwards and forwards—their colonel (Lygon), who is an attentive and *considerate*, as well as a *particular* officer, was obliged to interfere, and it was eventually arranged that the cleansings, repairs, and damages, rendered necessary by the previous occupants, should be done, and that the said *previous occupants should defray the expenses* thereof—which, if they do, must be *deducted out of their pay*; and on these conditions, in the evening, the 2d Horse Guards marched into the *dirty* barracks. The cleansing, repairs, &c., it is estimated, are not likely to be much, if any, *less than* 200*l.*; so that the lesson of cleanliness will not be afforded gratis. Till it is paid off, there will be *diminution of pay.—Morning Paper.*

This is not "disobedience of orders," I suppose, and "mutiny;" the Local Militia in the Isle of Ely was flogged under a guard of German bayonets, because they *refused to march* without receiving "the marching guinea;" which marching guinea the act of Parliament positively said they should receive. To order the men to march without the marching guinea, was not a *lawful* order; yet those men were flogged, and I had to endure two years of imprisonment and pecuniary ruin, because I expressed my indignation at their being flogged under a guard of German bayonets! As to this affair in Hyde-park, the first question is, how did the barracks come to be out of order? There is a *quarter-master* and a *quarter-master-serjeant* to each troop, whose particular duty it is, to see that the barracks are kept in a perfectly clean and proper state. Besides these, there are the officers of the several companies, who are charged with the same care. Then there is an *officer of the*

day, from one of whom there goes *every twenty-four hours a written report* to the commanding officer, describing to him very minutely the state of every part of the barracks. So that this is a very strange affair altogether.

With regard to the conduct of the men who refused to enter the barracks, it appears to have been thought very proper; and therefore I shall say nothing about that, only just observing, that we are fast coming to the point towards which things have been manifestly tending for several years past. The Government would see (if it had common sense, which it never yet had), that it is impossible for the nation to recover its rights, without a renovation of mind running through all ranks and situations of life.

I have taken the above article from the *Morning Chronicle*, the editor of which seems to know as much about the army as he knows about the state of the chopsticks. What, then, does he imagine that the "*Blues*" are a going to suffer a *deduction from their pay*, for the purpose of cleansing these barracks! To deduct from a soldier's pay, without very *clear law for it*, is as delicate an enterprise as can possibly be imagined. When Richard Spooner spoke to me of the *little shilling project*, I asked him how he would get the soldier to take a little shilling instead of a great one; what sort of state he thought a barrack would be in when the first soldier had sallied out and found that his shilling would buy only half as much beer as it would the last week. There is nothing that a soldier is so very nice upon as upon the subject of his pay; he is very sensible of honour no doubt; but upon the score of his pay he is absolutely a sensitive plant. Besides, there is no law to take from these Blues one single farthing for the specified purpose; nor is there any equity, either, for such a proceeding. If the state of the barracks be truly represented, why it was not the fau' of the men in the smallest degree; it was wholly the fault of the officers, aye, and of the *commanding officer*, too; for, at last, all power is traced back to him; and all negligence, and consequences of negligence must be traced back to him also. He himself ought to pay for the cleansing of the barracks, because he ought to have taken care that all the parties under him did their duty.

MR. HUME,

AS TRAVELLING PARLIAMENT-PACKER.

HERE we have him at MARYBONNE. Always chairman, and always a shuffling excuse against the giving of pledges. He seems here to have discovered a means of putting off the Reform Bill for a long time. However, I have no time for comment. I request my readers to look well at what HUME says about pledges, and to remember that the word CHEAP may mean *anything* or *nothing*. Major REVELL and the shouts of the audience must have disconcerted our gentleman a good deal. I will another time remark on what he said about pledges, which was pretty nearly as empty and as impudent as ever came out of the lips of mortal man. The longer the reformed Parliament is put off from meeting, the longer he will be a great man. That Parliament will not long be met, before he will find, that it is not disposed to carry on a long debate to determine whether we shall have *three hundred and one* or *three hundred and two* barracks! In short, he will find that the bustling days of *tutting up* are gone never to return.

MEETING OF THE MARYBONNE ELECTORS.

A public meeting of the electors of the borough of Marybonne took place yesterday, at the Eyre Arms Tavern, St. John's Wood, to consent to a series of resolutions or tests that were to be proposed to candidates offering themselves for the borough, and to consult on the best means of choosing fit and proper representatives.

Dr. HARRISON begged leave to propose that Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P. do take the chair. The proposal was unanimously adopted, and the hon. member took possession of the chair amid the heartiest expressions of approbation.

The Chairman said, that he was always sincerely happy to forward in every way in his power, the wishes of his fellow-parishioners, and upon this occasion very particularly so, as they were assembled upon what he considered of the most pressing importance. The business that the meeting was convened upon was, to examine into the best means that could be adopted, in order not to be deceived in the choice of representatives, and to consider what were the proper and fit steps to be taken previous to the ensuing election. He hoped that, as probably there would be a diversity of opinions expressed by various persons in the meeting, a patient hearing would be given to every one, and that the meeting would support him in discharging impartially the duties of chairman. He trusted that a flat contradiction would be given to those calumniators who had so often repeated that the disorderly behaviour of the metropolitan districts would prove them unworthy of the elective franchise. All electors had an especial duty to perform—a duty not only towards themselves, but towards those who unfortunately had no votes. A vote was a mere *trust*; it was not like money, that a man may do as he pleased with—it was a possession placed in men's hands not for their own particular benefit, but for the benefit of others. If this were generally understood and acted upon, there would be no taxation without representation. It was the incumbent duty of every voter to see that in his selection he chose men of talent, integrity, habits of business, leisure, and good-will. He was not surprised at the long system of misrule that had been carried on in this country, when he reflected in what manner a House of Commons was elected. But it was not their faults—it was the fault of the people; and if the people would be only awake to their own influence, they would get rid of the agency by means of which this system of misrule had been so long continued. The people must look to their own affairs if they wish them to be done well. The fable of the "Lark and her Young Ones" teaches that no man transacts his business so well and so surely as he himself. If the people would but follow the moral of the fable, they would make the Reform Bill work well, and rid themselves completely of what he called the "selfish system." He earnestly hoped that, in this respect, the people of the district to which he belonged would show a solid example. He had a few observations to make on the subject of pledges. His opinion—his decided opinion—was, that, on all great and vital matters, candidates should be put to the test. Let him not, however, be misunderstood, for there were distinctions. A candidate may pledge himself to endeavour to reduce all useless expenditure, but differ from one or two of his constituents as to the expenditure that was useless, and that which was not; and if he differed from one or two, it may so happen that he should differ from a great many. He thought that deliberate after-judgment should be allowed to the candidate; and that it would be impolitic to pledge the candidate to the way of reducing particular taxes. Candidates undoubtedly should be pledged to remove all those that press on the industry of the country—taxes on knowledge—and all that prevent the moral elevation of the national character. Candidates, he repeated, should be pledged on all these. (Cheers.) It must however, be expected that in a deliberative assembly men should sometimes vote according to their own judgment, formed, as it were *ex tempore*, by some unresistible arguments or facts adduced. Nothing he disliked more than *voting by proxy*; and if men were *too minutely pledged*, they would be made *mere Peens of*. He abhorred the idea of making a *machine or tool* of any man. Let candidates pledge themselves to advocate *cheap government*, to endeavour to let the people have *cheap food, cheap clothing, cheap instruction*, and *cheap law*, and he thought *security enough* would be exacted from them. The honourable Chairman concluded by alluding to a discovery that had been made the night before in the House of Commons, and by which, if the clause could not be altered, it would be found of the deepest im-

portance to postpone the general election until December next. But the committee that had convened the meeting had drawn up a petition to the Commons House of Parliament this very morning, and that petition his friend, Sir Samuel Whalley, would now read to the meeting. (The honourable Gentleman sat down in the midst of the loudest cheering.)

Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY (who rose to read the petition paying for delay with respect to the ensuing general election) said that his usual diffidence in addressing a public meeting was increased by the very flattering reception he had just experienced. Without excuse or further apology he would proceed to the point in question. If the clause in the Reform Bill requiring the assessed taxes and poor-rates to be paid up to the 6th of April, and now, on account of the delay in the passing of the Bill, up to the 20th of July (this month), if this clause be not altered, or the time of election deferred, not only this district but the whole country would become one close borough. As for this parish, it would be impossible that the books could be so made up by the 20th of the present month as to render the demands for rates legal. Being particularly anxious that his fellow parishioners should immediately enjoy the rights that had been restored to them, he had waited on Lord John Russell, and on Sir John Cam Hobhouse, and explained that if the present clause were allowed to stand, the electors would be cut down in the most unsatisfactory way. The worthy Baronet then read the petition, the substance of which was, that as the passing of the Reform Bill had been obstructed during so long a time, many of the stipulations would be found incorrect, and that clauses should either be altered, or the epoch of the ensuing elections postponed until next December at least.

Mr. SAVAGE felt that some of the allegations were incorrect, inasmuch as there were no rates paid or due on the 5th of April or on the 25th of March. The books are so arranged that payments are made half-yearly, so that in this parish no such thing as quarterly payments of rates are known.

Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY—Lord J. Russell showed him an Act of Parliament by which it was clear, that though rates were paid half-yearly, they were due quarterly.

Upon this point there was a good deal of irregular discussion, in which Mr. HAYDEN of Paddington joined, and quoted an Act of Queen Elizabeth, which states that all poor-rates are due the moment they are signed by a magistrate.

The petition was agreed to, and the chairman recommended that it should be numerously signed. It was proposed to him to present it; to which he assented, provided they did their duty by showing its importance by the number of signatures attached to it.

Major REVELL rose to propose the first resolution, which in fact was a series of resolutions or tests essential to the proper choice of future representatives. The gallant Major read them *seriatim*, and those which alluded to the abolition of tithes, to the repeal of the corn laws, and to that of the taxes on knowledge, were loudly cheered. He said, that if they could get members to carry these resolutions into effect, he for one should bless the time that gave them the Reform Bill. But they would have still many difficulties to buckle with. He had given them good advice on a former occasion, when the kingdom was in a state of crisis—he had told them to put the supplies into the hands of Parliamentary commissioners, and he would now give them advice that would be every bit as useful. It was a secret of his—but he would out with it, since it would do the public good; it was, simply, that we should have a *cheap king*. (Cheers from the crowd, "*And a cheap queen above all things.*") If, in a limited monarchy, the king were allowed to play at chuck-farthing with guineas, and to curl his hair with bank-notes, his deputies would pursue the same course of extravagance that they saw pursued by the grand deputy. The viceroys of Ireland and the governors of India would expect to be paid in the

same proportion as the governor at home. The gallant Major, after alluding to Dutch governors in the colonies, who returned the surplus of their income to the mother government, requested the meeting to consider, to look upon, attentively look upon, the lords bishops, who sat as lay barons, and not in a spiritual capacity. They, as representatives of heaven, never thought themselves sufficiently paid, when a limited monarch, who was not a representative of heaven, but the head of the law of man, was so extravagantly recompensed. The fact was, that all the little deputies cried out, "You must pay me as well as you pay the great gentleman at St. James's." Those princes who have astonished the world by their achievements, were always hampered in the outset with respect to their money concerns. He then alluded to George IV., whom nature had richly endowed, but whom an extravagant parliament had spoiled, by richly endowing in another way. He concluded by advising the electors to details and not to generalities, for Peel, Herries, Goulbourn, Vyvyan, &c. will be liberal by wholesale, but in liberalism in detail they would be found wanting, as would all those who were liberal only because it was the fashion to be so.

Mr. Murphy seconded the resolution or resolutions, in a long and very animated speech. He would propose, by way of amendment, that in addition to the repeal of the corn-laws, members should be pledged to a repeal of all and every one of the taxes that pressed upon the labour of the country. (Cheers.)

Mr. Guthrie said, that, if not out of order, he would propose another addition, to the effect that there should be no property qualification for the elector or the elected. If it was the moral power of the 10*l.* electors that supported the present Administration in its agony, what would be the moral and physical force of millions of men when they had the same stimulus as the 10*l.* electors?

The Chairman would make no difficulty to this last addition when the tests were carried, and nobody could suppose that he would, when he reflected that it was he (Mr. Hume) who had brought about in Parliament that there should be no property qualifications for members for Scotch boroughs, and that the members for counties in Scotland should have no more qualification than electors.

Mr. Halls (the magistrate) proposed the second resolution. He considered that members should be returned free of expense; that vote by ballot and short Parliaments were essential to the happiness of the majority; the happiness of the great majority was what he especially advocated.

Mr. Warden seconded the resolution, and expressed himself inimical to particular pledges.

A committee was then appointed to carry the resolutions into effect. The names of the persons to form such committee were read by the chairman and approved of. They were those of the most respectable and influential persons of the parishes of St. Marybonne, Paddington, and Pancras. They were chosen by a show of hands.

The Chairman, before vacating the chair, addressed the meeting again, and said that they should choose for their candidates the men who should profess themselves the advocates for the majority of the resolutions adopted by the present meeting, and not stickle about a candidate's objections to one particular resolution, provided he assented to the greater number. (Cheers.)

Mr. Green proposed a vote of thanks to their excellent and indefatigable chairman, which was carried amid deafening applause.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

Friday, July 13, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

FELLOWS, G., George-place, Battersea, coke and charcoal-manufacturer.
HAYS, C. D., Meriton's-wharf, Bermondsey, mariner.
SPRING, T., City-road, victualler.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BRYARS, S., Chester, silversmith.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BULCOCK, J., Strand, printseller.

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BANKRUPTS.

BUTLER, C., Cheapside, druggist.
GIBSON, J., Blackburn, Lancashire, draper.
HICKMAN, J., Birmingham, chemist.
HISCOCK, W., Southampton, tailor.
MITCHELL, J., now or late of Pudsey Calverley, Yorkshire, linen-draper and grocer.
SHIPLEY, C., Sheffield, currier.

TUESDAY, JULY 17, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

FISHER, F. jun., Brighthelmstone, Sussex, licensed dealer in patent medicines.
HOGG, J., Wetherby, Yorkshire, grocer.
HUTTON, W. A., Rathbone-place, auctioneer.
MONTEITH, G. D., Brierley-hill, Staffordshire, apothecary.
PARKER, W., and W. Smith, Worcester, money-scriveners.
PENLEY, W. H. S. & A., Portsea, stationers.
RICHARDSON, J., Half Moon-street, Piccadilly, victualler.
ROBINSON, W., Stones, Lancashire, woollen-manufacturer.
SHORT, R., Dartmouth, sail-maker.
TAYLOR, J. M., Clement's-lane, Lombard-street, bookseller.
WALKER, G., Lane-end, Staffordshire, baker.
WATTS, R. S., St. Margaret's-hill, Southwark, hop and seed-merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JULY 16.—The supply of wheat fresh in this morning from Kent and Essex was full as good as might be expected at this season; and the major part of that from Suffolk, which arrived last week, remaining over for this day's market, the show of samples was rather large; and as the weather continues favourable, the mealing trade continues heavy, and may be noted 2*s.* per qr. cheaper than on this day se'nnight, although a few prime picked samples obtained within 1*s.* per qr. of last Monday's quotations; but no sales could be made of the secondary qualities, as the millers are not disposed to increase their stocks, and only purchase for the supply of their immediate wants.

Oats continuing to arrive in large quantities from Ireland causes a great depression in the trade, and even at an abatement of 1*s.* per qr., the sales were to a very limited extent, as only necessitous buyers were inclined to purchase. In barley, beans, and peas, there was no alteration, the supply and demand being very trifling.

Wheat	66s. to 74s.
Rye	33s. to 34s.
Barley	30s. to 33s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
——— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
——— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to —s.
——— Poland	—s. to —s.
——— Feed	21s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	44s. to 47s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	—s. to —s.
——— Cork	82s. to 83s.
——— Limerick	82s. to 83s.
——— Waterford	80s. to 82s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	60s. to 78s.
——— Gloucester, Double	60s. to 68s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
——— Edam	46s. to 56s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 16.

This day's supply of beasts—composed of about equal numbers of (for the most part) not more than half fat Lincolnshire and Durham steers, and good Welch runts, with about 200 prime Scots, and 150 (for the most part) prime Herefords, some town's-end cows, heifers of different breeds, &c—was rather limited: of sheep and lambs—the former chiefly composed of Downs, new Leicesters, and Kents; the latter mostly of new Leicesters and Downs—rather great.

The trade was, with each kind of meat, but more particularly that of middling and inferior quality, very dull, at barely Friday's prices.

Beasts, 1,872; sheep and lambs, 24,630; calves, 247; pigs, 160.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 20.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	84	83⅞	83⅞	83⅞	83⅞	83⅞

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TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF ESSEX, AND ITS BOROUGHS.

——— Non ita Romuli
Præscriptum et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis, veterumque Norma:
Privatus illis census erit brevis
Commune magnum.

GENTLEMEN,—At the next election, you will be called on to exercise your privilege of choosing men to serve you in Parliament, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, owing to the variety of candidates who may be desirous of offering themselves to the notice of a new and reformed constituency: it is, therefore, desirable that you should deliberate maturely on the claims of such as may solicit that honour, as well as on the conditions on which you would do right to elect them. There can be no doubt that an important crisis is at hand, in which it will be as prudent as it is just, to come forward with some decisive and popular measure, capable of affording immediate relief to the country.

In my opinion, whatever candidate be really desirous of serving his country at this important period, should give a pledge that he will support a plan for ABOLISHING ALL the ASSESSED TAXES, Excise, and Customs, which press heavily on the productive industry of the country; and for substituting in their stead a GRADUATED PROPERTY TAX, which should replenish the national Exchequer out of the superfluous coffers of the wealthy, and leave the poor farmer and honest mechanic quite free from its operation. I feel convinced, that whoever would do this, would be considered the friend of the people, and would not be asked whether he were a Tory, a Whig, or a Liberal.

The reform question being now settled in favour of popular representation, what you now want must obviously be not merely reformers, but practical economists and useful statesmen. Be therefore on your guard against hypocrites, who may avail themselves of the prevailing excitement, and may assume principles in order to obtain seats. In selecting men to be entrusted with the defence of your property and liberties, you must resolutely reject such candidates as have interests at stake manifestly incompatible with your own; and must form your judgment of comparative merits on some more solid criterion than the idle catch-words which any person may stick upon his banners. A haughty Whig tithe-monger is, from his *inconsistency*, as objectionable as an illiberal Tory. Patriotism can no longer be discerned in the colour of a flag; nor can political virtue be tried on the issue of any one disputed question.

Choose liberal and unflinching friends of the people, who have no narrow and exclusive attachment to any *party* whatever. A period is arrived in which it is necessary to discriminate between the partisan and the patriot—between the practical man and the pretending charlatan. For unfortunately, the very worst sort of partiality has hitherto been concealed under the delusive mask of "Independence!" I mean that partiality to selfish views of personal ambition, which would fain exclude the co-operation of disinterested abilities.

Make your selection among those alone whose characters correspond to their professions, whose good sense and useful talents are acknowledged, whose manners are humble and unassuming, and who live among you and are acquainted with your wants! Ask not what have been the purport of their long, noisy, and unmeaning speeches; but inquire if their rents be moderate. If they mix familiarly with and are beloved by their tenantry. And if they have time, health, and courage, to go through their parliamentary duties.

It seems to me that the same man should not be an acting justice of the peace and a member of Parliament. It is a sound maxim that separates the legislative from the executive. For, by a union of functions, not at all times compatible, it is reasonable to infer, that either the magisterial or the senatorial duties may be neglected.

A true lover of his country will respect her institutions; for they must be connected by memory with those early associations which attach him to his native soil. And, while he is ready to reform abuses that have crept into them, he will avoid all factions attempts to involve the foundations themselves, venerable from their antiquity, in hasty and inconsiderate ruin. The question should in every instance be—What is best for the people at large?

It would be premature, at a distance of at least five months from the period of the dissolution of Parliament, to make any specific and positive declaration; but this I can say, that if I should be induced to offer my services to the country in Parliament, it would be by a desire to respond to the call of even-handed Justice, who at length demands that the pecuniary burdens of the State should be laid exclusively on the shoulders of those who are rich enough to bear them. And it would be, in my opinion, an honourable sacrifice on the part of any man of property, who should willingly consent to save his country by a tax proportioned to the means which each individual might possess of enjoying its comforts, although he should thereby render himself poorer than he were before.

I am a friend to the abolition of capital punishments, to a general revision of the criminal code, and to the abolition of slavery. I will support the LIBERTY of the PRESS, a bill to protect children from ill-usage in factories, a bill to protect animals against cruelty, and, in short, any measure calculated to humanise the people, and lay the foundation for a sound public morality, believing such to be the surest means of improving the happiness of society, and of removing those obstacles to the operation of intelligence which have so long stood in the way of just and enlightened legislation. I am friendly to a

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revision, but not to the total destruction, of the corn-laws; desirous to depend chiefly on home culture, and to see the labourers of England fully employed.

On similar grounds I object to the introduction of certain kinds of machinery in factories, instead of the labour of the hand; and I feel convinced that any scheme that impels the bark of merchandise onward with a forced velocity, and leaves unemployed pauperism to starve in the wake, may tend to enrich particular monopolists, but is inconsistent with the general good.

If affluent men would unite cordially in such a plan of public virtue, founded on financial sacrifice, as I should propose, and of their willingness to do which this mode of taxation would be an indication, the loom and the shuttle would again be set a going; trade would flourish; and the appalling cry of hunger being silenced in our streets, our statesmen might discuss in security all other subordinate reforms and improvements. Let those, therefore, who are attached to the land ploughed by their forefathers, rally round the STANDARD OF EQUITABLE TAXATION, by whomsoever it may be unfurled; and then may we again see the scythe and the sickle wielded for the support of the MANY, and not for the superfluity of the FEW; then will the haycock and the wheatsheaf be surveyed with secure delight; our barns will be filled, our markets brisk, our bags full of money, and the toil of the field in summer being repaid by the comforts of the winter's fireside, our peasantry will be contented and grateful; while the landlord will be satisfied on the lower terms, by virtue of the punctuality of payment, and will rejoice at the picture of rural happiness, which he shall see spread around him.

An opportunity which may never be recalled is at hand, in which you are invited to choose who shall be the legal instruments for securing to you, by the law of the land, these your just rights by the law of nature. New conditions of election have now arisen; and you will consult your interest in *not* giving any promises till you see who appears in the field. Exercise then your privilege with courage; and convince the world that the BALLOT is not yet necessary to shield the independence of an Englishman's vote; and having done your duty, rest with the reflection that the blessings of peace and prosperity at home, and of foreign commerce abroad, may be yet showered down on this long-oppressed country, in a larger measure than the past neglect of our interests has deserved; if honest men, fearless of influence, will consent, however late in the day, to let their heads be guided by practical wisdom, and will open their hearts in sentiments of justice and of charity.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
T. FORSTER.

London, July 10, 1832.

2, Catherine-street, Strand, London.

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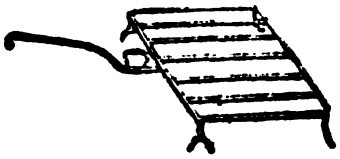
COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 77.—No. 4.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 28TH, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*



SOUTHERN TOUR.

THE BARINGS.

Havant, 23rd of July, 1832.

IT is right that I give some little account of this tour upon which I am. In the *Register* before the last, I noticed the proceedings relative to the chopstick festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, and I mentioned the circumstance of the visit to COOK'S grave at MICHELDEVER; and I also noticed the sermon which I heard at that church on the 8th of July. On the 9th of July I remained at SUTTON SCOTNEY to settle up all matters, and to hear the representations of the relations of those who were transported by the SPECIAL COMMISSION, of which Sergeant WILDE! was one; and which special commission seems to have laid its hand with peculiar weight on this bunch of unhappy parishes. On the 10th of July I set off for WINCHESTER, going down through MICHELDEVER, and then along the turnpike-road through WORTHY. In all the proofs of God's goodness to man, it is impossible to discover a greater, than the abundance showered down upon the earth in the parishes of WONSTON, STOKE-CHARITY, HUNTON, and MICHELDEVER; all of the four churches of which (which lie pretty nearly in a straight line) are embraced within a distance of *two miles*, or at the utmost *of two miles and a half*. Will any man attempt to make me believe that the country was thinly peopled when these churches were erected; and that "priestcraft" and not utility was the cause of the erection? Priestcraft would have desired to keep the money to itself, instead of laying it out in the building of churches. In short, this is an impudent falsehood, put forward for the purpose of making us believe that our great and rich country was but a beggarly concern before the family of HANOVER and the Protestant parsons were introduced.

These churches are situated along the middle of a valley which is not deep, but which has a little rivulet running along the middle of it. The rivulet is bordered on both sides by a narrow strip of meadow land; and then begins the arable, going up in a gradual slope on each side to a great distance, formed into large fields, totally unshaded by trees, which are found only along the valley, where they are very lofty and very beautiful. The homesteads are all down in the valley, forming part of the villages. The farms are all extensive, and the homesteads are in proportion as to dimensions, and are all in the best possible order; the farm-houses being fit for gentlemen to live in, and all the out-buildings being of the most commodious and substantial description. This is particularly the case at MICHELDEVER, which parish is divided into about five or six farms; the whole parish, with the exception of a smallish farm, belonging to a Mr. PERRY, being the property of TOM BARING. The crops this year are all fine everywhere; and in this valley such as it is impossible to look at, if one has seen foreign countries, without believing that God chose ENGLAND as a peculiar object of his care and benevolence.

But, alas! he meant that those who tilled this favoured land; that those whose patient toil made these fine fields of wheat and of barley and of clover; made all these sheep, all this wool, and all this bacon, to come; his will was, that they should not any more than the ox when he treadeth out the corn, be muzzled as a reward for their toil; he meant that they should enjoy their fair share of the produce of the land; and that when the

land yielded two hundred times more than they all could consume, the corn and the meat should not be all carried away, and they left with their skin clinging to their bones, and with nothing to eat but the accursed potato, and nothing to drink but the water from the brook. He meant that they should not be this miserable race of people; the superabundance of the barley and the wheat kept from their lips, and their backs bare, while the wool is sent away to clothe the idlers who live upon the fruit of their labour. This is a perversion of God's will, and of God's judgment. At the church of MICHELDEVER I saw the very poorest congregation that I ever set my eyes on. Last year I went to the church at WONSTON, where the congregation appeared by no means to be so poor. I may have seen as miserable congregations in the rich parts of WILTSHIRE; but I have never seen any so poor as that of MICHELDEVER anywhere else. As I said before, I do not impute this to TOM BARING, nor to his farmers: I impute it to the damnable system which has prevailed for so many years. That self-interest should be prevalent in the breasts of men is necessary; as POPE says, self-love conduces to the general good; because by each taking care of himself; by each striving to prosper, prosperity is made to pervade a whole country. Thus, TOM BARING naturally gets as high rents as he can; his farmers, in their natural efforts to make the most they can of their farms, naturally get their work done as cheap as they can, and give as little relief to the poor as they can. If I were to yield to my indignation at seeing these fine crops, and this miserable bunch of labourers, I should fall on upon TOM BARING and his farmers without mercy; but I do not; I impute to them nothing that would not be done by men in general placed in their situation.

But not so with the *Government!* It is right, it is necessary, it is agreeable to the laws of civil society and of nature that these men should pursue their self-interests; but it is for the rulers of the land to take care that this natural and necessary propensity in individuals be so far controlled by the law *as not to operate injuriously towards the people at large*; and I have no scruple to lay to the charge of the Government, by which I mean *the lawmakers*, the misery and all the injustice towards the poor prevalent throughout the country. I lay to that Parliament the charge of having reduced the labouring people to beggary. I lay to it the charge of the monstrous injustice of compelling those who raise the bread and the meat and the wool and the drink to live upon miserable roots, to sleak their thirst with water, and to cover their bodies with foul-looking rags. In 1821 Mr. JOHN ELMAN of SUSSEX, told the committee of the House of Commons, that when he became a farmer, forty-five years before, every man in his parish brewed his own beer and drank it by his own fireside; and that now not a man in the parish did it except one or two to whom he gave the malt as a present. The same committee were told by the then sheriff for Wiltshire, that formerly the men in that county used to take meat and bread and beer to the field to their work, and that they now took *cold potatoes* in their luncheon-bags to the field, and had nothing but water to drink. Not the smallest attention did that attract from the Parliament, no inquiry was instituted into the causes of this dreadful change; not a motion was made upon the subject; not a single observation did it elicit from any one of the six hundred and fifty-eight obdurate hearts to whom it was addressed! Had I the power, and if I found them still alive, I would inflict disgrace and even punishment upon every man composing that House of Commons.

I charge those Parliaments with having produced the whole of this misery; I charge them with having driven the single men and the boys and the maidens from the farm-houses, and thereby produced that insubordination, those ill manners, that dissoluteness, and all that multitude of crimes heretofore unknown to ENGLAND. I charge those Parliaments with the ruin and

disgrace of the country. Tom Baring selects a certain number of families in his two parishes of STRATTON and of MICHELDEVER, to whom he gives out of his own pocket a shilling a week each; and I was told that he had sometimes interfered with the farmers and insisted on greater relief being given to the labouring people. I am very far from wishing to derogate from the merit of this; but, alas! he understands nothing at all of the matter. He lives among a circle of SCOTCH bailiffs and SCOTCH *feelosofers*. He thinks that he, by direct and individual means, can check an evil which arises from a general and all-prevailing cause. The people to whom he gives his shillings ascribe no good motive to him; and the whole of his conduct in this respect is ascribed to nothing more than a desire to keep slaves quiet. It is not by direct and partial efforts that things are to be restored to their former happy state. The cause of such restoration must be *general*; it must be indirect; it must operate like the air; and it must reach the poor souls in the coal-pits and the iron-pits and the rather less unfortunate toilers at the loom; it must reach them all without their perceiving how it comes. The farmer must take the men and maids back to the farm-house without any direct compulsion; manufacturers must give sufficient wages, and do it without grudging, and not know why they are induced to do it; the robber of the sheep-fold and the hen-roost must cease to have a desire to rob, and almost wonder why it is that the desire has ceased. The number of paupers must be diminished nine-tenths without the rate-payers or the poor perceiving the cause of the change. This is what may be accomplished in the very *first session of an honest Parliament*; and *if Tom Baring and I should meet in that Parliament*, I will tell him how it is to be done, and how he may, if he will, enjoy his fine estate in peace and safety, and in peace and safety leave it to his heir, which I verily believe he will not, unless the measures which I propose shall be adopted.

At WINCHESTER I put up at the BARLEY MOW, a house that I would recommend to any one who has not more money than he knows what to do with, and who can eat a mutton chop without having a waiter dancing in and out of the room with a napkin in his hand, and making more clatter with his plates and his other stuff, than you hear in a crockery-ware shop, where there are half a dozen women engaged in the choosing of tea-tackle. In this house I found quietness, good bed, and reasonable charges. I was engaged in writing all the day. It was at the time of what is called "THE COLLEGE ELECTION;" and they told me that there were swarms of persons, and BINGHAM BARING along with them, *waiting upon poor girls and boys while they were eating!* This was something new I was told; and really "something has done good and *great good too*," as was said in the paper that COCKEY DENMAN thought it prudent to prosecute. Alas! the working people are not to be cajoled in this way. In NORFOLK, when money and blankets were given to them in the winter of 1831, they called them "*scare-money*" and "*scare-blankets*." No! this is not the way to do it; it is to be done by *all-pervading law*; it is to be done by indirect and imperceptible means; men are to be made contented by taking from them the grounds of discontent; and by making it the interest of the employers of the working people so to act towards them as to deprive all just men of all grounds of complaint.

I heard that WINCHESTER was likely to derive little or no advantage from the Reform Bill. The number of voters is small. There is a chain of complete dependance on the clergy especially, and on the BARINGS, who, it seems, are to divide the votes between them: the working people have no votes; and they are not of importance enough, as customers of the voters, to have any influence upon them. I was told that BINGHAM BARING on the one side, and some man on the other side, were to be elected. Now it is notorious that BINGHAM BARING, being a magistrate, struck Mr. Deacle with a stick, while the latter

was handcuffed; it is equally notorious that the plough-boy (he was only 18) HENRY COOK, was HANGED for *striking* this very BINGHAM BARING, without any malice prepense, and without *doing him any bodily harm*; and that BINGHAM BARING never petitioned the King to spare the life of this young man, who had been born and bred up and worked all his life in Baring's grandfather's and uncle's parish of Micheldever. These facts are as notorious as the sun at noonday: they are known to every soul in the CITY OF WINCHESTER. Others may do what they like; but if WINCHESTER elect this man, I shall always call it the *accursed city*, until it be freed from that influence under which it will bring upon itself this matchless stain of infamy. HENRY COOK has long since become food for worms. The parson of the parish told the poor mother and father the other day, that COBBETT could not raise their son from the grave. "No," said I, when I gave her the blankets sent her by the clothier of DEWSBURY, and the gown and frocks sent for her by the manufacturer of LANCASHIRE: "no," said I, "Mrs. "Cook, I, and these gentlemen who "have strewed the grave of your son "with flowers, cannot raise him from "the dead; but we can rescue his me- "mory from the infamy of the publi- "cation put forth by Mr. BARROW, "under the name of the ATTORNEY- "GENERAL, Denman: and more than "that, Mrs. Cook, we can make his "sad case known; we can inquire into "all the circumstances of his trial, and "his condemnation and execution; and "in so doing, we can make this poor "dead son of yours of great service, "perhaps, in protecting the lives of the "sons of living poor people."

From WINCHESTER I came on towards Botley, on the 11th of July. I had to go these ten miles upon a turnpike-road of my own inventing and my own making; and a more beautiful ten miles there is not in all England. As soon as we quit WINCHESTER and cross the river, we get into the estates and manors of Lady MILDMAY. Here the farms are small, the fields small, the land not very good, and the country interspersed by woods and commons, and here the people are better off. At the mention of the parish of OSWELBURY, my readers will exclaim, "Ah! that is "the place from which FARMER BOYS "was transported; and you *pledged* "*yourself* to cause an inquiry into the "case of Farmer Boys, and you have "not done it." I have done all that I *could* do up to this time: and, let the people of HAMPSHIRE be assured that I will lose my life rather than neglect anything within my power to do justice to this honest man and his wife and ten children. Mrs. Boys, who carries on the farm that her husband occupied, lives at a very little distance from the turnpike-road. We went and breakfasted with her. What passed on this occasion it is not necessary for me here to state. I was happy to see her in good health and in good spirits, and to find that she had heard from her husband who had written to her in very good spirits also; he was in slavery, and compelled to work like a slave; but he was in good health, and a year and a half of his time out of the seven had passed away. At BOTLEY I stopped, saw old acquaintances there, harangued the chopsticks before I went away; advised them to be obedient to their masters, to work well and faithfully and cheerfully; to discharge every duty towards their employers most conscientiously; and *having done that*, to resolve not to live upon potatoes, be the means whatever they might which were necessary to prevent them from so doing; for that God never intended that they were to make all the bread and all the meat and all the clothing and all the houses, and that they themselves were to live worse than pigs.

From Botley I came on to Titchfield that evening, and slept at the house of Mr. WILLIAM STARES, who had met us at the chopstick festival at Sutton Scotney. From the house of Mr. STARES, who is both miller and farmer, and a most excellent man, we came on very early in the morning of the 12th of July, through FAREHAM and COSHAM to PORTSMOUTH, or rather to PORTSEA.

which is just out side the town of PORTSMOUTH, and which is now included in the borough of PORTSMOUTH. Mr. SWEET, who keeps the Wheatsheaf Inn, which is near the gate of the Dock-Yard at PORTSEA; this gentleman and other friends met us at about two miles from his house, took me into a landau decorated with flags, and thus conducted us to the inn, where we stayed during the 12th, 13th, and 14th, I *lecturing* to very numerous audiences on the 13th and 14th. On Sunday, the 15th, we went over to the ISLE OF WIGHT, taking horse and carriage over with us. We landed at RYDE, and went through BRADING to the farm of Mr. RICHARD SMITH at LANGUARD. On Monday I lectured at the little town of BRADING, about four miles from LANGUARD; and on Tuesday at NEWPORT, which is about eight miles from LANGUARD, and which is not far from the centre of the Island. NEWPORT retains the power of sending two members to Parliament: and here I found politics in a very curious state. The borough-monger corporation of this very beautiful town are endeavouring to return the two members as they have done for a long time; and the radicals, as they call themselves, are endeavouring to prevent them from doing this. These latter had got the notorious TORRENS for a cock; but when I went to Sutton Scotney, I took down in the form of a hand-bill a hundred copies of the address, which, upon the subject of this brazen fellow, I had sent down to Bolton, where it will be remembered he had also been puffing himself off. At Sutton Scotney I met some friends from the Isle of Wight, and I gave them these hundred bills, which had produced a considerable sensation before my arrival at Newport. The corporation have, it seems, got for their cock a man called Sir WILLOUGHBY GORDON, and who figured, I believe, so eminently in the affair of MOTHER CLARKE and the DUKE OF YORK. The radicals found GORDON'S name in the Black Book; and they told him that he could not be a man fit for them, as he certainly would not vote for taking off the taxes on which he lived. His answer was, that he was an *independent* man, for that his pensions were "*settled upon him for life*;" whereas TORRENS might, at any day the Ministers chose, be stripped of his commissions and his pay. This was very true as to TORRENS; but it did not occur to this GORDON, that he might be stripped of his pensions *on any day that a Parliament chose*; though it ought to occur to the people of NEWPORT that if GORDON be a member of Parliament, he will never vote for such stripping, and will never vote for the taking off of the taxes, seeing that his pensions come out of the taxes. And who is to expect that Torrens will ever vote for the taking off of a tax, when he knows that his pay and that his coals and his candles and his bat-money must come out of the taxes? Besides which, to vote for the taking off of a tax he must vote *against the Ministry*; and that Ministry have always the power to strip him, and without any cause assigned, of his commission as well as of his pay. Away, then, with all the pretences of those who call themselves radicals, and who still uphold this man at NEWPORT. These men cannot be sincere. They do it, they say, *to oppose the corporation* who has held them in slavery so long; but what can the corporation do *worse* than that which they are now attempting to do? What is it to the people of ENGLAND, whether creatures of the Government, whether notorious tax-eaters be sent into the Parliament by a corporation, or be sent into the Parliament by men calling themselves patriots? What! can the patriots of NEWPORT find no other man than a tax-eater, a sinecure officer, a man who may be stripped by the Government of all his income at any hour; a man the most completely dependent that can be found in the whole kingdom? The Reform Bill will have done something for us indeed if it inspire us with the wish of electing men like this. Could the patriots of NEWPORT find no other man in the kingdom? I do hope that the people of NEWPORT will, before the day of election come, be made to see the

grace which such a choice will inflict upon their town. There must be something wrong at bottom when such a man could be selected. Far better would it be still to have the old corporation and their nominees; because then the people of the town would not participate in the disgrace. I was struck with the beauty of this town and of the country round about it; with the niceness of the people, with their good manners; and I had great reason to be pleased with the very numerous and attentive audience to whom I had to address myself; and I naturally feel particularly anxious that this town should not have to suffer such indelible disgrace. What! in all ENGLAND is there not an independent man to be found to represent NEWPORT but TORRENS or WILLOUGHBY GORDON? Seeing the parties so situated, feeling great tenderness even with regard to the errors of those radicals who had been urged into this desperate course by their deadly and natural hostility to the corporation, I did, as I had done at PORTSEA, avoid making myself a party in the contest; but, I trust, that every word I uttered had a tendency to prevent the scandalous result of which I have been speaking.

From NEWPORT we returned that evening to the beautiful and pleasant farm of Mr. SMITH, and spent the whole of Wednesday in walking and lounging about. The accounts which people give of the ISLE OF WIGHT, are by no means fabulous. It is a very beautiful spot; an endless variety of views; hill, dale, and water, being almost constantly under your eye at the same time. A great variety of soils, some too near the chalk, others too near the clay, others too sandy, but a great deal of the land very good; and this year the crops fine everywhere. The eight or nine miles from LANGUARD to NEWPORT were the eight or nine miles of the finest cornfields that I ever went through in my life. Many of the farms are still small notwithstanding the monopolising system; and, which was the most charming object of all, the working people everywhere having good large well-cultivated gardens, and almost every man keeping one pig or two; and none of them with that haggard look which is so painful to my eyes in the north of HAMPSHIRE.

On Thursday, the 19th, we set off to return to Portsmouth, quitting one of the pleasantest houses that I ever was in in all my life; a house of plenty, of unaffected manners, of real hospitality, and of everything desirable in this world. I have been at a great number of friends' houses in my life-time; some of them equal to this, but never was I at one to surpass it. We came back through BRADING to RYDE, where we had to stop some time for the steamboat, and we learnt something of the celebrated "Hughes Hughes," formerly an attorney of the name of HEWITT, at CLAPHAM, celebrated for his activity in the affair of the *Buxton actions against the hundred*, and now aldermen's alderman of the Ward of Portsoken. This celebrated personage, who has not yet arrived at half his celebrity, and whom I saw just before I left town *walking along Fleet-street arm-in-arm with Alderman Wood*. This celebrated man who has so much time for pleading granted to him by the judges of the Court of King's Bench, is, they told us, a person of so much piety that he built a new church at RYDE, on speculation; and so prosperous does his piety make him that he sold the church to considerable profit.

Before we left PORTSEA it had been arranged that I should lecture at GOSPORT on this Thursday, which I did to a much smaller audience than I had had at NEWPORT in the ISLE OF WIGHT: Gosport is not to be a borough nor in a borough. It will have none but county voters. The people are almost wholly dependent, directly or indirectly, on the hospital, the forts, the victualling and other offices under the Government. It seems to be like WINCHESTER; a lump of carcases without souls. Very different is the state of things at Portsea, where I lectured again on Friday, the 20th, to an audience the most attentive that I ever had in my life. On Saturday, the 21st, we came off to this town of

HAVANT, which is on our road to CHICHESTER and BRIGHTON. At PORTSEA the candidates are BONHAM CARTER and FRANCIS THORNHILL BARING, eldest son of Tom Baring, husband to Lord Grey's niece, a Lord of the Treasury under Lord Grey, a Hampshire magistrate, and one of the party by whom Mr. and Mrs. Deacle were seized, handcuffed, and dragged in a coal-cart to Winchester jail.

There is another candidate in the field, but of him I know little at present. I have before had to state that Mr. HUME had been written to by some of the reformers here respecting the pledges that ought to be put to members. I stated this in the *Register* of the 7th of July, in a letter addressed to Mr. Hume himself. My statement in that *Register* was this:

"To MR. HUME.

"SIR,—Under date of the 29th June, "I received a letter from a gentleman "at PORTSEA, containing the following "passage:—A gentleman here, a few "days ago, wrote to Mr. HUME, re- "questing him to *recommend a candi-* "*date* who would *pledge himself* to "obtain specified things; among which "were, *the repeal of all duties pressing* "*on the necessaries of life*, the *abolition* "*of the corn-laws*, *the extinction of* "*tithes*, &c., &c. Mr. HUME replied by "observing, that our present members, "Messrs. Carter and Baring, had "*fought nobly* in the cause of reform; "and that it was AN UNDERSTOOD THING, "that those who had done so *would be* "*re-elected*; and that he, therefore, "hoped the people of Portsea would "*not think of ousting them*, and that, at "any rate, *he would not be a party in* "*any endeavour to displace them.*

"Finding such a stir, the members "thought it prudent to come among "the electors. They were here on "Monday and Tuesday, and held four "meetings. Their opinions were asked "on the subjects above named, and on "'*triennial parliaments*,' &c. They "expressed themselves *favourable to the* "*whole*; but thought we ought to wait "to see *how the Reform Bill would* "*work*, before any *new reforms* were "attempted; and they would *not pledge* "*themselves to any one thing*, except "*generally to do all they could for the* "*benefit of the country*. This, to many, "*is far from being satisfactory*; and "I, with others, have resolved to remain "neutral. A declaration which I have "made repeatedly has been met by a "ready acquiescence, viz. that I am "resolved not to assist, by my vote, in "placing any one in Parliament who "will perpetuate or prolong the present "system."

After I had been at Portsea some time, the gentleman who had Mr. HUME's letter came to me, and requested me to give him the name of my informant, which I at once declined to do, not having his authority to do it. This gentleman said that my correspondent has misrepresented the letter of Mr. HUME. I said that the way to convince me of that was to show me Mr. HUME's letter, which that gentleman did; and I found that my correspondent had not at all misrepresented its contents. Instead of the words, "*an understood thing*," Mr. HUME's letter says, "It is a thing generally understood." Mr. HUME's letter expresses a hope that the people of PORTSEA *will re-elect Bonham Carter and Baring*. He does not say, in so many words, *that he will not be a party to endeavour to displace them*; but it *clearly says the* same thing in other words; so that my correspondent was guilty of not the smallest misrepresentation of the contents of the letter of HUME.

Mr. BONHAM CARTER is a great and general favourite of the people here; and when a man and his father before him and his whole family have, for so many years, so conducted themselves as to be generally beloved and respected, it does require, and it ought to require, some very particular and solid reason for people to withhold their confidence from such a man. Still the necessity of demanding pledges in this case, is of such paramount importance, that every inferior consideration must give way to it, if men mean to perform their duty to their country. But with

regard to BARING there is no such consideration as those which enter into the case with respect to Mr. CARTER. He is one of a bunch of great mushrooms, springing up out of soil the most unwholesome; he is a placeman already; he is a relation of the Prime Minister; he is bound to the borough system by all sorts of ties. He will give no pledge; and there is and ever will be against him the handcuffing of Mrs. DEACLE, at the very thought of which manhood starts back with horror,

Such, however, is the influence of great heaps of money; so extensive and so insinuating is the influence of Mammon; that there are men, and men generally thought to be reformers too, and calling themselves such decidedly, who affect to believe; who do not believe, but who affect to believe, that this charge against BARING, with regard to Mrs. DEACLE, is false. How then does this case stand, and how ought it to be presented to the electors of the borough of PORTSMOUTH? Let us strip it of all the sayings and gainsayings: let us lay it fairly before the electors of the borough of PORTSMOUTH; and then let them take their choice between infamy and honour. Fairly placed before them, there will be no room for *believing* or *disbelieving* any more than with regard to the existence of the sun and the moon. Let us take the charges against this BARING one by one, and see how the matter stands.

1. That he made one of a party of six, his cousin BINGHAM BARING, Captain Neville, Parson Wright, Seagrim the attorney, Dean the banker, and himself. He made one of this party, he and his brother Bingham being magistrates; he made one of this party, who went, *volunteers*, to assist two constables in taking Mr. and Mrs. Deacle from their farm-house, putting them into a coal-cart, conducting the cart a part of the way to WINCHESTER, and then shifting them into a post-chaise, in which was the jailer, Becket, who took these two parties to WINCHESTER jail.
2. That these parties had committed no crime whatsoever; because Mrs. Deacle was never brought to trial, and Mr. DEACLE having been brought to trial, was acquitted.
3. That the whole of these, with the exception of Dean, had an action for damages brought against them by Mr. DEACLE; that BINGHAM BARING was convicted of having struck Mr. DEACLE a blow with a thick stick, while the latter was in the coal-cart handcuffed; and that the other parties were acquitted, upon the charge of the judge that they had nothing to do with the blow, and they had been aiding and assisting the constable in the execution of his duty.
4. That this FRANCIS THORNHILL BARING, when her husband had been handcuffed, pulled Mrs. DEACLE up to the place where her husband was, held her arm while the handcuff was put upon her wrist, pulled her along out of the inner room through the outer room into the yard, carried her across the yard to the cart, and helped to put her up into the cart.

Now, electors of PORTSMOUTH; now, you who are not so base as to be blinded by the glitterings of Mammon; here are *four* charges, three of which have all been proved, and in answer to which the parties have never presumed to offer a denial. Indeed no denial can be offered, for the facts are notoriously undeniable. Were the fourth charge out of the question, the three first are more than enough to make any man who has the feelings of a man about him, to turn from this BARING with scorn. But *if the fourth charge be true*, how will any one of you dare to look man or woman in the face; which if you will dare to look at his wife, and especially which of you will dare to ask a young woman for her hand, if you vote for a man with this charge upon his head?

Well, then, how stands the matter with regard to the truth of this charge? BARING denies it: he says that it is false; and what does it rest upon? It rests upon this: the solemn assertion of

Mr. and Mrs. Deacle, made in their petition, which was presented to the House of Commons, and printed by order of the House. But the partisans of Mammon will say, Mr. and Mrs. Deacle *might assert that which was false.* Certainly they might; but pray observe this, that they, in the same petition, earnestly prayed that they might be heard at the bar of the House, *and they pledged themselves to produce at that bar, witnesses other than themselves to prove the truth of all and singular the allegations contained in their petition.* Thus you see that the charge against this BARING did not, and does not, rest upon the assertion of Mr. and Mrs. Deacle; but upon the oath of credible witnesses, *other than themselves,* which they were ready to produce if the House would permit them. And, now pray mark the *sequel*; pray mark how it happened that the House would not permit them to do this.

The petition having been presented, and having filled the public with indignation, and brought a cloud of petitions praying for an investigation into the matter, *the Ministers expressed their readiness to grant a committee to inquire into the affair*; and the BARINGS affected to be as anxious for the inquiry as the DEACLES were.

A time was therefore appointed for Colonel EVANS to move for the appointment of the committee; but mark, when that time arrived, the Ministers, *the friends of the Barings,* the Prime Minister, the uncle-in-law of this very FRANCIS THORNHILL BARING; these very Ministers, who all were ready to say that they almost knew this BARING to be innocent of the charge, *rejected the motion of Colonel Evans,* and would not let there be a committee to prove the falsehood of the DEACLES and the innocence of this BARING! What! will you believe that the Ministers thought this BARING innocent of the charge, and yet refused to have a committee to prove the innocence? Will you believe that Lord GREY thought him innocent; that his uncle-in-law, who must, of all things in the world, have wished to see this cursed spot rubbed out of the character of the husband of his brother's daughter, who was a Lord of the Treasury under himself, too? Will you believe, I say, that Lord GREY could think this man innocent of this charge, while he refused to use the easy means to prove the innocence to all the world?

No! common sense rejects such a conclusion: common sincerity sickens at the thought of pretending to believe in the truth of a thing so manifestly false. There stands the charge; and the charge must be looked upon as a true charge by every man of sense; and no one will affect to regard it as false, except he be a knave in his nature, or has been corrupted to the core by the workings of the loan-monger, Mammon. Thus is the character of the electors of PORTSMOUTH placed fairly before the nation. If they reject this man, the name of PORTSMOUTH will be pronounced with honour throughout the country; if they elect him, it will be pronounced with execration from one end of the kingdom to the other. The missionaries of Mammon are at work at PORTSMOUTH, and all round the country, spreading about the report, that Mr. DEACLE *has signed a paper, confessing that the* BARINGS *were innocent of what he had laid to their charge.* There is nothing that these infamous wretches will not say; but the first question is, how comes BARING *not to publish* this paper signed by Mr. DEACLE? If he had such a paper, can anybody believe that he would not publish it? If Mr. DEACLE were to do such a thing, there is no hole in England in which he would be able to hide himself from being trodden upon and spitten upon. But even were he to do it, it would have no weight in the clearing of BARING from the charge. If he were base enough to confess that his petition was a lie, that would not answer the purpose of the BARINGS. If he were infamous enough to take a bag of gold from Mammon as the price of his own infamy, and that of his wife too, that would not clear the BARINGS, for there are plenty of witnesses to the facts other than himself and his wife. With regard to the petition itself, he signed it with

his hand; but if he were now to say he was a liar, to take a bag of gold as the price of his infamy, that would not silence those other witnesses of which I have just spoken, and which he wanted to bring to the bar of the House. If he were to take it into his head, that this was his *own affair;* and that if he had a mind to sell himself to Mammon, nobody else had anything to do with the matter; and if he has not sense enough to perceive that it is a public matter, and not a private one, we are not to be blinded by his error. There was a public wrong committed on his person and that of his wife? and all the nation are not to be silenced, if Mammon should be successful in silencing him.

Now, I beg the reader to observe, that I give no credit whatsoever to this rumour about a paper signed by Mr. DEACLE. I believe it to be a most atrocious falsehood circulated by the vultures who are fed by Mammon; fellows actually paid by Mammon for circulating the lie. I know Mr. Deacle; and I believe him to be incapable of a base or unjust act. But while I say this, which I do with the utmost sincerity, I must say, that Mr. Deacle has now a most imperious duty to perform. He now sees these two heroes of MARWELL, one a candidate for the city of WINCHESTER, and the other a candidate for the borough of PORTSMOUTH. Mr. DEACLE is a young man and a strong man. It is his duty to go to WINCHESTER, and hold out that arm to BINGHAM BARING which he struck with a big stick when it was in a handcuff; to load the fellow with epithets and appellations which he deserves; and to bid him come forward *and strike that arm again.* It is his duty to send Mrs. DEACLE to PORTSMOUTH, there to stand upon the hustings, and to hold out that little wrist upon which this FRANCIS THORNHILL BARING put the handcuff. There are plenty of brave men at PORTSMOUTH to protect her and to resent her ill-treatment. Let Mr. DEACLE act thus, neither of these men will be members of Parliament, public justice will in some measure have been done, and he and Mrs. DEACLE will have been avenged. As I said before, I know Mr. DEACLE well. His only fault is that of having too much gentleness in his nature; but I beseech him to reflect, that this is a duty which he owes to his country. Mr. DEACLE is much more fit for a member of Parliament than this BARING is, or ever will be. Why not come to PORTSMOUTH, and thrust the fellow aside, which he might do in an hour? The country has been so long cowed down, we have so long been accustomed to see might overcome right, that men who do not reflect are very apt to suppose that it is always to be thus; but Mr. DEACLE ought to reflect that *a committee would not now be refused him, when a reformed Parliament shall meet:* he ought to reflect, that things will be totally changed in that respect; and that he and Mrs. DEACLE will have that protection *in reality*, which was prayed for on their behalf in so many petitions from all parts of ENGLAND. I beg him to think of all this, and to resolve not to be trampled under foot by a set of vermin, who were unknown when his forefathers were men of consequence in their county. Above all things, I beg him to *think of Mrs. Deacle!* It was bad enough for her to be compelled to suffer *the insult* from the low vagabonds, but still worse to be made the subject of *their jeers!*

All sorts of lies are afloat through the means of swarms of attorneys that Mammon has in his pay. Amongst other things, they say that Mr. DEACLE *is going off to America.* What should he go there for? To be unknown? It would be much more difficult for him to hide himself there than in England. Every newspaper in the *United States* has recorded, with indignation, the base transaction of MARWELL farm. In an address which I received from PHILADELPHIA, on my triumph over the perfidious Whigs, BINGHAM BARING and the transaction of MARWELL were not omitted to be mentioned. The BARINGS have *two roots*: one has taken possession of the soil of England, and the other of the United States of America, where the old original BINGHAM, and by

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funding works, too, amassed his heaps of money. Why, if Mr. DEACLE were to run away to that country, every one would believe that the BARINGS had got him to go thither; and by what means no man would doubt. Accordingly he would find, though in a country of boundless woods, no spot sufficiently secluded to hide him from contempt and scorn. The *Yankees* would ride him upon a rail, which is the punishment of a coward who leaves his wife undefended.

I merely state this, because such is the report which the BARINGS and their SCOUTS have spread about the country. It is unquestionably an atrocious lie: nobody that knows Mr. DEACLE will believe it; but it is, nevertheless, necessary that he should take some steps of a very *decided character* to let the BARINGS know that he is resolved to have *justice*. There is plenty of time before this election will come; and he ought to take his measures prudently and coolly.

The tools of the BARINGS, in the neighbourhood of PORTSMOUTH, observe, that, as FRANCIS THORNHILL BARING gave the lie to Mr. Deacle's petition, in a speech which the former made at PORTSMOUTH a little while ago, and which speech was published in the PORTSMOUTH newspapers; and that as Mr. DEACLE HAS NOT CONTRADICTED the assertions in this speech, the speech must be *true* and the petition *false!* These base hirelings of Mammon must tell us, in the first place, how Mr. DEACLE was to get at a sight of the infamous newspapers at PORTSMOUTH, he being in Somersetshire, and the circulation of these papers being confined to the humbug part of the people of Hampshire. Then they must tell us *how he was to get these vile reptiles to publish his contradiction*, any more than he was able to get the base reptiles at WINCHESTER to publish his defence against calumnies which they themselves had published. These scoundrel beggars of the provincial press are even worse than those of the daily press in London, and God knows that is bad enough. The question with these off-scourings of mankind, is, not whether the thing be true or false, but whether the falsehood or the truth will bring them most money: they will publish for an angel as well as for the devil, provided the angel will give them more money than the devil will give them. To every remonstrance that you make with them on account of their turpitude, their answer is, "*We must live.*" To which you might very justly reply, as a French minister did to a lampooner, "*'Pon my word I see no necessity for that.*" Nor is there any necessity for it any more than for the existence of toads and snakes; and for my part, I never see one of their papers without my hand moving about involuntarily in search of a broomstick or brick-bat. There are, indeed, here and there one of the provincial papers that are not base and corrupt to this extent; but with them as with the London daily papers, corruption is the *rule* and honesty the *exception*. CONTRADICTION, indeed! How was Mr. DEACLE to contradict this fellow, unless he had had a boroughmonger's purse in his pocket? Oh, no! All those who pretend to see an argument in this circumstance in favour of the BARINGS, are either amongst the stupidest of mankind, or amongst the basest of hypocrites.

I shall return to this subject; for, *until redress be had* for the violences at MARWELL, there is no peace between the BARINGS and

WM. COBBETT.

MR. HUME.

Profligacy wholly unparalleled.

Chichester, 24th of July, 1832.

ON the 16th instant there was a debate in the House of Commons, about a sum of money which the Ministers wish to pay to the Emperor of Russia, and which he has no more right to than LADY JULIANA HOBHOUSE had to her pension. The fact is this; a sum of English money was to be given to RUSSIA, in order for her so to act as to cause the territory of BELGIUM to con-

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tinue to belong to the King of Holland. When, therefore, separation between the two countries took place, all obligation of us to pay RUSSIA this money ceased of course. Yet the Whigs, afraid to offend RUSSIA, for fear of war and loss of place, proposed to make us pay the money, notwithstanding all the bloody deeds of RUSSIA in POLAND. It was necessary that an act should be passed, in order to authorise this payment; and the OUTS opposed this act. HUME joined in the opposition, and the Ministers carried the question by a very small majority. Some say the sum is *five millions*; the Ministers say it is only *two millions*. Perhaps it would be safe to take it at about four millions. On the 16th instant the debate was renewed, and then HUME, who had voted against the Ministers before, *voted for them*, after the most profligate speech that ever fell from the lips of mortal man. I do not say that he uttered it; but I find it in print in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 17th instant; as a publication, I take it; and I again say, that it is the most profligate production that ever came from lips or pen. I beg my readers to attend to every word of it. It makes good all my conjectures about the views of this man. He is, at this moment, at work as a *parliament packer*; and his reward is to be, I verily believe, the *chancellorship of the Exchequer:* he is dazzled with the prospect; the lights dance before him: he prodigiously over-calculates his influence with the public. However, let us have his monstrous speech before we proceed further.

"Mr. HUME was anxious to state "why he had voted against the present "Ministers on this subject in January, "why he had voted for them on Thurs- "day, and why he opposed the motion "of the hon. Member for Thetford now. "He had formerly objected to the pay- "ment as a tribute to Russia, because "it was attempted to be justified on "the ground of supposed liberality, and "because the treaty of 1831 had not "then been produced. At the hands of "this country Russia deserved nothing "on the score of liberality, even sup- "posing we were in a condition to dis- "play it; and the late Ministers of the "Crown had not made any attempt to "gain from Russia that justice for Poland "to which she was entitled, and which "might have been procured. With re- "gard to the terms of the amendment, "if it were carried, and if, in conse- "quence, the present Ministers retired "from office, those who brought for- "ward and advocated the amendment "were not themselves prepared to assert "that they would have refused the "money to Russia; and the nature of "the counter-proposition of the hon. "Member for Thetford did not show, "that if the Tories obtained power they "would not pay it. They still cun- "ningly left a loop-hole, out of which "they might escape. (Cheers.) The "object of the proceeding of Thursday "night was *avowedly only to turn out* "*the Whigs, that the Tories might get* "*in.* He (Mr. Hume) had come down "*with a determination to vote against* "*Ministers*, until he found out *the game* "that was playing. He soon saw how "he was surrounded, and would not be- "come a party to the scheme. (Cheers.) "He had, therefore, *not changed his* "*opinion*, but his action. He had sup- "ported the Whigs, even though *he* "*thought them wrong* (cheers and "laughter); because he did not wish to "*lose their services in the great cause* "*of reform*. (Cheers.) The real ques- "tion was, not as to the justice of the "claims under the Russian-Dutch loan, "but as to the comparative merits of "Whigs and Tories; and he, for one, "could not entertain a moment's doubt "about it. If once the Tories obtained "office, they would soon find the *means* "*of defeating reform*, even although the "bill had been passed; and he thought, "therefore, that in this case he was "warranted in voting *even against his* "*judgment*. (Cheers.) If the Tories "again came into office, he did not see "much chance of saving the public "money; and to keep them out, which "was a great good, he consented to a "minor evil. It was idle to call the "present amendment anything but a "repetition of the motion of the former

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" night. The hon. Member for Thet-
" ford had this night said, that, even if
" defeated, there was no chance that the
" present Cabinet would retire. He (Mr.
" Hume) had thought so once, but he
" did not think so now. He *began to*
" *have his* fears upon the point, and he
" would not willingly have them re-
" alised. Reform *was not yet complete,*
" and it would not be considered com-
" plete until *after the elections.* (Hear.)
" He put it to the hon. Member for
" Thetford, whether he would, upon his
" honour, say, if the amendment were
" carried, that he, for one. would oppose
" the payment of any further sums to
" Russia? It was his intention, there-
" fore, to support his Majesty's Mi-
" nisters, *right or wrong.* (Much cheer-
" ing and laughter.) Aye, *right or*
" *wrong*; for he was convinced that he
" should best serve the *general interests*
" of the country if he kept them in office,
" and did not risk the consequence of a
" change. (Cheers.)

Let us strip this of its nonsense, and then see what it amounts to. Here is a sum of our money to be taken out of our pockets and given to the amiable desolator of Poland. The treaty does not bind us to give him a farthing, and so says HUME himself. Upon a former occasion he voted against the Ministers, who are for giving the money; because he was convinced that the money ought not to be given. But he now votes for the Ministers, though "*he has not changed his opinion,*" and though "*he still thinks them wrong.*" And, *why* does he do this? because he wants the present Ministers to remain in power, and because he is convinced that they will not remain in power if they be not permitted to give away this sum of our money. Therefore, "*right or wrong,*" he will vote for the giving of this money?

This is a pretty sort of Parliament-man maker! This is a proper person from whose hands for the Metropolitan boroughs to receive their members! This is a proper gentleman to be chairman-general at the meetings of electors! We need not, for our present purpose, enter into the question of the *justice of thus disposing of our money.* We need not do this *at present.* There will be time enough, hereafter, *to call these Ministers to account in due form,* for procuring a law to be passed thus to dispose of our money. There will be time enough to examine Master DENMAN and HUME with regard to their interpretations of the treaty. Plenty of time for us to hear over again the pretty twattle of Mr. CAMPBELL about VATTEL's doctrine as applied to the case. Plenty of time for all this. At present, we need not meddle with the matter, Mr. HUME having declared that the money *ought not to be payed,* he having *voted* once against the paying of it; he now confessing that he votes against his judgment; he now avowing, that he votes for the paying away of this money *unjustly,* because he fears that the Ministers will quit their places, *if they be not permitted to do this act of injustice to the nation*; and because he wants them to retain their places! As I said before, I do not impute the words to him: I take it as a publication made under his name; but, I repeat, that they are the most profligate words that ever came out of the lips of the most profligate of mankind. What! Here are a set of Ministers, who, according to his own declaration, and his own vote, are so wicked and so perverse, as to fling away millions of the public money, or resolved to quit their places if they be not permitted to do it; and he, "*right or wrong,*" will vote for the purpose of keeping such men in power!

But his reason for this is quite as profligate as the act itself. He will do it, he will vote "*right or wrong*" to keep them in power, lest, by their going out of power, reform should be defeated. Mark the insincerity of this! When he voted against the giving of this money before, *even the English Reform Bills had not been passed.* The Boundaries Bill, without which the other bill was nothing, had not then left the House of Commons; so that there might be some danger of defeating reform then by turning out the Ministers. They must, indeed, have been a most perverse and wicked crew, to have abandoned the re-

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form, rather than *not do this act* of injustice to the nation, as he thought it and still calls it; but, at any rate, they might have abandoned reform *then;* and he might have voted for them, and supported them in this act of injustice, in order to prevent a greater evil; but, now, when the Reform Bills are passed, what excuse has he for this act of unheard-of profligacy! Ah, Mr. HUME! if you really did, which I hope you did not, utter these profligate words so full of insult to this burdened nation; if you did utter these words, verily you are the most deceived of all mankind. You think, "that the reform will not be complete until after the elections;" that is to say, until you have *packed a Parliament.* Oh! short-lifed hope! Do you recollect, that *I told your fortune* somewhere, I think it was in the latter part of 1829, or the beginning of 1830. Situated as I am at present, I cannot refer to the *Register* in which your fortune was told. You can refer to it, I dare say. Do so; read the passage with attention; think well of it; for there your fortune is as truly told, as the Duke of WELLINGTON'S was in the passage which I have so often quoted. You have, I perceive, a particular desire to keep up the old cheating humbug of *Whig* and *Tory*, in which you will fail to a certainty: there will be *Whig* and *Tory* and *People*; and the latter will sweep away the two former, as the whirlwind sweeps the dust from the road. The Reform Bill was not thought of when I told your fortune: read it, I pray you, and write it down upon your heart; for there your doom is written as truly as the prophet foretold the destruction of the Temple of JERUSALEM. It is a strange thing, that none of you seem to perceive, that there can be no resurrection of the nation, without a total change of this "vile body."

You hug yourself in the thought that you shall have a *majority* in the first reformed Parliament, and that you shall make a beautiful display of your talent of *deducting by thimblesful* from the stream of public expenditure, and that you shall triumph over your opponents, who will be for no deduction at all. You forget that there will come, *and must come*, a body of men to *cut off the head of the stream*, to take it at its sources, and divert it, as nature and as justice demand, to fructify the land, to be the reward of ingenuity, industry, and virtue, and not to go rolling along until it produce at last a feculent mass, which now spreads misery and feebleness over that country which was formerly the happiest and the greatest in the world.

Yes, you think to amuse us with the prattle about *Whig* and *Tory*, when we shall be crying aloud, "*Repeal the malt and the hop-tax*," caring not a straw what nick-name is given to those who oppose it, or those who are for taking it off. We shall call upon BURDETT, of course, not to prattle to us about *Whig* and *Tory*, but to "*tear the leaves out of the accursed Red Book*;" yes, we shall call upon this representative of cabbage-stalks and rotten-turnips of Covent-garden-market, to assist in doing some one of the thousand things that he has proposed and promised to do. Oh! COBBETT'S *Register*, thou terror of evil-doers, thou reward of those who do well, *thou hast it all written down*, and what thou hast omitted is in the head of thy maker. Poor BURDETT, the old *Chronicle* tells us, "will "be re-elected for WESTMINSTER without "opposition:" very likely, and, in all probability, under a second salute of cabbage-stumps and turnip-tops. But what will he do in the House? I was going, the other day, through EGHAM, and I saw, before I came up to them, a great crowd of idle fellows assembled round a cart loaded with earth or dung, I forget which, and apparently in great embarrassment on account of the unwillingness of the old, tall, bare-ribbed, and broken-down chaise-horse, which they had got in the shafts; in great embarrassment on account of his unwillingness to go on. Coming up to them, I stopped, and joined the spectators, who were numerous enough to have carried away the contents of the cart, each taking a gallon in his hand. The old fellow jostled about, shook his harness, turned his head from side to

side, as if looking for the means of escape, and when bidden to *go on*, tossed up his head, clung his ears down into his poll, and patted about with his feet as if dancing a hornpipe; anything but apply his shoulders to the tugs. "There," said I to my companion, "there is BURDETT in a reformed Parliament!" After sitting some time and viewing the scene, I said to the anxious multitude, "Put the cart in motion, "*yourselves*; push it up against him, "and let him find it coming." They followed my advice. Some got to the wheels, others shoved behind, and as soon as the old boy found that it was coming, off he set, prancing and tearing just as he used to do in the rattle-trap-post-chaise, and the fellows took good care nor to let him stop until they had got the load safe into the meadow. If they had stopped only for one minute, and he had felt that the thing was not coming, he would have pitched up again, and danced another hornpipe. So that I very well know the way to get BURDETT into a gallop, and to keep him there. Some of the rest of us must sustain the *dead pull*, during which he will be afflicted with the "*gout*," or "*be detained in the country by a heavy fall of snow*;" but when we get the thing *a-going*, in he will come, and prance away, threatening to tear the harness all to pieces. However, jostle, knit down his ears, dance hornpipes, or do what he will, *Whig* and *Tory* will be swept out of fashion, and the source of the corruption will be cut off, and never again will a man dare to utter profligate words resembling those upon which I have been commenting.

TO DR. BLACK.

DOCTOR,

HE who hands a lie about, is, some poet truly says, worse than the original liar. In your paper during the last week you have handed two lies about respecting me. The first of these lies relates to what I am reported by your correspondent to have said to a poor woman at MICHELDEVER; the other relates to my lecturing transactions at PORTSMOUTH. I will first insert these two instances of your falsehood; for it is your falsehood, seeing that you give not the name of your author in one case, and in both cases give no contradiction to the lie, which you thus, by publishing it, make your own.

COBBETT'S QUESTION, PUT TO A POOR WOMAN ON HER RETURN FROM CHURCH.

"Should you think it right for your husband to hate you and your children, for the sake of getting to heaven?"

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR,—This was a most diabolic and iniquitous question to put to this poor creature, and could only emanate from a man, if such he can be called, whose heart must be as hard as adamant, and soul black as hell. Permit me to quote the 26th verse of the 14th chapter of Luke. "*If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.*" Now, Sir, strictly speaking after the manner of men, to hate our nearest relations, and our own lives, would be unnatural weakness and wickedness, and equally contrary to the dictates of humanity and genius of the gospel. But it is well known that one thing is said to be loved, and another hated in scripture, when the former is preferred to the latter, or when the latter is honoured with an inferior degree of love, and especially when, out of regard to it, the latter is neglected. See Gen. 29th, v. 31; Deut. 21, 15; Mal. 1, 3; Rom. 9, 13. "No man can be a worthy disciple of mine who has not resolution enough to prefer his duty before all temporal considerations and advantages; before all the ties of natural relation or affection, and before the enjoyment even of life itself. Father and mother and other relations were particularly mentioned by our Lord; because as affairs then stood, the profession of the gospel was apt to set a man at variance with his nearest relations.

Although an old subscriber, this is the first time, Sir, I have ever ventured to trouble you; and I should not have done so now, had I not conceived it to be my duty, as father of a family, to guard the young and unreflecting part of the community from imbibing the damning, *dangerous, and poisonous doctrines of Cobbett's theology*, destructively calculated to entangle mankind in the artful meshes of *his satanic net*, and ultimately to send the soul into perdition.

I remain, Sir, yours respectfully, R. H.

Cobbett, after giving political lectures on Monday and Tuesday at Newport, delivered another at Gosport on Thursday evening, and

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last night again held forth at the Beneficial Society's Hall, Portsea, on the National Debt. There were between 300 and 400 persons present, admitted on the payment of sixpence each. On the entrance stairs *the money-takers invited signatures to a petition to Parliament*, in which it was alleged, that Ministers were sending over troops to Ireland, for the purpose of *extirpating the Irish people*, and *exhibited impatience* when some of the parties wished *first to read* before they signed it. Cobbett maintained, that unless the whole of the excise duties were taken off, reform was not worth a straw; that the excess of the present army beyond that kept up before the war of the French Revolution was solely for the purpose of backing the tax-gatherer—to make the people pay the interest of the national debt. But abolish the debt, and the whole Government may be conducted for two or three millions a year, as in America. The nation did not, he said, owe the fundholder one single farthing! therefore he would rub the account out with a spouge; but, as an act of generosity, he would divide the debt into four parts, and draw lots—the first should have their interest for six months more, then the interest to cease, and the other portions to cease severally at twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four months; so that at the end of two years the whole would be wiped out; and this, he said, was perfectly honest and just! If the debt was claimed as due on a mortgage, he denied that our forefathers had a right to bind us; they might mortgage the crown lands, the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, the corporation and church property, but not England. The law says that no son shall pay the debt of his father; but that the son shall take the estate free and unincumbered. But suppose they had a power so to mortgage, still he maintained, we owe them not one farthing. This he endeavoured to make out, on the ground, that there never was in the world at one time so much money as it is pretended had been lent to this Government. After Cobbett had concluded his lecture, he recommended a subscription in behalf of Somerville, the dragoon, whose case is now before the public.—*Hampshire Telegraph.*

From the craft and subtlety in the first of these articles, I should ascribe it to a parson. It totally misrepresents the passage in my *Register* alluded to. The poor woman had been at church and heard the sermon as well as I; and in my article, I particularly found fault with the parson, for having quoted this passage of St. LUKE, but for not having explained its meaning in the manner that this correspondent has here himself done. The parson at MICHELDEVER, gave it as a *literal rule of conduct*, instead of taking care, as he ought to have done, to have described the peculiar circumstance in which the disciples were situated at the time when the doctrine was laid down. Nothing can be better than the explanation of this text given by your correspondent; but the parson at MICHELDEVER gave no such explanation; and it was with that which I found fault. He did not describe the peculiar nature of the case; he said nothing about the scripture meaning of the word hate; but left the text to produce all the immorality, or all the despair which, *literally understood*, it has a tendency to produce.

So much for your theological lie; for yours it is as much as the Reform Bill is Lord JOHN RUSSELL'S, that bill having been drawn up by another and fathered by him. Now comes the political lie, which is of a character perfectly consonant with the source from which you have taken. As to my "money-takers inviting signatures to a petition," it is a direct unqualified lie, quite worthy of the low wretch who conducts the *Hampshire Telegraph*. A petition was taken to the room and there signed by many persons; but nobody belonging to me had any hand in it whatsoever: nor did I ever mention the subject of the petition to the audience who did me the honour to attend at the lecture.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I HAVE received Mr. WALKER'S letter about LUSHINGTON, and have paid attention to every part of it. I feel as indignant on the subject as Mr. WALKER himself can; but I will not insert the letter until I have seen Mr. WALKER himself. The publication of the report of the trial has been quite enough for all sensible and just men; and I think that it will have all the effect which, at present, Mr. WALKER can wish to produce.

I have received an order from Mr. GEORGE ROBINSON of LEWES, to get thirty shillings, which has been raised in that town by penny subscriptions, for SOMERVILLE.

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I have the pleasure to learn that my friends at LEWES, as well as those at BATTLE, met on the 7th of July, to celebrate my triumph over the perfidious *Whigs*.

I thank a gentleman at CRANBROOK for a very interesting letter on the subject of pledges, which I shall make use of at the proper time.

BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL.

IF I am to judge from the following, which I take from the *Birmingham Journal* of the 14th of July, I should conclude that this body is upon the eve of dissolution. The "*refined gold*" seems to want a little burnishing; the "*lily*" really appears to be upon the fade; the "*perfume*" seems to have departed from the "*violet*;" the SUBLIME and BEAUTIFUL appears to recoil at the sight of the "TAG-RAG and BOB-TAIL;" and the whole thing seems to be crumbling away and sinking out of sight.

BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL.

The Council sat this week at the desire of Mr. Attwood on Monday evening, in lieu of Tuesday, in consequence of that gentleman having to leave town on the latter day for London.

The subject of pledges was the chief business of the evening.

Mr. ATTWOOD said he was sorry to find that his observations on this subject on the previous Tuesday evening, had given offence to some members of the Council. If he had used stronger language than usual, it must be attributed to the sudden surprise he felt that any of their own body should have deemed it necessary to require pledges, with regard to the parliamentary conduct of any of the three candidates at present in the field, whose whole political lives had been one continued struggle for the liberty and happiness of the people. He begged to say, however, that it was very far from his intention to impute dishonourable conduct to any members of that Council, much less to offer them, what he believed had been considered a personal affront. He was sorry to find, that in a statement of the proceedings which had been published, he was made to use some offensive words, which he was confident he never could have used in the sense implied. For instance, he did not apply the term *dirty* to the Court Leet, although he had certainly not much respect for that body in its corporate capacity, yet he believed the individuals who composed it were gentlemen of the highest honour, and some of whom were his personal friends. Nor did he use any terms of reproach or contempt to any human being, and particularly not to the working classes, of whom he always spoke in terms of the greatest respect. His opinions with regard to the necessity of pledges for the borough of Birmingham, were still unchanged, not that he personally shrunk from the pledges which had been proposed, and which of course might be put to him by individual electors on the hustings at the election, but he did think it extremely singular that they should be required of him, by his own immediate friends in that Council, who had such frequent opportunities of knowing his opinions on all the great subjects likely to come before a reformed Parliament. Besides, every man offering himself as a candidate, should consider the wishes of the electors who are likely to elect him. It must be remembered that the franchise was not narrow, and the 10*l.* qualification was surrounded with so many difficulties, that it was not probable there would be many of that class of voters. He should therefore be careful that in giving pledges which might be called for by the mass of the people, he did not give those which would be looked upon as improper and unsuitable by the only men who had the power to elect him. If care was not taken, the popular cause might be much weakened in this manner. There was yet one other matter which he wished to allude to. It would be in the recollection of all, that in the month of November last, when the Bill of Reform was much en-

dangered, and the House of Lords looked with deadly hatred and suspicion on the workings of the Political Unions, that Council had thought fit to issue a Declaration, in which they stated the objects they had in view in forming the Union, and in which too, among other things, they declared that it was their full intention to give the Bill of Reform, if passed into a law, a full and fair trial, and that if they found it gave prosperity and happiness to all classes of the people, they should cease to agitate the public mind to obtain any fresh changes in the constitution. Now, having by that prudent and wise declaration gained a great accession to their ranks, and silenced many of their enemies, he thought they were bound in honour, to give the Reform Act a fair trial, and if, as he confidently expected, it restored the prosperity of the country, then all would be well; but if, on the contrary, the reformed Parliament which would now very shortly meet, should not show any disposition to put things right in any reasonable time, why then they would be fully warranted in going for their whole rights at once. All he wanted was, to see the country made happy, and so that this was done, he cared not what means were taken to effect it, whether those proposed by himself, Mr. Cobbett, or any other gentleman. If this were not done efficiently and quickly, he repeated, he should be quite ready to join the people in demanding the restoration of every right that had been wrested from them during the last 700 years, and then he knew they would fall back on universal suffrage and annual parliaments, and they might claim the ballot as a means of protecting them from any sinister influence which wicked and unworthy men might wish to exercise over them. He would apologise for detaining the Council so long, but he thought it proper to call their attention to the Declaration which they had all signed so few months ago, and to consider whether some of the pledges that had been proposed, would not, if adopted by the Council, violate the engagements they were under by the publication of the paper alluded to.

Mr. TROW thought that as the Ministers had not fulfilled their contract with the people, by neglecting to bring in bills for shortening the duration of Parliament and for the vote by ballot, as was intimated by Lord John Russell, would be the case after the Reform Bill was carried, that Council was absolved from any pledges it might have given in the Declaration which their Chairman had alluded to.

Rev. T. M. M'DONNELL said that, in his opinion, it would be better to adjourn the consideration of the pledges for a month, that there might be more time for individual judgment on the matter. The election would not, in all probability, take place before December; and there could, therefore, be no objection on that score. Besides, there were, he believed, about one hundred different lists of pledges before the public, embodying about a thousand different and distinct subjects; and it might be necessary to discriminate nicely in their choice.

Mr. GILES said that he did not think the Union at large would conceive themselves bound by the Declaration which the Chairman had alluded to—at least, not so strictly as he seemed to infer. It must be remembered, that the only declaration of principles which had been submitted to and approved by them, was contained in the Marquis of Blandford's Bill, which gave household suffrage, triennial parliaments, and the ballot. Notwithstanding what had been said, he still considered the pledges necessary. He believed that, unless the Council were of what the French called "the movement party," they would not long continue to represent the wishes of the mass of the people.

Mr. PARE had no particular objection to postponing the consideration of the pledges for a month, as the election was so far distant. With respect to the extent of the franchise, he agreed with the Chairman, that it was indeed very limited. He believed much misapprehension was abroad upon this subject; although he, and a few others, had endeavoured to draw attention to it some months ago. He was sadly afraid, in-

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deed, that it was so narrow that it would produce a House of Commons, the aggregate character of which would not be materially changed for the better; and therefore, there was in his opinion, the greater necessity for getting pledges on some important and particular points. There could be no objection to give the present measure of reform a fair trial; but he hoped the country would not be bamboozled with mere talk for a year or two, and suffer the Government to cheat them, by affecting that any distress which we might suffer was in consequence of the transition from a bad to a good representation—in the same way in which they contrived to deceive the people for seven years after the return of peace.

Mr. Muntz was of opinion that pledges were mischievous. Let them select honest, independent men, and men of ability, and they would not need any pledges. With respect to the declaration which had been mentioned by the chairman, he must say that he fully agreed in it, and thought the sooner the Council *suspended* its operations the better, until it were seen what the reformed House will do. He would not *dissolve* the Union, but suspend its functions for a time. He would have it ready, like a clean gun, to discharge at any moment that it might be required; but he would not be popping it off on every trivial occasion. (Laughter.)

Mr. Boultbee fully concurred in what had fallen from Mr. Muntz.

Mr. Weston said he was decidedly opposed to any pledges.

Mr. Giles observed that the committee who had made their report on this subject had no desire to confine the pledges, as had been supposed, to this town; and when the matter was again brought forward, would be disposed to move that, if adopted, they should be recommended to the electors throughout the country.

Mr. Attwood said a few words in explanation; after which it was unanimously resolved to postpone the further consideration of the subject for a month.

It was also resolved to postpone the annual meeting of the Union for a fortnight longer, in order to give more time to prepare the report, accounts, &c.

The time for receiving the names of candidates for members of the Council was also extended a like time.

The Council then broke up.

PLEDGES.

For the Political Register.

Sir,

The struggle which will soon take place in the election of members of the House of Commons, will be one of the most important in the history of our country. Many low cunning fellows will attempt to get into the House under false colours. There will be many wolves in sheep's clothing; many base deceivers, who will pretend to be sincere reformers and ardent friends of civil and religious liberty *all the world over*, but whose real object is, to get a seat in the House, that they may defeat all those useful objects, for the obtaining of which the people were so anxious for the passing of the reform law. The great danger is, that the people will be deceived and misled by these impostors. And how are these hypocrites to be detected? How are the *genuine* to be discovered from the *spurious* patriots? How are we to distinguish the real disciple from the traitor? There is but one way by which this great end can be accomplished, and you and many other enlightened men have already pointed that one way out. It consists of demanding *pledges* of all candidates. The candidates will endeavour to screen themselves under *general* declarations: I say, under *general* declarations. Let the people be on their guard as to this point, above all others. There will be a profusion of fine-sounding phrases; and sincere, ardent lovers of liberty, will be as "plentiful as blackberries." Whenever the people come in contact with a patriot of this description, let them not fail to look at him with a penetrating, suspicious eye. Every man must take a spear with him to the place of election, like that which the angel Ithuriel possessed, when he found a

certain patriot sitting like a toad close at the ear of Eve, in the garden of Paradise. This toad-like patriot could never endure the touch, however light, of this celestial instrument, but up he started with the rapidity of an explosion of gunpowder, into his own original shape.

"Abashed the Devil stood,
"And felt how awful goodness is."

In our case, as we are men, and not angels, the heart-penetrating spear that we must make use of must be in the shape of *specific pledges:* and of all the pledges that it may be requisite to insist upon, there is *one pledge* which I conceive to be paramount in importance to all others,—a pledge to repeal the Septennial Act. Of all political evils, this act is one of the greatest; because as long as this disgraceful law is permitted to rest, there is no speedy remedy for *other abuses.* Give the people frequent elections, and *a remedy is always at hand, and perpetually recurring.* To be compelled to wait seven, or five years, before we can call apostates and hypocrites to account, is an idea so monstrous and absurd, that it seems impossible to suppose that the people will not insist upon the repeal of that law, as the greatest and most important pledge that a candidate can give, and one that, I am sure, the enemies of reform will be most unwilling to give, because they know the great and often-recurring power which short parliaments, above all things, throw into the hands of the people, to enable them to correct abuses as they arise from time to time. The Septennial Act is the master evil, and utterly inconsistent with any just idea of representation. No other pledge whatever can be equal to this. A member of the Commons, when once he has seated himself in St. Stephen's Chapel for seven years, may laugh to scorn those fools who have placed him there, and pick their pockets all that time in the most shameful manner, and with the greatest impunity to himself and family, whom he thus enriches. But frequent elections make men modest, just, honest, and submissive, as we know they should be, and throw the power of legislating into the hands of the people, where it ought to be.

Yours truly,
GEORGE FORDHAM, jun.

Sandon, July 3, 183?.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF BOLTON.

GENTLEMEN, FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

WHAT, permit me to ask, what are the objects which you, and which all sensible and honest men proposed to accomplish by means of the Reform Bill; what, but to take off taxes, which not only deprive industry and enterprise of their fair reward, but likewise impede their operation in every direction; thereby occasioning stagnation of business, want of employment, and consequent poverty, wretchedness and vice, where cheerful industry, content, and happiness, ought to prevail?

That the country stands in need of a great change in its condition, and in the conduct of its affairs, all men are agreed. And you, gentlemen, are assured, that the change required is to be effected only by a taking off of a very large portion of the taxes, seeing that by this course, we shall not only be left to move about freely in our several callings and occupations, and to enjoy with our families the fruits of our earnings, but, also, that, with the taxes, will cease the necessity for large standing armies, and for numerous other expensive establishments, together with all pretexts for those monopolies, corn-laws, and other odious things, of minor importance, to which small-minded, or designing politicians are continually directing our attention, as if they were the chief or only evils that stand in the way of our prosperity.

Gentlemen, it is the enormous, and the unjust taxes that oppress us, and that create and foster all the other evils. And it will be your business, and the business of all other honest electors, to cause those taxes to be, not shifted and shuffled about; not "remodelled," nor "transferred," under the pretence of making them sit easier upon us; but absolutely taken off, and abolished.

With regard to what is said in the address of one of your candidates, about a "remodelling of the system of taxation," "and such a distribution of the weight as shall relieve the labouring classes;" with regard to this, and to the "rigid economy" so much spoken of by both your candidates, you well know that schemes of this sort have been going on all our lives, and we have always found ourselves the poorer for them. All changes, in short, save those which go to abolish taxes, must be attended with expense. So if the nation must

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pay its present amount of imposts; if we must continue to be devoured, what need we care about "remodelling, economizing, and distributing;" what about having a "clear and intelligible balance sheet" of our ruin? If we must be eaten up, it is but cold comfort that is offered by Mr. Yates, that we shall see clearly and intelligibly, *how it is done;* or that, by a remodelling, we shall be gobbled up after a new fashion.

In his scheme of economy, your other candidate, Colonel Torrens, would, it seems, "support such a reduction of the standing army as is consistent with the safety of our colonies." *Our colonies!* Why, by whom are our colonies threatened? A very small number of troops used to secure our colonies, and would again be sufficient, if the taxes on their produce were greatly lightened. The Colonel means, I am afraid, that he would support such a reduction of the standing army, as would be consistent with the collection of the present amount of taxes, including the tithes, both here and in Ireland. This, I fear, is the kind of reduction that the gallant Colonel has in view; a view in which he has the honour to concur with those liberal men, Castlereagh, Perceval, Wellington, and Peel; and, I may add, the present Ministry too. They having, lately, in *consistency* with the *safety* of these things, found it expedient to augment that army by which Wellington and Peel had ruled us.

Mr. Yates does not tell you, what it is that he means by "a remodelling of the taxes." He gives us no hint of his plan. But the Colonel, on this point, is more obliging and explicit. He is for "transferring the burden from the shoulders of the working-man, to the rent of the land." Let us look a little closely into this: let us take the liberty to ask the gallant Colonel, who it is, besides the working-man, that pays the rent of the land? You see, gentlemen, you see at once, where the burden settles itself. It is not by shifting; it is not by the "*transferring*" of one of your candidates, nor by the "*remodelling*" of the other, that relief is to be had. We all know, and to our cost, too, that men quite as ingenious as these two gentlemen, have been at this sort of work, for full thirty years past. And now, would they have us sit down for some dozen years longer, whilst they try their hands at such sleight-of-hand tricks; leaving us to sink under the burden all the while, and to pay the expense, too, of every operation.

Electors of Bolton! You will, I am sure, turn a deaf ear to all these schemes; to all this babble about "*economy*," and "*reduction, as far as they may be consistent with*" *this, that, or the other.* You will despise all new schemes for "*remodelling*," or for "*transferring*," of the taxes. If the money, if the bread and clothing must be taken away from the industrious, and given to the idle and luxurious, it can be no benefit to those from whom it is to be taken, that the pillage is to be *economized*: nor will those who are plundered find themselves easier, because their property has been taken from them in *this* way, rather than in *that*. Shifts of this sort, can be of no avail to us, and ought not to delude us. The benefit, if ever it be to be enjoyed, must be found in a suppression of the pillage.

Yes, gentlemen, the pillage must be suppressed. The taxes must be reduced to a mere sufficiency to maintain an honest and efficient Government: and then, as every man must see, when the Ministry have not the money to squander, corruption will cease, unjust and impolitic monopolies will die away, and economy, without any talk about the matter, will come of course, and we shall be free, enjoying the fruits of our industry, and all those means of comfort and happiness with which the Almighty has so abundantly blessed our native land.

But, says Colonel Torrens, and from the tenor of his address, so will say Mr. Yates, also, "The taxes which we propose to *transfer* and to *remodel;* the taxes cannot be so reduced; they cannot be brought down to the mere expense of an honest Government, without an *act of spoliation* committed on the fundholders, to which we will never become parties."

This, gentlemen, electors of Bolton; this, which if I unjustly imputed to either of your candidates, I am most ready to retract, this brings me to the object and purpose of this address, which is by no means designed as a mere piece of argument or declamation, but as a matter of business, and as the ground of a serious proceeding.

These gentlemen, your candidates, are for *economy* and for *reduction, as far as is consistent with* ——— all other things as they are. That is to say, they are for no relief at all. But are for continuing this state of affairs, which renders our country a place to flee from, as from a ship on fire, at the hazard of our lives, and which also renders that country incapable, when its interests and its honour are assailed by any powerful rival, of maintaining those interests, or of asserting that honour. This, gentlemen, however unconscious your candidates may be of it, must be the result of the course proposed by them. No relief from its burdens; but in order to wring from the people the interest of the debt, which has been saddled on them by the boroughmongers, the country is to be kept in its present impoverished and crippled state.

Electors of Bolton! There are two propositions of matchless importance now before the people of England.—They relate to the EXPEDIENCE and to the JUSTICE of continuing to collect taxes for the interest of the debt. I am not for wronging the innocent claimants on the Government. There are other means of honestly settling with them, which any able and spirited member of Parliament would speedily bring forth. But I am ready to maintain, in argument, before you, and to this end I hereby invite Mr. Yates and Col.

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Torrens to meet me at their earliest convenience, in order to support the contrary :—

First,—That it is EXPEDIENT, and NECESSARY TO THE RESTORATION OF THE COUNTRY, to put a stop to the collection of taxes, impose them how you may, wherewith to pay the interest of the debt.

Second,—That it is JUST, immediately to put a stop to the collection of taxes for any such purpose.

To you, gentlemen, electors of Bolton, I need not say that a discussion of this sort, which I am desirous of having conducted according to the most rigid and impartial rules of debate, and which your candidates will, doubtless, be eager to enter upon ; I need not say, that such an encounter will afford to you, who will be spectators and umpires, a favourable opportunity of judging, not only of the soundness of the principles, but likewise of the eloquence and skill in debate, of those gentlemen who are soliciting the honour of your suffrages.

Impatiently awaiting the result of this invitation, I remain, gentlemen, with great admiration of your public spirit,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS SMITH.

Liverpool, July 4, 1832.

P.S. I have not the pleasure of personally knowing more than two or three of the electors of Bolton, and they are, I apprehend, friends of one of the candidates. Thus circumstanced, I take the liberty to beg Mr. Naisby, who acted so manly a part, on the appearance of Col. Torrens, to be so good as to receive from that gentleman, and from Mr. Yates, such intimation of their intention, and wishes as to the time of our meeting, as they may be pleased to communicate, and then to apprise me thereof. In short, I entreat Mr. Naisby, as a great favour, to take the trouble of making the necessary arrangements, and to charge me with half of the cost of the room, and of all other reasonable expenses of the meeting.

Mr. Yates has declined the *invitation*. Col. Torrens has very politely accepted it, should it be the wish of the electors. Having previously fixed on this day, July 16th, for a visit, when he would be ready to fall in with any arrangement his friends might make on the subject. This visit, however, owing to alleged Parliamentary business, is now deferred until the 26th. I, in the meantime, in consequence of this postponement, go over in three or four days, assemble the electors, talk to them, and take their vote, for or against the discussion, for the government of Col. Torrens.

THOMAS SMITH.

July 16th, 1832.

DISTRESS AT BIRMINGHAM.

(*Birmingham Journal, 14th July*, 1832.)

STATE OF THE TOWN OF BIRMINGHAM.

In the year ending Lady-day, 1819,

The average number of poor in the workhouse was..... 573

The ditto ditto of poor relieved weekly out of the house was 2959

In 1819 Peel's famous bill was passed, and, accordingly, in the year ending Lady-day, 1820,

The average number of poor in the workhouse was..... 598

The ditto ditto of poor relieved weekly out of the house was 3777

In the year ending Lady-day, 1821,

The average number of poor in the workhouse was..... 561

The ditto ditto of poor relieved weekly out of the house was 4065

In 1822, Government took fright at the fatal consequences of their own conduct, and Lord Castlereagh had recourse to measures which had the effect of suspending for a time the operation of Peel's Bill. He legalised one-pound notes (which would otherwise have become illegal in the following year) for eleven years, and he took means for stimulating and enforcing the circulation of the Bank of England, until, in the years 1824 and 1825, the currency, notwithstanding its being payable in gold at the old standard, was placed on as ample and efficient a footing as it had ever been during the Restriction Act, and prosperity was again restored. Accordingly, in the year ending Lady-day, 1825,

The average number of poor relieved in the poor-house was reduced to.. 371

And the average number of poor relieved weekly out of the house was reduced to..... 2508

The lowest number of poor on the books of Birmingham for many years.

In the autumn of 1825, however, as might naturally have been expected, the balance of trade carried out low-priced gold abroad; and, as the paper circulation was payable in gold, the Bank of England had no alternative but to reduce the amount of its notes in a corresponding degree,—and thus was produced the memorable *panic*. Thus, by the effect of Peel's Bill, the currency of the country was again diminished, and rendered totally inadequate to perform its functions ; and, accordingly, again we see the industrious classes overwhelmed with difficulties, and want and poverty rapidly on the increase ; and from that time to the present, except during brief intervals, occasioned by the Government tampering with the Bank-of-England circulation, the country has regularly and progressively advanced along the road to ruin. Thus, in the year ending Lady-day,

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1826-7 Average of poor relieved in the poorhouse	458
Ditto of ditto relieved weekly out of the house	2900
1827-8 Ditto of ditto in the poorhouse	409
Ditto of ditto relieved weekly out of the house	3177
1828-9 Ditto of ditto in the poorhouse	426
Ditto of ditto relieved weekly out of the house	3309
1831-2 Ditto of ditto in the poorhouse	426
Ditto of ditto relieved weekly out of the house	3752
And now, on the 7th July, 1832, Average of the last week's poor in the house	431
Ditto of ditto relieved out of the house	4152
In the year ending Lady-day, 1825, the weekly payments to the out-poor were	£ 15,712
Ditto ditto 1829, ditto	20,053
Ditto ditto 1832, ditto	23,764

At the present time, in the midst of the hay harvest, a period when there is usually a superabundance of demand for labour, there are more white slaves at work at the sand-pits, and compelled to wheel a barrow, containing 1¼ cwt. of sand, nearly *nine* miles up hill, and then to wheel it empty back again, to obtain a single shilling; we say that now, in the midst of summer, there are a *greater number* of persons enduring this horrid slavery for this miserable pittance than there ever has been at any former period.

GET GOLD.

My readers may have wondered why I have been silent upon this subject for some time. The reason is, that I can say nothing upon the subject that I have not said before. I know that a blowing-up must come, unless prevented by an "EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT;" for the adoption of which measure I am afraid that it is now too late. I am very sure that there must be something done of a very decided character, or a general confusion must be the result. I take the following article from the *Standard* newspaper of the 16th of July. It quotes the *Quarterly Review*. Thus we have the opinion of the OUT party, that a paper-money should again be put forth; and that that paper-money should be made a legal tender. The other party is also for what they call "*an expansion of the currency*." My readers will observe, that the writer in the *Standard* says he can remember, that the consequences of PEEL's Bill were *foretold*. He says, "the prophecies were then "neglected; but *they have been fulfilled* "*to the very letter*;" but he does not say *who was the prophet*. I shall now insert this article: and I beg my readers to look upon it as expressing the views of the OUT-faction. Those of the IN-faction are not very different. Something they must do, and something they will do; and do what they will, it will be before all things desirable for people to be in possession of some gold.

From the Standard of 16. July.

In the number of the *Quarterly Review* which appeared on Saturday, we have observed with much satisfaction a paper "Upon the Rights of Industry and the Banking System." This article enters at considerable length, and with correspondlug ability, into the examination of those particular questions which now form the subjects of the deliberations of the committee upon the Bank Charter. The writer has traced, with accuracy and fidelity, the destructive effects of the changes which have been made in the value of money by acts of the legislature—"changes," he forcibly and justly says, "which, though working their way silently and stealthily, do yet bring about as violent and complete mutations in the ownership of property, not only between individuals, but whole classes of society, as could be effected by direct interference with the laws of inheritance and succession, or by the more open, but sometimes not a whit more unjust or spoliatory measures, of statutory confiscation."

Such are the terms employed to describe the character of the effects produced by the laws affecting the currency passed in 1819 and 1826. After explaining, in clear and intelligible detail, the precise and practical operation of those laws, the *Quarterly Review* thus replies, with equal justice, to a fallacy which has frequently been urged as an argument by persons superficially acquainted with the subject:—

"There are, however, still, we believe, a (daily diminishing) number of persons, who consider that the laws of 1819 and 1826, though followed, they admit, by great temporary distress and difficulty, have yet afforded us the 'invaluable blessing' of a 'sound and wholesome' currency. Sound and wholesome! A state of the circulating medium, which has turned the horn of peace into a phial of wrath; which, after twelve years of aggravated sufferings and unexampled struggles, has dragged the industrious portion of

the community to the brink of an abyss, and will inevitably, if continued, precipitate them into utter destruction; which has brought about a decreasing revenue, a failing commerce, a ruined landed interest, starving manufacturers, an unemployed, pauperized, discontented population—this, truly, is a sound and wholesome currency, and an invaluable blessing."

When we read this description, not less remarkable for painful fidelity than graphic power, of the fatal consequences produced by the series of legislative measures affecting the currency, we cannot but remember that those very consequences were accurately foretold, as the inevitable results of those measures, if adopted. The prophecies were then neglected, but they have been fulfilled in the letter.

We perfectly agree in the opinion expressed by the *Quarterly Review*, that to the influence of these changes in the value of money, bearing as they have done with ruinous oppression upon the productive classes of society, we must attribute the feeling now so prevalent of the insecurity of all property—"a feeling which, considering that the stability of property must at all times wholly depend on general opinion, is itself the most alarming symptoms of the times, and the circumstance most likely to accelerate the catastrophe towards which every thing seems at this moment tending."

Hæc origo mali—this was indeed the true origin of the Reform Bill. The minds of the people, heretofore accustomed to regard with attachment and respect the institutions under which they prospered, were alienated, by the long-continued pressure of distress, from a Government which gave no security to their property, and whose measures destroyed the fruits of their industry and their enterprise. It has been well and wisely said, that "distress is the parent of sedition." To distress we attribute the revolutionary movement which has taken possession of the minds of the people, and till their distress shall be relieved, no measure of reform, however extravagant, can allay the popular excitement. No sacrifice can satisfy the impatient demands, which shall not efficiently redress the true grievance of the people.

The *Quarterly Review* has faithfully described the disorder of the country, has accurately indicated the cause, and wisely suggested the remedy. The effects of an undue contraction can be relieved only by a counteracting expansion of the circulating medium; but, in pointing out the mode by which this expansion may be effected, the reviewer has fallen into an error, occasioned by his not having given to this part of his subject the same deliberate consideration with which he has investigated the former. He appears to consider that an augmentation of the circulation, and a consequent rise in prices, might be produced by the introduction of the Scotch system of banks in lieu of the present English system. To prove the advantages that would result from this alteration, he refers to the fact, that in 1825, when seventy banks failed in England, there was not a single failure in Scotland; but he forgets that the failure of a bank is in itself no greater calamity than the failure of a mercantile house, excepting inasmuch as it tends to produce a more general embarrassment and difficulty. The chief evil arising from the stoppage of a bank is the contraction of the resources of the neighbourhood. It will be found on inquiry that the distress in Scotland was as severe and as general in 1825, as in any part of England, and continues to be so at this moment, though in Scotland not a single banking establishment has suspended payment. How, then, can the introduction of the Scotch system into England relieve distress which it has not prevented in Scotland? The cause of the distress is stated by the *Quarterly Review* to be a rise in the value of money, and a consequent fall of prices to the extent of 50 per cent.; and there is no magic in any system of banking yet invented which is competent to counteract this fall of prices, while the basis of the circulation remains unchanged.

We would further point out that the effect of any rise in prices, produced by any legislative measures, of whatever description, intended to accomplish that object, is precisely the same as if the rise in prices were effected by an alteration of the standard of value. The character that would attach to any such legislative measure is precisely the same as would attach to an alteration of the standard of value. The same objections which apply to an alteration of the standard of value, would apply with equal force to every measure intended to raise prices—the only effect of an alteration of the standard. Our opinion upon this subject we have never hesitated to express. By whatever means, we believe that both justice and expediency, both common honesty and sound policy, require that the circulation should be increased to such an extent as may be found sufficient to relieve the distress of the productive classes of the community. We know that this is necessary, we are satisfied that it is just; and we trust that Parliament will not separate, we are sure they cannot safely separate, until this essential object shall be accomplished.

MORE PUTTING OFF!

I HAVE often thought that it was about an even chance, whether the Reform Bill were carried into execution or not. If HENRY PARNELL were to be allowed to try one of his paper schemes, the whole thing would blow up into the air at one, and send WETHERELL's "*ancient institutions*" flying about in the air like the beams, joists, and rafters of

a powder-mill. HENRY is, however, it seems, to be restrained for the present in the application of his Scotch combustibles; so that if the Ministry can but make the thing work, they may possibly do something for getting the Parliament together for England and Scotland; while, for Ireland, they will have more than enough to do to carry on the war for the tithes, of which war we shall see a good deal by-and-by. The following ORDER IN COUNCIL is necessary, but it has been made necessary by the wilful delays of Ministers. The whole of the Reform Bills might have been passed in the *month of May*. Every man of common sense has seen that the procrastination has been intentional; and it is my opinion that it is now the intention to prorogue this Parliament, to call it together again by-and-by, and to keep it drawling along for another half year at the least. This is my opinion; and though I may be wrong, I think it my duty to state this opinion; at the same time I should be very glad to find that I had gone too far in my suspicions. Here follows the order in Council; from which the reader will see, that no election can take place till December at the earliest.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE OF TUESDAY, JULY 10.

At the Court of St. James's, the 11th day of July, 1832.—Present—The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

2 W. 4. c. 45. sect. 80.

Whereas, by an Act passed in the second year of his Majesty's reign, intituled "An Act to amend the representation of the people in England and Wales," it is, amongst other things, enacted, that if the Act or Acts for settling the boundaries of cities, boroughs, and other places, and the divisions of counties, as therein before-mentioned, shall be passed in the present year subsequently to the 20th day of June, then and in such case his Majesty shall, by an order made with the advice of his most honourable Privy Council, appoint, in lieu of the day for the present year therein-before specified in that behalf, a certain other day, before or upon which the respective lists of voters shall be made out, and shall also appoint, in lieu of the several days and times for the present year therein-before specified or limited in that behalf, certain other days or times upon or within which all notices, claims, objections, and other matters whatsoever, by the said Act now in recital required to be given, delivered, transmitted, done, or performed, in relation to such lists, either before or after the making out of such lists, shall be respectively given, delivered, transmitted, done, and performed; and his Majesty shall also, by such Order, appoint, in lieu of the period, for the present year therein-before limited in that behalf, a certain other period for the revision of the respective lists of voters by the barristers, and shall also appoint within what time, in lieu of the time for the present year therein-before limited in that behalf, such respective lists shall be copied out into books, and, where necessary, delivered to the Sheriff or Under-Sheriff, and from what day, in lieu of the day for the present year therein-before specified in that behalf, such respective books shall begin to be in force as the registers of voters; and his Majesty may also, by such Order in Council, appoint any days and times for doing the several other matters required or authorised by the said Act now in recital, in lieu of the several days and times for the present year therein-before specified; and all days and times so appointed by his Majesty as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be of the same force and effect as if they had in every instance been mentioned in the said Act now in recital, in lieu of the days and times for the present year therein-before specified in that behalf; and whereas the Act for settling the boundaries of cities, boroughs, and other places, and the divisions of counties, was not passed before the 20th day of June in the present year, but the same hath been passed subsequently thereto in the present year, that is to say, on this 11th day of July, under the title of "An Act to settle and describe the divisions of counties, and the limits of cities and boroughs in England and Wales, in so far as respects the election of members to serve in Parliament;" his Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his most honourable Privy Council, in pursuance of the power vested in his Majesty by the said Act for amending the representation of the people in England and Wales, to order and appoint, and it is hereby ordered and appointed, so far as relates to counties, ridings, parts and divisions of counties, as follows (that is to say):—

Sect. 37.—In lieu of the 20th day of June in the present year, being the day on which the overseers are directed by the said Act to give a notice according to the form numbered (1.) in the schedule (H.) to the said act annexed, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 25th day of July in the present year; and in lieu of the last day of July mentioned in the said notice, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth order the last day of August to be substituted therein; and in lieu of the 20th day of July mentioned in the said notice, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth order the 20th day of August to be substituted therein.

Sect. 37.—In lieu of the 20th day of July in the present year, being the day on or before which persons are by the said Act required to deliver or transmit a notice according to the form numbered (2.) in the schedule (H.), his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 20th day of August in the present year.

Sect. 38.—In lieu of the last day of July in the present year, on or before which the overseers are by the said Act required to make out a list according to the form numbered (3.) in the said schedule (H.), his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the last day of August in the present year.

Sect. 39.—And in lieu of the 25th day of August in the present year, being the day on or before which every person entitled to object is required by the said Act to give notice according to the form numbered (4.) in the said schedule (H.), and also a notice according to the form numbered (5.) in the said schedule (H.), his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 25th day of September in the present year.

Sect. 39.—And in lieu of the two Sundays next preceding the 15th day of September in the present year, being the days on which the overseers are required by the said Act to cause copies of the list, according to the form numbered (6.) in the said schedule (H.), to be fixed on or near the doors of churches and chapels, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the two Sundays next preceding the 15th day of October in the present year.

Sect. 39.—And in lieu of the ten days next preceding the 15th day of September in the present year, appointed by the said Act for the perusal of a copy of the names objected to, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the ten days next preceding the 15th day of October in the present year.

Sect. 40.—And in lieu of the 29th day of August in the present year, being the day on which the overseers are required by the said Act to deliver to the high-constable the list of voters, and the statement of the number of persons objected to, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 29th day of September in the present year.

Sect. 41.—And in lieu of the 15th day of September inclusive, and the 25th day of October inclusive, in the present year, being the days between which the barristers are by the said Act to hold their courts for the revising of the lists of voters, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 15th day of October inclusive, and the 25th day of November inclusive in the present year.

And his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, in further pursuance of the power vested in his Majesty by the said Act, doth, so far as relates to cities and boroughs, and places sharing in the election therewith, order and appoint as follows; that is to say—

Sect. 44.—In lieu of the last day of July in the present year, on or before which the overseers are by the said Act required to make out lists according to the forms numbered respectively (1.) and (2.) in the schedule (1.) to the said Act annexed, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the last day of August in the present year.

Sect. 46.—And in lieu of the last day of July of the present year, being the day on or before which the town clerks are required by the said Act to make out a list of the freemen, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the last day of August in the present year.

Sect. 47.—And in lieu of the 25th day of August in the present year, being the day on or before which persons claiming to have their names inserted in the list of voters, or objecting to persons whose names have been inserted in such lists, are by the said Acts respectively required to give notices according to the forms respectively numbered (4.) and (5.) in the said schedule (1.), his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 25th day of September in the present year.

Sect. 47.—And in lieu of the two Sundays next preceding the 15th day of September in the present year, being the days on which the overseers are required by the said Act to fix, in the manner therein mentioned, copies of the lists, according to the forms numbered (6.) and (7.) in the said schedule (1.), and being the days on which the town clerks are also required by the said Act to fix, in the manner therein mentioned, copies of the lists, according to the forms numbered respectively (8.) and (9.) in the said schedule (1.), his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the two Sundays next preceding the 15th day of October in the present year.

Sect. 47.—And in lieu of the ten days next preceding the 15th day of September in the present year, appointed by the said Act for the perusal of the copies of the names of persons claiming and objected to, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the ten days next preceding the 15th day of October in the present year.

Sect. 48.—And in lieu of the last day of July in the present year, being the day on or before which the returning officers of the city of London are by the said Act required to issue precepts to the clerks of the Livery Companies, for the making out the lists of freemen and liverymen, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the last day of August in the present year.

Sect. 48.—And in lieu of the 25th day of August in the present year, being the day on or before which persons claiming to have their names inserted in any list of freemen and liverymen in the city of London, or objecting to any persons as not being entitled to be inserted in any such list, are required by the said Act, to give notices according to the forms respectively numbered (1.) and (3.) in the schedule (K) annexed to the said Act, his

Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 25th day of September in the present year.

Sect. 48.—And in lieu of the two Mondays next preceding the 15th day of September in the present year, by the said Act appointed for fixing on the Guildhall and Royal Exchange of the city of London, the list according to the form numbered (2) in the said Schedule (K.), his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the two Mondays next preceding the 15th day of October in the present year.

Sect. 48.—And in lieu of the ten days next preceding the 15th day of September in the present year, appointed by the said Act for the perusal of the copy of the names of persons claiming as freemen and liverymen, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the ten days next preceding the 15th day of October in the present year.

Sect. 50.—And in lieu of the 15th day of September inclusive, and the 25th day of October inclusive, in the present year, being the days between which the barristers are by the said Act to hold their courts for revising the lists of voters for cities and boroughs, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 15th day of October inclusive and the 25th day of November inclusive, in the present year.

And his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, in further pursuance of the power vested in his Majesty by the said Act, doth, both as to counties, ridings, parts and divisions of counties, and as to cities and boroughs, and places sharing in the election therewith, order and appoint as follows (that is to say) :—

Sect. 51.—In lieu of the first day of June and the last day of July in the present year, being the days between which the overseers are by the said Act empowered to inspect or make extracts from any duplicate or tax assessment, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 12th day of July and the last day of August in the present year.

And in lieu of the 25th day of October in the present year, being the day after which no adjourned court can be held by any barrister under the said act, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 25th day of November in the present year.

Sect. 54.—And in lieu of the last day of October in the present year, being the day on or before which the clerk of the peace is by the said Act required to cause the list of voters for his respective county, or for the riding, parts, or division of his county, to be copied into a book, and to complete and deliver such book as in the said Act is directed, and being also the day on or before which the returning officer for every city or borough is by the said Act required to cause the list of voters for such city or borough to be copied into a book, and completed, as in the said Act is directed, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 1st day of December in the present year.

Sect. 54.—And in lieu of the last day of October in the present year, being the day from and after which every book so to be completed as aforesaid is by the said Act directed to be in force as the register of electors, his Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, doth appoint the 1st day of December in the present year, as the day from and after which every such book so to be completed as aforesaid shall be deemed the register of the electors to vote, after the end of the present Parliament, in the choice of a member or members to serve in Parliament at any election which may take place after the 1st day of December in the present year, and before the 1st day of November in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three.

TITHE WAR.

I HAVE no time to comment on the following accounts of the tithe campaign now going on in Ireland; and this is the more unnecessary, as much about the same will be going on in England in about a year's time, unless the Government be wise, and prevent it by salutary laws; that is to say, laws to put an end to the tithes in both countries, without which, my real opinion is, that there never will be peace in this kingdom again.

ARREST OF ANTI-TITHE CONSPIRATORS.—For some days past several meetings have been held in different parts of the county Dublin, amounting in number to from 1,000 to 3,000, for the purpose of adopting measures to prevent the saving the hay crops of such gentlemen and landholders as have paid tithe. Wednesday last upwards of 2,000 assembled at Athgoe, barony of Newcastle, beyond Rathcoole, when proclamation was made for the following gentlemen to appear, and answer certain charges preferred against them, namely —Lord Cloncurry; Mr. Bourne, of Terenure; Mr. Armstrong, Brow-of-the-hill; Mr. Graydon, Newcastle; Mr. Bagot, of Castle Bagot, &c. Mr. Graydon was the only gentleman that appeared. He, it appears, had been served a few days previously with a notice, that if he paid tithe, no man should be allowed to cut his harvest, or work for him in any other manner. This he disregarded, and in consequence every man employed at saving his hay left his work, and 100 cows in his dairy were left unmilked. At the meeting above referred to, Mr. Graydon expressed his deep regret at having opposed the wishes of the people, and promised that in future he would not pay tithe.—On the following day (Thurs-

day), between four and five o'clock on the evening of that day, a meeting of about 800 persons assembled in a field on Oughterard-hill, near Lyons, (seat of Lord Cloncurry,) when the above-named gentlemen, with the exception of Mr. Graydon, were called on to appear. We understand Mr. Armstrong, of the Brow-of-the-hill, entered the "awful ring," expressed his regret at having incurred the displeasure of the people, and promised henceforward not to pay tithes. This announcement was loudly cheered. Mr. Beed, of Newcastle, and Mr. Ebbs, Rathmore, were next called on to appear, and having also made similar expressions of regret at having paid tithes, and promised to pay the men for the days they had been idle, the men were, in like manner ordered to work for them. Mr. Bourne, coach-proprietor, was next called on. His agent, Mr. Kearney, of Rathcoole, answered for him; he stated that Mr. B. was obliged to go to meet his father, returning from England, otherwise he should be happy to meet the people, but he had no doubt he (Mr. Bourne) would see them at their next adjournment. After some consideration, their spokesman declared they thought it better to comply with the wishes of the people. On this they were loudly cheered. As the meeting was about to disperse, Alderman Darley, chief magistrate of the Dublin police, and inspector-general of the county of Dublin constabulary, accompanied, by Messrs. Harper and Martin, chief constables, with a strong detachment of military and police, arrived on the ground. From the information which the alderman received, he caused two men to be arrested, H. Neill and J. Sinnott, who, it was sworn, had taken an active part as leaders in that day's proceedings. They were brought in custody to the head police-office, Dublin, and were ordered to find bail, themselves in 100*l.*, and two sureties in 50*l.* each, to abide their trial at the next assizes for the county of Kildare.—*Dublin Saunders's News Letter.*

At five o'clock on Wednesday evening Messrs. O'Brien and O'Mahony, both of Mitchelstown and *both of anti-tithe notoriety*, met in Castle Hyde Demesne to settle a dispute which originated in a motion respecting the mob assemblies denominated *anti-tithe meetings*. They were just placed on the ground by the seconds when Mr. Corban, a neighbouring magistrate, who had been apprised of their intentions, appeared in sight, and the hostile parties had only time to fire one round, which nearly proved fatal to Mr. O'Mahony, he having received the ball in his back parts, somewhere below the hip, where it lodged; but Doctor Downing extracted it on the spot. Mr. O'Brien had narrowly escaped from the violence of the mob, having been obliged to drive his chaise across a fordable part of the Blackwater, and afterwards to hide in a lime-kiln. His house in Mitchelstown has been demolished, I understand, and vengeance denounced against those who will drink the porter which he sells on commission for Messrs. Beamish and Crawford.—*Cork Constitution.*

DUBLIN, JULY 7.—The time is come. The peasants are on the *qui vive*. No man will listen to a word in favour of tithes. In every town, village, hamlet, resistance is offered. It must indeed be very gratifying to every lover of liberty, to behold such a display of firmness on the part of the Irish to resist lawfully this odious tax of tithes, which has been for so many years past the scourge and misery of a fine race of people. But how happy one must feel when beholding thousands of individuals of all classes exclaiming against this mischievous mode of paying the Reverends. At the voice of the people the system is tottering to its foundation. What! is it not absurd to suppose that a man of an opposite persuasion compels his fellow-creature to pay him the tenth part of his labour—for what? For abusing him and his creed. This system of irritation has been carried to such an extent that the people's voice now raised for its irrevocable destruction cannot be stifled. It is too late. The anti-tithe meeting at New Kildimo has expressed its decided opposition to the payment of taxes in future. Can any Government resist the unanimous call of the people for a repeal of this outrageous plan? No. "No tithes!" "Nauboclish." "No church-rates," are the watchwords throughout the empire. Who can stifle this national rallying cry?

A very respectable meeting took place in Fedamore, where the people displayed really a true love for peace, but an inimical disposition to church-rates. The number amounted to 25,000, who carried a handsome piece of green serge with the words "reform, no tithes! no church-rates, 1832!" printed in very large letters. As the peasants of each parish were passing under those arches (the altars of liberty), and on reading the inscription, they bowed most respectfully, as if the god of liberty inspired them; then three cheers followed in honour of those emblems.

Clonmel presented an imposing *coup d'œil*. A meeting of no less than 100,000 people took place for the same purposes. The regulations of the assembly were admirable. Each district, with its respective chief, chosen by the individuals themselves, headed the cavalcade to its destination.

When every parish had expressed its determination to resist tithes and church-rates in the presence of their leaders, they separated peaceably, fully satisfied that every one had done his duty in his country's cause. Not one policeman was seen. This temperate conduct on the part of the people is most judicious at this eventful crisis.

The labourers are determined not to work for any man who opposes the rights to which they are entitled as British subjects. Lord Cloncurry is actually *flummoxed*. The people refuse to work for him. This is a good lesson. His compatriots may consider this doing as a severe castigation. Now what will

Mr. Stanley do for Ireland? The labourers refuse to work for those individuals who are willing to pay tithes—how will their property be saved or protected? Yet every member of the community expects to be protected by the law, but there being no law for compelling the labourers to work for such an individual, the only alternative left to Mr. Stanley is, then, to abrogate for ever that mischievous system of tithes—to protect the property of one and the labour of the other.

When a portion of the people are able to induce another portion not to harness the horses for a popular man like Mr. Bourne, as they did at Rathcoole, it must evidently follow that those individuals do not act towards him with personally hostile feelings, but in accordance with the sentiments expressed by the whole empire of resisting tithes and church-rates to the uttermost. B.

On the 6th, Alderman Darley, chief magistrate of the Dublin police, accompanied by two constables, with a strong detachment of military and police, arrested two of the leaders, Henry Neill and James Sinnott, who prevented the labourers from working for Lord Cloncurry, Mr. Bourne, &c., at a meeting held at Rathcoole.

EXCLUSIVE DEALING.—We are obliged, from the press of Parliamentary business, to defer some observations in reference to this important subject. In the meantime we beg to state, that street lists are being made out, and that those of the butchers, bakers, grocers, and huxters, with whom the Protestants of the metropolis ought and must, in self-defence, deal, are nearly completed. They will be published as advertisements in the morning and evening papers—a fund having been already created for defraying the expenses. When the plan is in full operation—as in operation it will assuredly be—we shall have the refractory Papists singing to a very different tune, or the decent and well-conducted portion of their body dissevering themselves altogether from their priests and demagogues. Self-interest, after all, is an actuating principle, that, so long as humanity remains the same, is likely to be successful.—*Dublin Evening Mail.*

DUBLIN, SUNDAY, JULY 8.—Yesterday evening Messrs. William and J. A. Curran were arrested by peace-officers Hartley and Bradshaw, and conveyed to the head-police-office, where they gave bail, each in the sum of 500*l.*, and two sureties of 250*l.* each, to appear to answer the following charges, as set forth in the warrant. A copy of the information was refused them:—

"For unlawfully combining and conspiring, together with other persons, at Bohernabreena, on the 1st of July, 1832, and unlawfully, by threats and menaces, compelling Thomas Donough, James Jones, and others, to quit the employment of Ponsonby Shaw, Esq.; and did unlawfully solicit and entice divers others of his Majesty's subjects to enter into an unlawful combination to obstruct and prevent the collection of tithes in Ireland, to defeat and frustrate the remedies and means by law given for the recovery thereof."

These arrests, as well as others which took place on Friday, were made by direction of Government; and directions have been given for the arrest of several other persons on similar charges.

The cholera continues on the increase.—*Correspondent of Globe.*

TITHES.—Mr. Bourne, of Terenure, in the neighbourhood of Rathcoole, is the owner of a coaching establishment of great extent, requiring the employment of many hands, and including, at one place alone, a stud of nearly sixty horses. The necessary appendage to such a concern is a large farm, the management of which leads to the outlay of considerable capital, in the wages of labourers alone. The stage of a coaching establishment of such extent is generally a place which affords accommodation attractive to travellers; so that its proprietor, as an employer of many labourers, as a purchaser, upon an extensive scale, of a variety of articles produced and vended by the peasantry, and as causing the resort to his neighbourhood of many who must both buy and sell, cannot fail (whatever be his disposition or character) to be the promoter of useful industry, and a dispenser of a substantial benefit to those around him.

Mr. Bourne happens to be of the number of those who, whatever be their opinions on the propriety of abolishing tithes, think, with Mr. Mr. O'Connell and with Dr. Doyle, that the existing owners of this kind of property ought not to be permitted to starve, because a tardy legislature and a wavering Government have neglected to accomplish an adjustment that might have provided for subsisting interests, and yet satisfied a determined people. Mr. Bourne, dealing the same measure of honesty and charity to his neighbour, whose tithes he owed, as to his labourer, whose work he hired, has dared to fulfil what he conceived a conscientious and legal obligation; and for this he has been subjected to a species of persecution such as no written volume has recorded in a civilized community, and such as in our inmost hearts we wish could be blotted out for ever from the black and dismal annals of this distracted island.

This gentleman and some few others pay a part of the amount of these tithes, upon a demand lawfully made upon them. Instantly a meeting takes place upon a neighbouring hill. They are at once denounced; they are placed under the banp of a civil excommunication: few will speak to them;—none will work for them. The labourer is forbidden to mow their hay, rotting on the ground for want of hands to sever it. The ostler is prohibited from giving a drop of water to their cattle, famishing from thirst in a parching season. Horses remain unharnessed, when the vehicle arrives laden with passengers or goods, on the transmission of which the comforts, the peace, the trade, perhaps the bread, of families are

dependent. The communication between the metropolis and a whole line of thoroughfare in a country whose inhabitants live, and barely live, by their industry, and by their industry alone, is interrupted by the stoppage of the only vehicles that exist for that communication; and the very springs from which life is supplied to hundreds of the labouring poor are suddenly closed in obedience to the dictates of this rural legislature.

Mr. Bagot, a Roman Catholic gentleman, opulent, liberal, benevolent, and humane, has his fields converted from flourishing meadows to heaps of rotted and useless herbage, because the labourers dare not work for the payer of tithes.

Mr. Graydon, an extensive farmer, the owner of 160 dairy cows, which supply one of the first of the poor man's necessaries—milk, to the neighbouring district, offends against the general fiat, and pays tithe. He is denied all assistance—his cattle, unmilked in torrid weather, are left to sicken, and madden, and die, because no man, *or even woman*, in his neighbourhood, dare yield to the impulses of common compassion, to relieve the agonised and perishing brutes of the denounced delinquent, and he is at length compelled, in order to save his whole herd from death, and his entire property from ruin, to surrender the dignity of a man—to fall down upon his knees to this tyrannous populace, actually *to kiss the earth on which he kneels before them*, to beg their pardon, and in prostrate posture to declare that he will no longer pay a legal debt, because it forms a part of this prohibited impost.

Lord Cloncurry, who (whatever difference of opinion may exist with some as to certain parts of his public conduct) is universally admitted to be still "the poor man's magistrate," and, as a resident country gentleman, to fulfil to the very letter those sacred duties of the landlord's home, of the exercise of which we see so little in Ireland. Lord Cloncurry transmits a cargo of culm, to employ the labouring poor in the manufacture of lime and in the cultivation of an extensive farm. But Lord Cloncurry, like Mr. Bagot, is supposed to have paid tithes, and accordingly his culm is not permitted to be removed from the boat that contains it—and the vessel and her cargo are left to rot or sink in the canal.—*Dublin Plain Dealer.*

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 20, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

MORRIS, T., West Bromwich, iron-roller-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BIRD, E., West-st., West Smithfield, licensed victualler.

BIRD, T., Liverpool, cotton-broker.

CHATER, N., Thames-bank, Millbank, Westminster, colour-manufacturer.

DAVIS, W., Launceston, Cornwall, carrier.

DIAMOND, J., St. Paul's-church-yard, tobacconist.

EDWARDS, R. N., Manchester, victualler.

FALLOWS, J., Northfield, Worcestershire, builder.

FORRESTER, J. and J., New-cut, Lambeth, barm-merchants.

GADEN, H. W., Liverpool, and St. John's, Newfoundland, merchant.

MANLEY, E., Chowbent, Lancashire, machine-maker.

MASON, S., Aintree, Lancashire, innkeeper.

PERKINS, J. T. and W., Monmouth-street, Soho, pattern-card-makers.

RIDSDALE, J., Springfield, Yorkshire, stuff-merchant.

SLADE, W., Mortimer-market, Tottenham-court-road, coach-smith.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

SCOTT, A. jun., Glasgow, merchant.

SCOTT, J., Glasgow, timber-merchant.

TUESDAY, JULY 24, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

WATSON, H., Crown-row, Walworth-road, tea-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DRIVER, J., Cambridge, hatter.

BANKRUPTS.

AMPHLETT, J., Worcester, druggist.

BEAN, W., Willesden, Middlesex, horse-dealer.

BIRCH, G., Cannock, Staffordshire, joiner.

BULLEN, R., Sherborne, Dorsetsh., innholder.

BUTTER, C. R., Bruton, Somersetshire, apothecary.

CHALENER, R., King's-row, Pentonville, bricklayer.

ELLIS, G., Market-street, Edgware-road, carriage-builder.

FOSTER, J., Derby, frame-work-knitter.

HAYES, C. D., Meriton's-wharf, Bermondsey, mariner.

MALLITT, R., Hereford, draper.

SPRING, T., City-road, victualler.

STEPHENS, T., Manchester, publican.

WELLS, G., Quadrant, Regent-street, man-milliner.

WINTER, C., Marlborough, innkeeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JULY 23.—The supply of wheat during last week being large for the advanced period of the season, and having a fair quantity fresh in this morn-

ing from Essex and Kent, together with the continuance of favourable weather, and the near approach of harvest, produced a general depression in the trade, and even the finest samples were exceedingly heavy sale at a decline of 2s. per qr. from the quotations of last Monday, and no offers could be obtained for the stale and inferior qualities.

We had more barley at market to-day than for several weeks past, for which there being no demand for malting purposes, it could only be got off to the distillers at an abatement of 2s. per qr.

There being a continuance of large arrivals of oats from Ireland, and the principal consumers being fully stocked, sales were very slack, and the terms of this day week were barely supported, even for fine fresh corn, and all other sorts may be noted from 6d. to 1s. per qr. cheaper.

In beans and peas no alteration.

Wheat	66s. to 74s.
Rye	33s. to 34s.
Barley	30s. to 33s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
——— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
——— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to —s.
——— Feed	21s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 47s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	—s. to —s.
——— Cork	82s. to 83s.
——— Limerick	82s. to 83s.
——— Waterford	80s. to 82s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	60s. to 78s.
——— Gloucester, Double	60s. to 68s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
——— Edam	46s. to 56s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 23.

This day's supply—about a moiety of the bullock part of which consisted of Lincolnshire and Durham, the remainder of about equal numbers of Hereford and Devonshire steers and heifers; Scots, Welch runts, and different descriptions of Irish beasts, for the most part fattened in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and the London marshes, with town's-end cows, &c.; that of sheep and lambs, chiefly of South Downs, Keats, and new Leicesters, most of the horned breeds having disappeared—was throughout tolerably good, both as to quality and numbers. The trade was, with prime Scots and other selling beasts, not exceeding 100 stones of 8lbs. each, tolerably brisk, at fully—with other kinds of meat very dull, at barely—Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,323; sheep and lambs, 23,310; calves, 237; pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 27.

The arrivals this week are short, but the market is dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83¼	82⅝	82⅜	82⅜	—	83

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VOL. 77.—No. 5] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4TH, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*

TO THE

PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER.

Brighton, 28th of July, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

AFTER holding the CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL of SUTTON SCOTNEY, going from the north-west to the south-easternmost part of HAMPSHIRE, taking into my tour the beautiful ISLE OF WIGHT, and there routing the tax-eating TORRENS from the borough of NEWPORT by the means of that very exposition, which, before I left LONDON, I had sent down to BOLTON, whence, if he be not also routed by this time, the electors of BOLTON will deserve to be compelled to stagger along, like the ass of ISSACHAR, between two burdens, to the last hour of their disgraceful lives; after this tour in HAMPSHIRE, and proceeding into SUSSEX, stopping to lecture at CHICHESTER, and then coming on through ARUNDEL, passing by WORTHING and BOGNOR, and coming throuhg SHOREHAM, all along as near to the sea as a road can well go, and through crops of corn the finest I ever beheld in my life, I arrived on the 26th of July at this town of BRIGHTON, certainly surpassing in beauty all other towns in the world; it is closely bounded on one side by the sea; surrounded on the other sides by lofty and verdant hills, between which run valleys in every direction, covered with corn and with flocks, and decorated with lofty and beautiful trees. BRIGHTON is all beauty, whether as to the streets, the buildings, the carriages, the horses, or the dresses of the people. The neatest of carriages stand about the streets for you to step into at your pleasure. To accommodate the children there are abundance of beautiful chaises and coaches in miniature, drawn by goats, elegantly harnessed, and attended by lads dressed in a manner bespeaking the high pay that they receive for their trouble. In short, it is all a scene of evident wealth, of pleasure, and of luxury.

It is impossible *for me* to behold all this without calling to my recollection the weavers, stripped naked to their waists, and the sweat running down their bodies, in the dismal cellars of PRESTON. Everything that I behold here is *created by the taxes.* This is a place of no trade; of no commerce at all; it has no harbour; it is no place of deposit or of transit for corn or for goods or for cattle: it is all a pure creation of the taxing and funding-system; the valleys and sides of hills, now covered with elegant houses, were formerly corn-fields, and downs for the pasture of sheep. Very pretty is the town and its virandas and carriages, and harnessed goats; very pretty to *behold*; but dismal to think of, when one reflects that they all proceed from the unrequited toil of those who create all the valuable things in the country, and who are despised as something beneath the care of those who make the laws. The history of the world presents us, invariably, with grand buildings, great luxury, show of every description, as the companions of a general misery of the people. No great nation has ever ex-

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perienced a fall or a dreadful revolution, without that fall or revolution having been preceded by show and luxury which have astonished the world. This is precisely the case of ENGLAND now. In the passing of the Reform Bill an effort has been made to save the country from revolution; but saved from revolution it cannot be, unless that Reform Bill produce such a change as shall restore to the labouring part of the community that share in the fruits of the earth which, according to all laws human and divine, is their unquestionable right.

For the Reform Bill to produce this change, however, those who are to have the power of voting must resolve to do their duty; must not forget that they are not merely voting for *themselves*, but that each is voting for a circle of his neighbours, from whom the right of voting is yet withheld, and unjustly withheld too. Each elector should bear this in mind; *and if he do not bear it in mind, he ought to be reminded of it.* During the debates on the Reform Bill the advocates of the bill contended, that the ten-pound voters would *be the representatives of the people who had no votes.* This ought to be constantly borne in mind by both parties.

I perceive that every effort will be made to keep the *counties* in the hands of the aristocracy, as much, if not more, than before. *The small boroughs*, where the working people have little influence, will be generally under the control of the aristocracy and their big tenants. The populous boroughs, such as PORTSMOUTH, BRIGHTON, BATH, BRISTOL, NORWICH, and some others in the south, will probably do their duty very well; and this town of BRIGHTON, in particular, seems resolved on the returning of one member at least, Mr. GEORGE FAITHFULL, who is not to be surpassed by any one that you can send from the north. But, as I always said, our principal reliance must be upon the *great towns in the north*, beginning at Birmingham, and ending at Paisley and Glasgow. I trust that those towns will send one hundred men, at any rate, willing and able to plead the cause of the working millions, to take the burdens from their backs, and to rescue from a life of slavery their children who are now in the cradle.

For *myself*, my friends, taken in connexion with the town of MANCHESTER, I say what I have always said upon the subject; that if I were to consult my own private taste, I should not be a member of Parliament for any place; but that it would be cowardice to hang back when the striking time is come; and that, to the great glory of my name being sent through the world associated with that of MANCHESTER, is added this consideration, namely, that MANCHESTER contains the greatest mass of working people of any one spot in the whole world; to which circumstances may be added, that whatever power I may possess of being serviceable to the people, would be greatly augmented by my standing before your oppressors with *you at my back.*

IT IS MY INTENTION TO BE AT MANCHESTER BY THE LAST WEEK OF AUGUST, on my way, probably, to the very northern counties of ENGLAND, if not to PAISLEY and GLASGOW. In the meanwhile, I repeat an expression of my great anxiety to be elected for MANCHESTER. With regard to the banker LLOYD, and a loan-monger of the name of HOPE, who is, I believe, a relation of the BARINGS, and who has, I perceive, offered himself to you; with regard to these men, they cannot be worthy of my notice; for if they be, the electors of MANCHESTER cannot be.

Every day's experience tends to confirm me in the wisdom, justice, and necessity of adopting the fourteen propositions, which I had the honour to submit to you last winter. There is one subject of pretty general interest, and which I did not then touch upon, namely, the *continued existence of Negro slavery.* I have always said, that I detested slavery in every form and under every name; that I never would accept of the services of a slave when his master offered it to me for nothing; that, however, the question with us was, whether we should abandon the WEST INDIA ISLANDS, or continue to

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maintain this slavery. Since I was last in the north, I have seen quite enough to convince me, that it would be better to abandon the ISLANDS altogether, than to uphold the Negro slavery. It now appears, that, in fact, these slaves are in general, *the property of the English boroughmongers*; that they are so in great part at least; and that the fruit of the labour of these slaves, abroad, has long been converted into the means of making us slaves at home. Travelling in WILTSHIRE some years ago, I found a whole village the property of one man, and I found the *neighbouring borough* half his property also. His establishments were those of a prince, both in town and country; and I *now* find, that the source of all this, was the labour of slaves in JAMAICA. Besides these discoveries, brought to light by recent meetings of the aristocracy being the chief proprietors in the islands; there are the bloody transactions which have recently taken place: *there is the execution of the dissenting ministers*, whose offence appears to have been that of teaching the Christian religion to the slaves, that religion forbidding the holding of man in slavery. For these reasons, and particularly for the reason that the slavery is made use of as the means of keeping us in slavery, I am resolved to support any man to the utmost of my power, who shall propose the abolition of the slavery of the NEGROES: when I find the Marquis of CHANDOS, the Earl of HARRWOOD, and great numbers of the deadly *enemies of reform*, to be great holders of slaves, the natural conclusion is, that their continuing to hold slaves cannot be good to the people of ENGLAND.

Until I have the pleasure of seeing you again face to face, I conjure you all to bear in mind, that the fate of the country, and particularly the deliverance of the working millions, now depend upon the public virtue, upon the good sense and the resolution of the great towns of the north.

I am your faithful friend, and

most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO PEEL'S-BILL PEEL,

ON HIS SPEECH OF THE 27TH OF JULY, 1832, ON THE FOLLOWING MATTERS:

1. *On the Effect of Taxes on the People.*
2. *On the Reduction of Taxation.*
3. *On the Currency.*
4. *On the time for the calling of the new Parliament.*
5. *On National Faith.*
6. *On the Colonies.*
7. *On Foreign Affairs.*

Firle, near Lewes, Sussex, 30th of July, 1832.

PEEL'S-BILL PEEL,

On Sunday, the 22nd instant, I went to church at HAVANT, the last town in HAMPSHIRE coming towards the east; and, to a congregation very numerous, and consisting of persons of general good sense, I heard a heap of as blundering stuff as one would wish to hear, doled out under the name of a sermon by a man, who, I am told, was an officer in the army during the late war. His name is MOUNTAIN, and he has a brother a parson at HEMEL-HEMPSTEAD, or in the neighbourhood, in HERTFORDSHIRE, and who has recently figured in that neighbourhood as a justice of the peace. At HAVANT I gave them a sermon of my sort, on Monday, the 23rd. I did the like at Chichester on the 24th and 25th; and at Brighton on the 26th, 27th, and 28th. "Six days shalt thou work", and on the seventh thou shalt go to church, which, in order to avoid the sight of fine dresses and the like, I did yesterday at this village, which is as beautiful a one as any in all ENGLAND; and, which is a matter of more importance than the beauty of the country and the fineness of the crops and the herds of fine DEVONSHIRE and HEREFORDSHIRE oxen in the meadows, and the flocks of beautiful South-down sheep on the hills and in the fields, the congregation, consisting of almost the whole of the persons in the parish, exhibited no marks of that haggard poverty, that miserable degradation, which I beheld at MICHELDEVER, and which I have never beheld anywhere else in the

same extreme degree, except in the fine, rich, and beautiful valleys of Wiltshire, which, to the disgrace of the last-mentioned county, I shall never omit to mention, unless I shall live to see the working people there treated better. At this church at Firle, which is in itself and its surrounding trees a most beautiful thing, there were two old men who walked with crutches, and who were not so well dressed as they ought to have been, and whom the farmers of Firle would not suffer to be so badly dressed as they were if they were to read in the Bible the terrible denunciations against those who neglect the poor and needy; and who, while they are establishing schools and distributing Bibles about, were to read the Epistle of St. James, which Luther called an "Epistle of Straw;" but which they would find to contain most awful denunciations against them if they withheld from the poor their due share of the fruits of the earth. With the exception of these two old men, there was not a shabbily dressed person: the young men were nicely and decently dressed; the young girls were finely dressed, as they ought to be. The more aged were dressed according to their age; the parson, in a very plain discourse on the subject of baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's Supper, gave us some very wholesome instruction, and in a very unaffected manner; and, what I have not seen since my return from America in 1800, the *psalm-singing* was in the old fashion, by a group of chopsticks assembled in a gallery. This is apparently a trifling affair; but it has been an affair of great importance to the established church; and very well worthy the attention of even a *statesman*. "Why then," some one will say, "do you address it to a fellow like Peel's-Bill Peel?" Why, I do not address it to him. I am about to write to him on other matters, of which, indeed, he understands no more than he does of this; but I have the pen in my hand: it will amuse my readers to know how I came to the village of Firle; and I may as well put down here as anywhere else, what I have to say about this *psalm-singing*, by their conduct relative to which the parsons have driven innumerable flocks from the church to the meeting-house.

Fifty years ago it was the universal practice in all the villages and in all the country towns, for psalms to be sung *by singers*, consisting of persons belonging to the parish, who sang while the rest of the congregation sat silent. When Pitt and his villanous paper money had introduced a mass of luxuries theretofore unknown in England, boarding-schools sprang up among the other toad-stools of the system. *Music* became part of education, and the farm-houses, out of which the men and boys had been driven to make way for the music-master and the piano, became scenes of refinement in which the nose was turned up at the homely singing of the church. Organs were introduced; the general singing of the congregation, in imitation of the tabernacles of London, crept about from church to church; *hymns* took the place of the psalms, but all this did not nearly equal what was going on in the meeting-houses.

In hundreds and in thousands of instances the church congregation has been absolutely broken up by the musical ears of the parson's wife and daughters being too delicate to endure the choristers of the gallery. At Botley, where I myself lived, there had always been a set of singers in the parish, priding themselves on their powers in that way. Baker, the parson so famed for his *cow and calf*, came out of Suffolk to take possession of his living about a year before I went to live in the village. He and his wife were both "*musical*;" their ears were shocked at the parish singing; they wanted to have an organ, which the parish would not consent to. The parson then *exerted his authority*, and forbade the singing which had been going on for two centuries; and *he and his wife* actually used to exhibit as singers before the congregation, just like a couple of player-folks singing a duet on the stage! But mark the consequence; the singers left the church; the congregation followed them; a crowded Me-

thodist meeting-house began instantly to hold the people; and I have been at the church many times when there has been nobody but myself and one or two others of my own family, together with the parson and the clerk and the parson's wife. So that, as far as religion is concerned, the tithes at Botley, at any rate, are of no use whatsoever, though the rector be resident; and this arising, in the first instance at least, from his stupid interference in the taste of his parishioners.

This, or something very nearly resembling it, has been the case in thousands of parishes, and it is one of the things which have actually laid the foundation for that series of proceedings which must end in taking revenge upon this establishment. The people venerate things long established. Of all the people in the world none dislike innovation so much as the country people in England. Improvement, when it is real, and even manifest, finds great difficulty in making its way amongst them, because it necessarily implies change. What an insolent fool must a parson have been then to want to do away with a practice so long established, and at the same time so great a favourite with the people. About twenty years ago there was the common psalm-singing at MICHELDEVER; and I remember that my second son, who was there a little while at school with the parson of the parish, used to describe to me with great delight, the singing at MICHELDEVER, of which we had none at BOTLEY. Old FRANCIS BARING had too much sense to suffer this order of things to be disturbed; and the parish used, as far as I can judge, to be a very happy one; but TOM BARING having succeeded, with his great stock of piety and with his curate (for he himself is the rector) of, apparently the new caste, the psalm-singers are banished, and the hymn-book is introduced; the parson stands up in his pulpit as head-singer; and there is a bawling and squalling that admits not of adequate description. To be a singer in a parish used to be a little feather in a chopstick's cap; even that is now too great an honour for him: he is to be nothing but a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. I was, therefore, having long been disgusted with the innovations introduced in this respect by the insolent parsons and their more insolent wives, not less pleased than surprised, at hearing the psalms sung by a set of singers with smock-frocks on their backs, just as I used to hear them when I was a boy. And very sure I am, that if the church revenues were taken away from those who now unjustly devour them, and a clergy established upon just and equitable terms, all the ancient manners, all the ancient virtues, and all the ancient absence of crime, would again return; while the tasteful parsons and their tasteful wives might become player-folks if they would, or follow some other calling, in which, at any rate, they would not be mischievous to the country.

Returning to LEWES last night, which place I have made my head-quarters for the present, and finding there the *Morning Chronicle* of the 28th, containing the report of your speech of the 27th, I resolved to come to this village to-day, and here to write a commentary on the said speech; embracing, as it does, something more or less on each of the seven topics stated at the head of this letter. Nobody in the House *answered* you, and nobody *dared*; for the other faction have the same interest that you have: to have exposed you would have been to expose themselves. Your speech is, in fact, a speech for them as well as for yourself. You want no reduction of expenditure; God knows they want none; but my views are not the same as theirs nor as yours. I can expose you, not only from taste, but from a sense of duty; and I shall now take your speech, and insert the *whole* of it, topic by topic, and comment thereon as I proceed.

1. *On the Effect of Taxes on the People.*

"Sir ROBERT PEEL thought the "noble Lord had acted perfectly fair in "laying before the House, as far as he "was able, an estimate of the exact

"state of our financial prospects; and "though these, certainly, were not very "prosperous, yet he did not think the "deficiency was such as to give any "serious cause for alarm. (Hear, hear.) "He agreed with the right hon. Baronet, "that there was an elasticity in the re- "sources of the country, more than "adequate to the demands upon it. He "did not, however, think it politic to "have a deficiency, for the Government "might be driven, either to incur fresh "debt,—and when he spoke of incur- "ring *fresh debt*, he included the issuing "of exchequer bills, and all those ex- "pedients which were resorted to for "the purpose of turning off a tem- "porary inconvenience (hear, hear); or "the only other course would be the im- "position of fresh taxes. Now he thought "it much better to keep those taxes "which are already laid, than to repeal "them, and then be driven to impose "others in their stead. In the present "state of public feeling, however, he "must say that he did not think it pos- "sible to keep up a great surplus re- "venue. (Hear, hear.) And when he "recommended Ministers to keep up "an excess of revenue over expendi- "ture, he did not contemplate such a "surplus as might be appropriated to "the purpose of paying off any part of "the debt, but sufficient to provide "against contingencies or unexpected "emergencies. It was much better to "maintain a tax to which the people "were habituated, than run the risk of "being compelled *to impose a new one.* "When a new tax was laid, many ways "were found of evading it: but when "it had existed for five or six years, the "excise and revenue officers discovered "and prosecuted impostors. Capital, "also, *became used to its operation.* "(Hear.) He spoke of the generality "of taxes, and without reference to the "extreme case of a tax which might "have become particularly odious. "He could not, however, concur in "the *gloomy view* which some persons "took of the state of our finances; "persons who even ventured to doubt "our ability to *maintain the public "faith*; he had no such opinion. "(Cheers.) Nor could he agree with "those who contended that the state "of the revenue indicated any in- "crease of privation among the la- "bouring classes. There was a set of "men who had *just started up*, and who "had discovered that the currency was "*not sufficiently extensive* to meet the "*necessities of the labouring man*; "and that whereas the Bank issued "17,000,000*l.* per quarter, they ought "to issue 25,000,000*l.*, which they, in "their wisdom, had laid down to be the "precise amount requisite for the cir- "culation; on the contrary, they found "such an increase of consumption in "many of those articles which tend "much to the *comfort of the labouring "classes*, as to afford matter of congra- "tulation, and give rise to a well- "founded belief that their distresses "had been diminished, and their priva- "tions mitigated. The increase in some "articles of the revenue might be ex- "plained by the effect of the previous "alterations in the duties; thus the "amount of revenue derived from the "duties on bricks had increased, whilst "that derived from the duties on tiles "had decreased. That was to be ac- "counted for by the remission of the "duties as stated. The revenue from "glass had decreased, but that arose "from the practice of making glass "thinner, and consequently a less quan- "tity would cover a larger surface. But "let them look to the *consumption of "malt:* there had been an increase in "the consumption of that one article of "7,600,000 *bushels* on the average con- "sumption of the last three years; that "was a test of the increasing comforts "and *prosperity of the labouring classes*; "for he considered that malt liquor was "to them not a luxury *but a necessary*; "and when there had been so many ob- "jections raised to the operation of the "Beer Bill, he referred to that one fact "*to prove its great advantages.* This "increase of consumable articles was a "great proof of the increasing comforts "of the lower orders. The right hon. "Baronet then adduced the increased "consumption of various other articles "in support of this position."

The SIX-HUNDRED-AND-FIFTY-EIGHT, whether it arose from the native muddyness of their heads; or from their carrying on their works by owl-light and candle-light; or from the circumstance of a guttling and guzzling shop being over their heads, and their visiting it so frequently during their deliberations on matters affecting our property, our liberties, our lives: whatever it may arise from, there always appears to be a confusion of ideas in every thing which one hears in this assembly of six hundred and fifty-eight. Thus you could not offer your opinion upon the nature and effects of taxation generally, without introducing and mixing up and jumbling together along with it something about *public faith* and about the *operation of the currency*; two subjects quite distinct, having nothing to do with the other subject; and yet all are, as it were, tossed into a mess and mixed up like the different ingredients of a half stinking French ragout. So that to the trouble of commenting upon nonsense, I have the trouble of first separating and analysing the nonsense itself. Here, then, I shall reserve, till I come to those topics, what is here said about *currency* and *national faith*; and confine myself at present to what is here said about the effect which taxes have upon the people.

You are pleased that there appears to have been an increase in the consumption of articles which tend much *to the comfort of the labouring classes*. Now, before I go further, let me ask you, whether you supposed that the labouring classes are not affected by any taxes except those which are imposed on articles which they consume. This is the general notion among the six hundred and fifty-eight. Their notion is, that if all the taxes were paid directly by the rich, the poor would not feel the effect of them. Why, if all the fifty-four millions of taxes were laid upon the land, the labouring man would bear as great a portion of them as he does at this hour. Let it be property-tax; let it be income-tax; let it be what it may, it will go on shifting itself from the shoulders of those above to the shoulders of those beneath; and will always fall *with the greatest degree of weight on the lowest*. This, which must be manifest to every man who possesses the powers of reflection, who is not stupid to the degree that the jester CANNING was stupid, who said that, to lay out money on palaces was peculiarly proper in times of general distress, because *it furnished employment* to many whom distress threw out of work; not having brains to perceive that taxes must be raised to get the money to lay out upon the palaces, and that the taking away of the taxes would diminish the means of the tax-payers to give employment. To every man not stupid to this frightful degree it must be evident, that taxes, lay them where and how you will, must finally fall in their heaviest degree upon those who have but just enough to live without any taxes at all. What, then, are we to think of those men who propose to *relieve the nation* by taking off excise duties and laying on taxes on property? There is one thing indeed, which is to be attended to here as an exception; and that is, *when you lay on a tax upon a tax; when you lay on a tax upon those who receive the taxes*; such as a tax upon pensions and sinecures, or on the funds; and this is, in reality, not a tax; *but it is so much deducted from what the nation has to pay.*

But, I am now to speak of what you say about the *increased consumption of malt*, which you look upon, as a mark of the increased comfort and prosperity of the working people; and, you are perfectly right here: it is a proof of their increased comfort and prosperity. I am afraid that the poor toiling creatures at the furnaces, at the anvils, and at the looms, have experienced none of this increased prosperity; but that the labourers in agriculture have, I know very well; I know it with inexpressible satisfaction; and my satisfaction is the greater because I know that it has arisen from their *own resolution not to be starved*. When the men of EAST KENT, unfurled their banner, with the words, "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES," they pronounced

the doom of this taxing system. Into KENT, and on the very spot too, where this banner was hoisted, Christianity first came into England; and that event, great as it was, was attended with consequences scarcely more important than those that will attend the unfurling of that banner. St. AUSTIN brought to our country deliverance from the darkness of heathenism: that banner will bring to it deliverance from IRISH starvation; and it will finally bring deliverance to the unhappy and ill-treated IRISH, too. The country labourers, including the smiths and wheelwrights and collar-makers and all the village shoemakers, tailors, and the like, are much better off than they were two years ago. In the north of HAMPSHIRE, in WILTSHIRE, perhaps in some other parts of the country, the cruel monsters have endeavoured to get them back to the bag of cold potatoes at plough; but they have not succeeded; and, in proportion to their success is the sum of their well-grounded apprehensions. Even at MICHELDEVER the working people are better off than they were before the men of KENT hoisted their banner. Many means are used to prevent *the positive rise of wages*; but there are various ways in which more food and drink find their way to the mouths, and in which more clothing finds its way to the backs of the working people. I have heard of a parish in HAMPSHIRE, in which upwards of nine pounds a week were paid for WATCHING, during twenty weeks, beginning with the 1st of November last! Here are *a hundred and eighty pounds sterling*; and these are divided amongst the labourers of the parish. The hard-hearted fools could not find in their hearts to give the hundred and eighty pounds in additional wages, which would have rendered all watching wholly unnecessary. But, no matter; the labourers get it some how or another: they are getting it, generally speaking, all over the country; and, here, PEELY, here is the true cause of the additional consumption of malt; here is also the cause of honest Lord ALTHORP's straitened means; here is the true cause of the falling off of his taxes; for, though the additional millions, received by the labourers, are in part laid out in beer, they are, in much greater part, in ten thousand times greater proportion, laid out in bread and meat and shoes and smockfrocks and hats, and other necessary things upon which my Lord ALTHORP has not so direct a lien. This is the true cause of the falling off of the taxes. The labourers have taken from the big farmers, the parsons, and the landlords, a part of that which they had to spend in taxable commodities. The Government is compelled to pinch as much as it can. Its squanderings are rather restricted compared to what they were, and hence the "*dulness*" at the watering places; hence the *empty theatres* everywhere; hence the ruin of thousands of tradesmen in the WEN; and, cry as much as they will about it, the "*vast improvements*" of REGENT-STREET, "PALL MALL East," and "WEST STRAND," are destined to see the grass grow before them! It is useless to sigh and cry. The fall must come. It is either that or cold potatoes in the labourers' luncheon-bags; though Judge VAUGHAN thought that the potatoes in the bag was a matter of no sort of importance. Along with the prosperity of the agricultural labourer, will come the prosperity of the labourer at the anvil and the loom. It may be called "*cruel*" to look with a dry eye at the prospect of seeing PALL MALL East broken up; but it requires a harder heart to view with a dry eye millions of labourers with cold potatoes in their luncheon-bags. For forty-two years the hellish PITT system has been going on *creating idlers*, and robbing the industrious for their support: palaces, and whole streets of palaces, have been rising up out of the robbery. Put a stop to the robbery, and these will come tumbling down. The labourers go slowly on in the recovery of their rights: they are sure to recover them in the end; and PALL MALL East and the PILE AT PIMLICO will, in their altered appearance, proclaim the change to the world.

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You, PEELY, say very truly that malt

is a necessary to the working people. It is so; it is one of the great things: the infernal tax upon it, and the more infernal tax upon the hops, have driven the beer-barrel out of the labouring man's house; have driven him to carry a bottle of water to the field when he is MOWING, work which strains every nerve from the top of the toe to the crown of the head, while the sun is darting his rays down upon the labourer's back: and, PEEL, if there has been such an increase in the consumption of malt, without the tax being taken off or diminished, *what would the increase be if the tax were abolished!* We shall then have *your support*, to be sure, in taking off these infernal taxes upon the malt and the hops! Agreeing with you here, as far as you go, and glad that you have made the admission, I defer further discussion on this subject until the hives of the north shall send me to meet you on the same floor: and thus I dismiss this first part of your speech.

2. *On the Reduction of Taxation.*

"Another ground of congratulation "was the diminution of the public "expenditure. The noble Lord had "certainly effected a considerable re- "duction in this head. But before he "could congratulate himself that the "whole of that reduction would be "permanent, it would be necessary to "consider what were the articles on "which the reduction had taken place. "The principal articles were the extra- "ordinaries of the army and navy. If "in the latter, for instance, it arose "from not purchasing stores, it was "clear that such a reduction, though "perhaps a very proper one for the "current year, could not be calculated "on as permanent; for the time was "arrived when new ships and new "stores would be required. In the "army there was no reduction of force "which would make a permanent "saving. The saving was, therefore, "in the militia and in the extraordi- "naries. The saving in the militia "arose from its not having been called "out during the last year, which sav- "ing, therefore, was not permanent; "but in the extraordinaries there was "a permanent reduction of perhaps "200,000*l.* per annum. The House "would observe, that it was very im- "portant in all those instances, to in- "quire whether the reduction was "casual or permanent. He did *not* "*agree* with the right hon. Bart. who "had spoken last, that a material dimi- "nution of expenditure was to be anti- "cipated from a reformed Parliament. "*Why was such reduction to be expected* "*in a reformed Parliament more than* "*in the present*? Did the right hon. "Bart. think that the noble Lord oppo- "site would have experienced any *diffi-* "*culty in carrying any measure of re-* "*duction through the present Parlia-* "*ment*?

"Sir H. PARNELL—*I think not.*

"Sir R. PEEL—The right hon. Gen- "tleman admitted that he thought not. "He *could not, therefore, rely much on* "*the next Parliament for reduction.* "He did not believe that any measures "of reduction which the noble Lord "could propose in the present Parlia- "ment would meet with opposition "through the selfish feelings of any "member—certainly not of a majority. "(Hear.) Under no fresh constitution "of Parliament could the Government "anticipate a greater reduction than "their own sense of duty would lead "them to propose, and the good feeling "of such a House of Commons as the "present would lead them to sanction."

Sir HENRY PARNELL had said that, if his noble Friend should be, as he hoped he would, continued in his present office, "he ought to remember, *that un-* "*der the new Parliament he would be* "*the only Finance Minister who ever* "*had it in his power to reduce the ex-* "*penditure*; other Finance Ministers "might have been as willing as his "noble Friend, but in the *former state* "*of the representation they had not the* "*power.* He looked forward to the "reformed Parliament, in the expecta- "tion that *it would effect a material re-* "*duction in the expenditure.*" The part of your speech which I have last quoted is an answer to this. You do

not agree with PARNELL in supposing that a reformed Parliament would be any more disposed to reduce taxes than the present Parliament is. You ask PARNELL whether he thinks the noble Lord would have experienced any difficulty in carrying any measure of reduction in the present Parliament; and, strange to say, PARNELL is represented as acknowledging that he would not have experienced any difficulty in carrying any such measure of reduction through the present Parliament! Well, then, this reformed Parliament is to be a sad moonshine affair after all; we shall get nothing by it but merely schedules A and B and the division of the counties; and so MACAULAY has told the people at LEEDS, and so the WHIGS are preaching up everywhere. You do not care much about my being hanged I dare say, but if a reformed Parliament do not reduce taxes before it has sitten a year; and that, too, to a very great amount, if nobody else will take the trouble to hang me, I will hang myself, if I belong to that Parliament. In your character, PEELY, there are many traits, some of which delight one person and some another, my favourite is your *amiable simplicity*, which, conspicuous at all times, was never I think so conspicuous as in the question which you here put; namely, "WHY "is such a reduction to be expected in "a reformed Parliament *more than in* "*the present Parliament*?" Aye, *why* indeed! *why* are we to expect that a reformed Parliament will not continue to vote *two thousand five hundred* pounds a year pension to BURKE thirty-three years after the man has been dead? *why* are we to expect that a reformed Parliament will not continue to vote *six hundred and fifty thousand pounds* a year to *a hundred and thirteen of the aristocracy*, a sum greater than that of the poor-rates in the first five ENGLISH counties in the alphabetical list; and a sum more than twice as great as the amount of all the poor-rates in the twelve counties in WALES? *why* are we to expect that the representatives of a people, a great number of the working part of whom still live upon potatoes, will not vote away annually a parcel of our money actually to be sent abroad to be given to foreigners under the names of half-pay and pensions and allowances? *why*, indeed, are we to expect that a reformed Parliament will not continue to support out of the taxes squeezed from the labouring man, whole tribes of families written down upon the pension-list? *why* are we to expect that a reformed Parliament will not be willing to tax the people to keep up military and naval academies, where the offspring of the aristocracy and the parsons and their dependants are actually nursed up from their babyhood, and educated at the expense of the working people? It were unreasonable, indeed, to expect that a reformed Parliament would object to this! and *why* should a reformed Parliament not approve of having three hundred and two barracks, and three generals to every regiment of horse and foot, and two admirals to every ship of the line! WHY, indeed, as you say with so much and such amiable *naiveté*, which however was not sufficient to induce you to ask why a reformed Parliament should not be driven out with hedge-stakes and flint stones, and why the boroughmonger Parliament should not be called back to supply their place. Ah! PEELY, it is an *opinion* which we express here: it is your fear which we discover: just like the girl when she expressed her confidence that her lover would not leave her; the expression arising solely from her too confident and too correct expectation of the evil that was about to befal her. You will see taxes reduced, PEELY; and, remember, that I tell you that you will do well to join in the work; for that if you do not, you will become a very contemptible person in spite of your millions of money.

3. *On the Currency.*

4. *On the time for the calling of the new Parliament.*

"The noble Lord had attributed the "diminution of the revenue to three "causes. To the cholera, political ex-

"citement, and the state of the cur-
"rency. With reference to the first
"cause, he believed that the apprehen-
"sion of foreign powers had produced
"a sensible effect upon our trade. With
"respect to political excitement, the
"noble Lord thought that it was about
"to be at an end, and that consequently
"there would be an increase of the re-
"venue. He hoped that it might be
"so, but there *appeared to be no great*
"*diminution of it in Ireland.* (Hear.)
"Lord ALTHORP was understood to
"say, that the revenue in Ireland had
"increased last year, notwithstanding
"the excitement.
"Sir R. PEEL said, the noble Lord
"knew best on that point, but he
"thought the fears entertained in Ire-
"land for the security of property would
"do more to diminish the revenue than
"the excitement of political warfare.
"The noble Lord had also adverted to
"the currency as one of the causes of
"the deficiency in the revenue, and he
"had observed, that the changes which
"had taken place, as well as the un-
"certainty which prevailed with re-
"spect to ultimate proceedings, and
"the effect produced by the fluctuation
"in the exchanges, had doubtless con-
"tributed much to that state of things
"in which they at present found them-
"selves. Now in his (Sir R. Peel's)
"opinion, the noble Lord had dimi-
"nished the consequences of the
"cholera, and he had much over-rated
"the effects of the changes in the cur-
"rency. Undoubtedly, however, the
"Bank had contracted its issues, and,
"as a consequence, the proceedings of
"the country banks must have been
"limited, and the capital required for
"the operations of commerce decreased.
"Now if this were so, how necessary
"did it become, on the part of the
"noble Lord and his colleagues, to
"seize the earliest possible opportunity
"to place the foundation of all the cur-
"rency on some sure and satisfactory
"basis. (Hear, hear.) Parliament
"should not be allowed to separate
"without some expression on the part
"of the noble Lord as to the course
"which the Government intended to
"pursue with respect to the *question*
"*now under agitation.* (Hear, hear.)
"He (Sir R. Peel) remembered well the
"bullion committee, and the difference
"of opinions which prevailed; but al-
"though the members were bound to
"secrecy, the noble Lord, as a Minister
"of the Crown, had his own views on
"the subject, and he was bound, for the
"sake of the country, to make them
"public at the present crisis. It was
"possible, perhaps certain, that the
"committee would make no report du-
"ring the present session; and unless
"Parliament assembled *for a short sit-*
"*ting in October* or November, which
"he supposed was rather improbable,
"*six months must elapse* before the
"country could receive information on
"that most interesting subject. (Hear,
"hear.) He repeated, full six months;
"for the elections could not under any
"circumstances, take place much be-
"fore December, and as there were
"snows and storms in the north at that
"season, which must be taken into ac-
"count, it was not at all improbable
"*that the elections might not take place*
"*during the present year.* With six
"months of recess, then, before them,
"he put it to the noble Lord whether
"it would not be politic to put an end
"to that state of uncertainty which the
"noble Lord admitted to have so strong
"an effect on the issues and the ex-
"changes, by at once stating what
"were the views of the Government on
"the question. (Hear, hear.) No one
"expected the noble Lord to go into
"details which were to form the sub-
"ject of deliberation hereafter; but the
"noble Lord and the Government must
"have already made up their minds on
"the great leading points of the course
"they intended to pursue; and if the
"noble Lord described correctly the
"prejudicial effects of the existing state
"of uncertainty, he recommended him
"to put a termination to it by avowing
"at once the opinion of the Govern-
"ment." (Hear, hear.)

You have twisted these two topics together in such a way that I must take them under one head; and I will take the last topic first. "*A short sitting in*

October and November!" Ah! sayest thou so? and honest Lord ALTHORP; that sincere WHIG; THE HONEST, *par excellence!* he says nothing! You send out a *feeler* for *another session of this Parliament*; you send out that feeler, and the honest Lord remains mum! and then "six months *must* elapse!" Why *must*? All this looks very ugly; and then come the "snows and storms in the north!" I hope they will not be as heavy as BURDETT'S "full of snow!" What! is the reform of Parliament to depend upon the weather, after all? I have long suspected that this Parliament would *meet again*; and now I suspect it more strongly than ever; nay, I should not be at all surprised if the reformed Parliament never met! We are not to be deceived, mind; our eyes are all open; and so, as to that matter, you may set your heart at rest. I know, that, whether the reform Parliament meet or not, *things will be reformed*; and perhaps the sooner for acting upon the feeler which is here put forth, and which feeler I am quite prepared for seeing turned into a reality. I expect all sorts of means to be tried to keep this present Parliament in existence; it clings to life with more anxiety than sinner ever did; it is manifestly afraid to move, as the soul is afraid to quit its tenement of clay. Like dying men of a certain description, it looks backward first, and then it looks forward with dread. If there be a short sitting such as you talk of, another year's taxes will again be voted away. When that is done no other Parliament will be needed for the purpose of taxing and voting money; and I should not at all wonder to hear it announced by degrees that the present Parliament was to sit out its seven years. You uttered these words, and on these words *the Ministers made no remark*. It was a matter of vast importance, and yet they said not a word.

Now, as to the affair of the currency; the remark in the early part of your speech, on the sect *which had just started up*, and had discovered that the currency *was not sufficiently extensive* to meet the necessities of the labouring man. The sect has not just started up: it has been pretty busily on foot for fifteen years, and its doctrines are truly ridiculous, besides being mischievous. The sum and substance of its doctrines is this, *that money ought to be increased in quantity as saleable commodities increase in quantity*. This is the sum and substance of the doctrine of this sect. Now, this year there are corn of all sorts, apples, pears, potatoes, all sorts of produce, in quantity full two-fifths greater than in any year since the year 1818. According to this doctrine, then, there ought to be two millions of money made to put into circulation in addition to every three millions that are now in circulation! Did such an idea ever before find its way into human head! But, how are we to transfer this property from hand to hand *without more money than we have now!* How are we to transfer it without more money! Why by selling for three shillings the same quantity of wheat that we before sold for five shillings: by having things at low price instead of things at high price. That is the way we are to transfer it from hand to hand, to be sure. Things must be dear or cheap in proportion to their quantity compared with the quantity of money in the country. In a just and well-regulated state of things, the quantity of money in a country will always remain nearly about the same; and the price of commodities will rise and fall in proportion as the quantity of them is scanty or abundant. But, these little-shilling philosophers have got it, somehow or other, crammed into their heads, that money ought to increase with the increase in the quantity of commodities; and, according to their notion, the produce of the land ought to be as dear after the next harvest as it was before. Any thing so stupid, and so openly at defiance with experience, and with nature itself, never could have found its way into the human mind, unless that mind had first been bewildered and perverted, by the paper-money tricks, and by the false prosperity arising from those tricks, of which PITT was the beginner more from his shallowness and presumption than from his knavery.

This, PEEL, is what you would have said upon this subject, if you had known how; but this; the folly of this sect, by no means is to serve as a cover for your own folly. What do you mean by calling upon the noble Lord and his colleagues, "to seize the earliest possible opportunity to place the foundation of all the currency on SOME sure and satisfactory basis?" And, PEEL, I have heard a man call you "*the John Kemble of the House of Commons.*" I much question whether that player man would have talked of placing a *foundation* on a *basis*. I have always thought that a foundation was a basis. You are a pretty fellow to be a "*leader*" of the House of Commons! However, if verbosity were the worst of it one might overlook that. You mean that the Ministers ought to place the currency on *some* sure and satisfactory basis; and the word *some*, it is, that will certainly drive me mad, unless you explain yourself pretty quickly. What, after having set the question at rest for ever by your famous bill which will hang about you like the body of that death described by St. PAUL, until it drag you down and sink you for ever; after setting the question at rest for ever, amidst the huzzas of the six hundred and fifty-eight, so long as thirteen years ago; after disturbing it from its rest by an act of Parliament in 1822; after bringing us to within forty-eight hours of barter in 1825; after setting the question at rest again for ever in 1826 and again 1829, you are now recommending to the Ministers to seek "*some* satisfactory basis" for the currency!

You, the great doctor on the subject, are calling upon the Ministers to tell us *what course they mean to pursue* with regard to this matter which you tell us is now in agitation! It is not of your ignorance, here, that I must complain: it is of your *impudence*. One wonders how a man who has done so much mischief connected with this subject, can dare to open his lips upon it, unless for the purpose of tendering, to the utmost of his power, atonement and compensation to his injured country. PEEL, let me be plain with you, and tell you that the records of Parliament and of the courts of law, speak of things of far less magnitude than the bringing in and procuring to be passed your bill; but they never spoke of anything which was one ten thousandth part so injurious to the country. *The Parliament sanctioned your bill*, did it? So it did the foundation of the proceedings of the SOUTH-SEA BUBBLERS; but, in that sanction the bubblers found no security. At any rate it becomes you to be modest in speaking upon matters relating to the currency. You were duly warned of the mischief you were about to do to your country. Ignorance is no plea for a man who voluntarily steps into the receipt of a high salary under the king; but, you have not ignorance to plead; because you were fully forewarned of the mischief you were about to do; and if no other man have a right to be your accuser, he who gave you the warning has that right, *and I am that man!*

5. *On National Faith.*

"It was a matter of regret that the "revenue during the last two years had "suffered so much diminution; but he "felt convinced that the *great sources of* "*national prosperity were unaffected.*" (Hear, hear.) Of this too he was sure, "that no proposition to get rid of their "difficulties inconsistent with the pre-"servation of *the national faith* would "be tolerated, even for an instant, and "that *no man of honour, in any Parlia-"ment, would attempt to propose it.*" (Cheers.) He was confident, too, while "the sources of prosperity were unim-"paired, that if any occasion arose which "required a national sacrifice, that the "people of England would not be found "wanting for the effort. (Hear, hear.)"

PEEL, do you remember old GEORGE THE THIRD? If you do, you will know that year after year, while the nation was contracting its enormous debt; and that his son GEORGE THE FOURTH, while he was contracting debt, too, and while the nation was crying out distress from every quarter; that these kings regularly twice a year expressed their conviction, "that the *great sources*

of national prosperity were unaffected," and they, too, always concluded with the strongest exhortations to uphold national faith. You, however, have *something new here*. They were not so fortunate as to live to see the Parliament reformed; and, therefore, however well inclined, they could not express their opinion, that "no proposition contrary to national faith would "*be* tolerated, *even for an instant*, and "that *no man of honour* in any Parliament, *would* attempt to propose it." They, unhappy monarchs, had not the good luck to live in our reforming times; and the last was peculiarly unfortunate in not living long enough to have Lord Grey for his Minister. They, therefore, could not share in those *cheers* with which you were honoured by the House of all Houses upon this memorable occasion. But, now, Peel, with regard to the fact. I see no necessity for any man to propose a getting rid of the debt. I see no reason why it ever should become a question with any man who wishes to relieve the nation of its burdens. The first duty of a representative of the people, is to watch over the safety of them and of their personal liberties. His next duty is to take care that not one farthing of money be taken from them by compulsion more than it is just and necessary for them to pay. His chief business then will be to take off those taxes which cause them to live in misery and to degrade them. It will then be for the partisans of taxation to show that the taxes are just and necessary; and, when it comes to the question of paying interest on the debt, you, the "John Kemble of the House," will, I dare say, find it extremely easy to convince the weavers and spinners of Manchester, and the toiling smiths of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, that it is quite proper, quite *just*, that they should toil like slaves all their days to pay the interest of debts contracted by schedules A and B in the days of their fathers; nothing can be easier than for the "John Kemble of the House" to satisfy the people of the *justice* of this; to satisfy them that the bones and flesh and blood of their children who are now in their cradles, are the property of those of whom money was borrowed by schedules A and B. You will only have to tell them in the language of the imp Alexander Baring, that the fundholders have a mortgage on all the property of the country; and, they will see, at once, that those who borrowed the money, were the *owners* of the whole country, and could have *sold* it if they liked; because, if they could not sell they could not mortgage. The fundholders having their security on the consolidated fund, you, "John Kemble of the House" as you are, would be able to show the poor labourers and chopsticks in an instant, that, to petition for the taking off of a tax is to petition for a breach of national faith; because taking off a tax diminishes the security of the fundholder. And that, thus, to do anything, no matter what, to endeavour to lighten their burdens, is what "*no man of honour*, in any Parliament, will ever attempt to propose."

Peely, are you really fool enough to imagine, that your putting out this censure beforehand upon any one who shall propose to deduct from the interest of the debt; are you fool enough to believe, that this will have any effect upon the minds of those who shall be chosen to sit in a reformed Parliament? If you do believe this, you are a foolisher man than ever appeared upon the stage of this world, having the reputation of being in his senses. In short, you know that the proposition will be made, and you, like most other silly men in similar circumstances, are entertaining a hope that you shall be able to defeat it by this sort of forestalling. Cannot you let the reform Parliament alone. Why, let it be *elected*, at any rate, before you begin to read lectures to it. The most impatient of parsons stop till the congregation is assembled before they begin to preach to it. Let us alone, Peel: say your prayers, if you like, about us; but, at any rate, do not preach to us before we be chosen.

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6. *On the Colonies.*

"The noble Lord had adverted to "the state of the colonies. He (Sir R. "Peel) approached that part of the "subject with pain, for he believed no "Parliament had ever separated before, "leaving *the colonies in a state so little "satisfactory* to the mother country. "All they knew with respect to the "colonies was, that the Government "did not intend to exact the obedience "of the islands possessing separate "legislatures to those orders in council "which had been the object of so much "contention. He wished, however, to "know, whether the Government per- "sisted in their intention to force the "obedience of the crown colonies. "Every one knew that the orders, "although nominally enforced in the "crown colonies, were universally dis- "obeyed; and he put it to the noble "Lord whether, under such circum- "stances, it would not be more con- "sistent with the honour and dignity "of the Crown, to withdraw them alto- "gether. (Hear, hear.) While he was "on this subject, he wished also to ask "what reward the Government intended "to bestow on the colonies that accept- "ed the orders. The fiscal regulations "had been abandoned—the discrimi- "nating duties were not to be collected; "but, if he understood the noble Lord "right, the mother country was to pay "a portion of the civil list of the obe- "dient colonies. Now, he put it to the "noble Lord, whether, after all they "had heard of the necessity of compel- "ling the colonies to bear the expense "of their own government, this was not "an act of retrograding—(hear, hear), "—and a departure from the avowed "determination of those who were "placed over that department."

"*Very little satisfactory*," indeed. The whole of the colonies of every description, as now managed, are a burden to the country. Every nation in the world has coffee, sugar, tea, and spices at about one half the price that we have them in ENGLAND. The colonies are merely a channel through which to convey English, Scotch, and Irish taxes into the pockets of the aristocracy and their dependants. The colonies are all filled with their relations and their creatures. The money raised upon us, and which there would be no pretence for giving them here, is given them in the colonies. In CANADA millions have been squandered away. It is pretended that the colonies are so many outlets for English manufactured goods. I do not believe that all our colonies put together take as much of our goods as the UNITED STATES of AMERICA. The goods sent from ENGLAND to CANADA do not amount to so much in the year as the money that is sent thither, and which is first taken from us in taxes; so that we raise taxes to send to CANADA to give to the people there to buy goods with; and that we call trade and commerce! On a limited scale, and when necessary to national defence, colonies may sometimes be useful; but stretched about over the world as ours are, they are the cause of feebleness and not of strength; they are the cause of poverty and not of wealth. Managed as our colonies are, they are mere channels, just like the army, the barracks, the academies, and almost everything else; mere pretences to suck up our earnings, and to give them to the aristocracy and their dependants. This evil is to be put an end to like all the others, by refusing to give the money to uphold it; it is one great mass of monstrous abuses; and it must and will be put an end to. The mere name of *possessing territory* is not worth a straw; if the possession be not conducive to the wealth or strength of the nation, it is worth nothing; but, as in our case, it may be greatly mischievous; and the sooner a mischief is put an end to the better.

7. *On Foreign Affairs.*

"*He could not sit down* without "adding a few words on the subject of "our *foreign policy*. There were, at this "moment, rumours of armaments for "the coast of Portugal, and rumours of "armaments for the Scheldt; God knew "with what truth, or for what purpose. "Of course it was intended that the

"expense of these armaments should be "paid out of the naval estimates, be- "cause no Government could venture "to expend a large sum on an arma- "ment without coming down to Parlia- "ment and demanding a vote for that "purpose. He objected, however, un- "der any circumstances, to the course "which was pursued on the strength of "documents, which could only tend to "mislead the judgment with respect to "the question at issue. At all events, "he hoped the noble Lord was pre- "pared to say whether there was the "least probability that the treaty would "be ratified, or that Holland would "consent to accept the terms proposed "to her. He hoped, indeed, that it "might prove so, and *they would be* "*able to avert the dreadful alternative* "*of the horrors of war*. They had to "lament at that moment the existence "of war in another country, Portugal. "He was convinced that the civil war "which raged in that country never "would have commenced but for the "encouragement given to it by the Go- "vernment; and this much he might "add, that the endangering the peace "and prosperity of Portugal by a pro- "longed civil war, never could prove "conducive to the honour and interests "of England. With respect to Holland, "he could only say, that if the King "refused to ratify the treaty, then the "armaments which must follow, would "disturb the calculations of the noble "Lord, and the surplus he had calcu- "lated on would not be realised. Whe- "ther, however, the noble Lord's calcu- "lations were or were not realised, "whatever was done by this country, "whatever money was expended to "force Holland to sign the twenty-four "articles, would be expended in a man- "ner contrary to the true interests of "England—against the independent "rights of the smaller powers of Europe "—and, if incurred in conjunction with "France directed against Holland, "would be inconsistent with that "course of feeling which the wisest of "British statesmen had always pur- "sued, and which might be pregnant "with consequences *to the peace of the* "*world that no man could foresee*. "(Cheers.)"

Oh! you could not *sit down* without saying a few words about our foreign policy; and what you said was, to be sure, well worth standing up for. Neither top nor tail can any human being make of it, only that the Ministers will have some difficulty in "being able to avert "the dreadful alternative of the *horrors* "*of war*." Indeed, why then I can give you comfort on this score; for I give you my most positive assurance that they have simply this choice: either to re- main at peace, or *to blow up the funding system*. What I said ten years ago to the men of KENT, I now repeat to you; to wit, "That the figure of eight and "eight noughts at the right hand of it "say to the King of ENGLAND, You shall "never go to war again while we are in "existence." Since that time we have protested against the FRENCH entering SPAIN; they entered it, and our Minister in each House of Parliament put up *prayers* that they might not succeed; they did succeed; they rubbed out the SPANISH bonds, and we took it as quietly as so many lambs. Since that time, we have seen RUSSIA overrun TURKEY, open the channel of CONSTANTINOPLE, send a fleet into the MEDITERRANEAN, make us come and assist her in her enterprise, and laugh at us when we began to be alarmed. Since that time, we have seen the AMERICANS fairly oust us from the Gulf of MEXICO, and forbid us to interfere in the affairs of SOUTH AMERICA, threatening us with the power of RUSSIA if we did. We have just seen the Ministers resolve to pay millions of our money to RUSSIA, and resolve to quit their places if they were not per- mitted to do it. All the world sees that it is unjust to pay it; it is given, too, at a time when RUSSIA is doing the most hateful acts ever done by any power on earth. But they must pay the money, or a war with RUSSIA. If war with RUSSIA, war with the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, or they carry on the com- merce of the world, while our ships are liable to be seized. Thus we submit to everything; because, with this debt, we cannot go to war. To go to war, in-

plies an issue of assignats; that implies a real destruction of the Debt; that implies a state of embarrassment to the aristocracy and to the whole of the state, such as our rulers dare not look in the face. This is the true secret of the payment of the money to RUSSIA. We bought a parcel of victories: we have not paid for them; and other nations will take them back again. Why it signifies nothing to talk of this matter: the words "*foreign policy*" are in our case nonsense. The question is, and it is the only question: Shall we continue to sink till we be the lowest nation in the world: or shall we shake off the millstone of debt, falsely called national?

Thus, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, have I taken the pains to comment on your speech; not out of any respect to you; not anything other than contempt that I have for your talents and your knowledge; but because the stuff you put forth on the 27th of July, furnished an opportunity of conveying useful knowledge to my readers; and now, with that contempt with which a man like me ought to look upon a man like you, I commit these observations to my readers, being their faithful friend,

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

ELECTION WORKS.

THERE seems to be a pretty general suspicion that the *sincere* WHIGS mean to join their opponents of schedules A and B, and to prorogue this Parliament and call it together again. For my part, I believe this to be their intention; and what is further, I believe that they are now negotiating with the leaders of the BIRMINGHAM UNION, to get them to aid them in this proceeding. I shall be glad to find that I have formed a wrong opinion upon this matter; but I have generally viewed the intentions of these parties with a very suspicious eye; and I am sorry to say, that I have hardly ever been wrong as to the result. PEEL certainly has thrown out the *feeler*. I have not the smallest doubt that he talked of "*a short session in October or November*," *in consequence of a previous agreement with the Ministers*. I think this is certain; because the thing was of vast importance, and Ministers said not a word upon the subject; but left the *feeler* to operate in its own way; and I should not at all wonder to see their newspapers begin to throw out the *feeler* too. The people, however, are *upon the sharp look-out*. All watching them as a terrier watches a nasty stinking devouring beast of a rat, that is gorged with the meat or the corn that he has purloined. *Apropos* of rats! My readers will remember, that, in the early part of the second session of 1830, that is to say, the session when the people of LONDON actually hunted WELLINGTON out of his post, and when there was a great agitation as to what should be done, there was an article in the *Register*, in which the breaking up of the system was compared to a RAT-HUNT. It was a commentary on a debate in the House of Commons, during which debate great alarm had been expressed at the turbulence of those who seemed bent upon having a change of some sort. If I had the book at hand, I would republish the article here. It excited *universal attention* and unbounded admiration amongst all the COBBETTITES in the kingdom. The *Quarterly Review* quoted it as a specimen of beautiful and powerful writing; but at the same time as an instance of malignity of heart not to be matched. It ran through all the country newspapers; through the IRISH and AMERICAN newspapers; and was universally regarded as the best passage

ever written by me. Now the truth is, that I did not write it at all; that it was in a part of the *Register* which it was not necessary for me to look at; that it was written by my SON JOHN; and that I never even *saw* it until so many people bothered me about it, and all so laughed when they mentioned it, that I was induced to turn back to it and read it.

This celebrated article, after describing, in a most inimitable manner, the manner in which rats, when hunted in a barn, get at last, and lie close as stones under a bundle of straw, concludes by saying, "THE STRAW IS BEING REMOVED!" These very words apply to the present state of things. Schedules A and B have got under the last pitch of straw! Lord GREY has brought them there at any rate. There they lie close as if they were dead, nothing seems capable of moving them. The straw must be *lifted, however;* and, as to PEEL'S-BILL PEEL'S idea of their being permitted to come *under the straw again for a little while,* we shall see how that will be. Oh no: they have decreed their own ejection: they have passed a law to amend the representation; and, upon what ground in God's name, are they to separate and *to meet again,* when there are all the provisions made for electing men to fill the seats?

In the meanwhile the country is pretty well agitated with canvassings and other movements preparatory to an election, the people seeming not to have the smallest idea of a reassemblement of schedules A and B. I shall here notice and insert papers relating to what is going on in several places, beginning with the borough of NEWPORT, in the ISLE OF WIGHT, relative to which I here insert a paper, published by a committee of electors of that town relative to the resignation or rather retreat of TORRENS, the famous conductor of the *Globe,* which ought to be called the bell of horse manure. After I have inserted this paper, I shall make some remarks upon it.

"TO THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT "ELECTORS OF NEWPORT.—The com- "mittee for securing the freedom and "independence of the new borough of "Newport, beg to lay before the electors "the address of Colonel Torrens, in "which he explains his reasons for "being compelled to withdraw from "being a candidate for the borough at "the next general election."

To the Free and Independent Electors of the Borough of Newport.

GENTLEMEN,—With mingled feelings of gratitude and of regret, I solicit permission to withdraw from being a candidate for the honour of representing your emancipated borough in the reformed Parliament.

You invited and received me in a manner most flattering and encouraging, you gave me pledges of support from two-thirds of the electors, and you thus secured my triumph before the contest had commenced. Under these circumstances, you are entitled to demand, in terms the most defined and unequivocal, the reasons which induce me to cease to be your candidate.

When I first appeared amongst you, I stated that I had previously presented myself at BOLTON, that I expected a requisition from a majority of the voters to offer myself as a candidate for the representation of that important town; and that my acceptance of the invitation for Newport must be contingent upon that event. The requisition from Bolton was accidentally delayed, and I was, therefore, led to conclude, that I was at liberty to declare myself for Newport. In this I was mistaken; *my friends at Bolton held me to my promise;* instead of relaxing, they redoubled their exertions in my favour; *they sent me pledges from three-fourths of the electors;* and *they demanded,* that, as they had more than fulfilled their engagement to me, *I should perform my compact with them,* and remain as a candidate for Bolton. In these embarrassing circumstances, *the point of honour* prescribed adherence to the first engagement.

The electors and inhabitants of Newport have conferred favours upon me which it would be baseness ever to forget; though no longer your candidate, I owe you true allegiance. The party of *real reformers* has so decided a majority in your borough, and is so firmly united under the advice of a committee not surpassed in all England for intelligence and disinterested zeal, that there is a certainty that you will obtain a candidate in my stead without injury to your cause. But should any difficulty or delay arise (which I cannot anticipate), and should you conceive that my services may be useful in sustaining your independence, in that case command me and I will obey.

With feelings of gratitude and of admiration which cannot pass away, I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,
Your still faithful and devoted servant,
R. TORRENS.

Manchester, July 21, 1832.

"The Committee beg to announce, "that a gentleman of *highly liberal and* "*independent principles*, W. H. ORD, "Esq. of Berkeley-Square, now strenuously labouring to sustain the reform interest, by actively canvassing "the county of Northumberland for "his father, W. ORD, Esq. member for "Morpeth, in opposition to the Duke "of Northumberland, will shortly present himself to the electors of Newport, to solicit their suffrages.

"A requisition to W. H. ORD, Esq. "to request him to offer himself as a "candidate for the new borough of "Newport, is now lying for signature "at the Green Dragon Hotel. The "friends of independence of the borough are requested immediately to "attach their names.

"By Order of the Committee,
"ABRAHAM CLARKE,
"Chairman.

"Green Dragon Hotel, July 25, 1832."

My readers will remember, that, on the 7th of July, I published an address to the people of BOLTON, showing that this TORRENS, while living in London and conducting a newspaper, was a Brevet Colonel of Marines on full pay, represented to be *stationed at* CHATHAM, and there having, at our expense, besides his pay, quarters, coals, candles, and servants. I caused to be printed on a separate piece of paper, two thousand copies of that address, nineteen hundred of which I sent down to BOLTON by the coach. TORRENS, in order to have a *corps de réserve*, had, by some means or other got some persons at NEWPORT in the ISLE OF WIGHT to invite him to be a candidate there, as a *radical*, in opposition to the influence of the old corporation. Therefore, expecting to meet some friends from the ISLE OF WIGHT at the chopstick festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, I took a hundred of the addresses to the people of BOLTON down to SUTTON SCOTNEY, and gave them to ISLE OF WIGHT friends to carry and distribute at NEWPORT.

I was afterwards at NEWPORT myself; but I forbore to mention TORRENS in my lecture, lest I should seem to side with the corporation against the radicals of the place. The addresses went to NEWPORT on the 7th or 8th of July. I was at NEWPORT on the 17th of July; and on the 21st *of July*, you see TORRENS, being then apparently at MANCHESTER, beats the retreat. You see his pretence. It is, doubtless, as false as any part of his most false and villanous newspaper; for if it were true, it would reflect eternal disgrace on the town of BOLTON, it being manifest that a schedule A and B parliament would be a thousand times better than that of a parliament consisting of men receiving full pay as stationed at CHATHAM while they are conducting government newspapers in LONDON. So much for TORRENS, who, if the radicals of NEWPORT had persevered with him, would certainly have thrown the whole borough back into the hands of the old corporation; for there were a great many men who detested the corporation and its influence, who would not have voted at all rather than have voted for TORRENS. Who this W. H. ORD is, I do not know. I cannot see why a couple of members cannot be found in the ISLE OF WIGHT itself. We have been brought to our present degraded state by *gentlemen legislators*. Why not *try* men of another sort? There is this comfort in the case at any rate, that no sort of men can do worse for us than these *gentlemen legislators* have done. At any rate if this Mr. ORD will not pledge himself to the abolition of the tithes, and the repeal of the hop and malt tax, and to a repeal of the Corn Bill, I trust that the people of Newport will not suffer themselves to be disgraced by the electing of him. If he be ready to pledge himself, I should still like a farmer or a tradesman better; but, if he give the pledges, and in *a very distinct manner*, to abolish the tithes and repeal the malt and hop and soap tax, and

the Corn Bill; and if he be not, like TORRENS, a man whose very life depends upon the receipt of taxes, then, there may be no solid objection to him; and, at any rate, to have gotten rid of TORRENS is a positive good, as much as getting rid of the CHOLERA MORBUS. TORRENS is a political CHOLERA MORBUS: he is waster of the body: he will soon scour it out clean I will warrant him, if he once gets into it. He comes before the people of BOLTON, and as good as tells them that if they do not elect him he shall be starved. He does not dare pledge himself to the *taking-off* of taxes: he is ready to pledge himself *to shift them from one man to another!* just as if, if he lay them all upon the shoulders of the masters, they will not know how to shift them from their own shoulders to those of the men. In short, if he do anything to relieve the people of BOLTON, he must vote against the very measures on which he lives and has his being. The taxes are the food in his body and the breath in his nostrils: they are the air of which he breathes, and without them he dies; this is a pretty representative for the toiling, slaving and burdened people of BOLTON, who, again I say, if they take this *refuse of the Isle of Wight*, ought to continue to be loaded to the last moment of their lives.

BOROUGH OF LAMBETH.

Every effort is making by both the factions to wheedle, cajole, and deceive the metropolitan boroughs. They are everywhere nominating their creatures: everywhere endeavouring to avoid pledges. In the borough of LAMBETH they have been particularly active. A very sensible man, a *tradesman*, has put forth an address to the people of LAMBETH upon this subject, which address ought to be read by every elector in the kingdom. I never heard of the author of it before; but, when I return to LONDON I should be very glad to confer with him; if he will write to me and appoint a time for the purpose. There is plenty of time to counteract all the machinations of the united factions; and we must do it too, or we shall find great difficulty in effecting much good in a short time; and yet, if that be not done, confusion will come. I will here insert the address of this gentleman, whose name is ARTHUR ROSE, and who is a colour and oil-merchant at NEWINGTON, in SURREY. This address is all good sense; it is that which one would expect from a man of good sense; having the good of the country really at heart. I strongly recommend it to the attention not only of the electors of the kingdom, but of every body else. As a piece of writing it is excellent. Let the "*education of the country*," as the impudent CASTLEREAGH called schedules A and B; let the whole of that stupid and insolent tribe club their talents, and see if they can produce anything equal to this as a piece of composition merely. With this preface I insert this paper, begging the author to accept of my thanks for it.

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE NEW BOROUGH OF LAMBETH.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have anxiously waited since the "English Reform Bill received the "royal assent, in the hope of seeing "candidates present themselves for "your suffrages, whose avowed princi-"ples should be a guarantee, that, as "regarded you, that measure should "not have been enacted in vain.

"Gentlemen, it is peculiarly incum-"bent on you, to exercise the important "trust with which you are now in-"vested, in such a manner as to set "an example to the whole kingdom. "If you suffer yourselves to be made, "as it is obviously intended to make "you, tools for the aggrandisement of "either of the factions, you will be "guilty of a gross dereliction of the "duty you owe to the yet unrepre-"sented part of your countrymen. It "would fix an indelible stain upon the "borough of Lambeth, if the electors "were to make choice of a placeman to "be their representative in the first re-"formed Parliament; from which all "placemen must be excluded, agreeably "to the Act of Settlement, or the Re-

"form Bill will become a nullity. As "to the circumstance of a man voting "for the 'bill,' it ought not, without "other recommendations, to weigh with "you as a feather; for it must be "known to you all, that many of those "who voted for the bill were, and are, "anti-reformers in their hearts, and "have voted for many of the measures "most hostile to the liberties of the "people. In short, it should be your "object, as it would be that of all the "newly-enfranchised boroughs in par-"ticular, to choose men who are wholly "unconnected with, and uncontami-"nated by, the two factions; 'between "'whom (as the Historian observes) "'this nation has been crucified.'

"Gentlemen, it is evident to every "man of the least discernment, that "the approaching struggle is intended "to be a struggle between the two fac-"tions, and that the real interests of "the people are to be sacrificed, as "heretofore, to the gratification of their "ambition, and their inordinate rapa-"city. We know that the factions "hate each other cordially; but it is "merely as rivals for power and emo-"lument: and they both know that "there would be nothing to contend for, "if the people obtained their rights. "Hence the objections on the part of "both factions to giving pledges: they "know that the people are now almost "unanimous as to the measures neces-"sary for their relief; they know that "the adoption of those measures would "speedily reduce both factions to their "proper level; and, therefore, they "will join most cordially in endeavour-"ing to deprive the people of the bene-"fits which they were promised from "the passing of the Reform Bill. Ne-"vertheless, if those who are now in-"vested with the elective franchise "shall honestly and resolutely do their "duty, a sufficient number of members "will be returned to baffle all the at-"tempts of the factions to continue "the system under which we have so "long groaned; and I trust we shall "not have to endure the mortification "of seeing the electors of Lambeth sur-"passed by any other body of electors, "in a knowledge of their rights, or in "resolution to defend them.

"Gentlemen, I am pretty certain that "not one of the gentlemen whose "names have been announced as can-"didates for your suffrages, will openly "pledge himself to do the things "which you all know are necessary to "be done. Heretofore there has been "no backwardness on the part of can-"didates to give pledges. But what "were the pledges? To uphold the "dignity and splendour of the throne: "to maintain the honour and inde-"pendence of the country, by support-"ing 'just and necessary wars: and to "'uphold the constitution in church "'and state.' We have now found "out that the 'splendour of the throne', "meant the splendour of the borough-"mongers; that the 'wars' were carried "on against the people of France to "prevent them from setting before us "a successful example of 'democratic "encroachment;' and, that the uphold-"ing the constitution in church and "state, meant the upholding of taxes "and tithes, for the sole benefit of the "boroughmongers and their creatures. "Now, gentlemen, will any one of the "candidates for your suffrages pledge "himself to use his best endeavours to "obtain for you relief from these taxes "and tithes? If he will not, and, in-"deed, if he do not pledge himself "(without being asked), and in the "most explicit manner, too, I beseech "you to reject him, to look upon him "as one who seeks rather to aggrandise "himself than to benefit you.

"Gentlemen, I shall, perhaps, be ac-"cused of wishing to sow discord "among you; and of endeavouring to "injure the present Ministers, by dis-"crediting those who profess to be "their supporters. I assure you I de-"sire to do no such thing; on the "contrary, I am pursuing the very "course (if my endeavours produce any "effect) which is calculated to keep "them in power: for, most assuredly, "their wily opponents will speedily "oust them from their places, unless "they be backed by the people, as they "have hitherto been, and not left to

"pursue their own vacillating and temporising course. But, it may be said, "gratitude for what they have done, "should induce us to place confidence "in the Ministers, as well as in their "partisans! Gratitude! gratitude is "on the other side. If the people had "looked tamely on, as it is now recommended to them to do, the Ministers "would have been turned out, and our "'POLIGNAC' would have been at the "head of a military Government; and "what would THEN have been the condition of Lord Grey and his colleagues? We owe the Whigs just as "much gratitude as the Catholics owe "the Duke for the measure of Emancipation; which he, candid man as he "is, declared he never would have introduced if he could have avoided it.

"Gentlemen, we have ample proof in "the experience of the last thirty years, "that a talent for public speaking, of "the very first order, is perfectly compatible with a total absence of sound "judgment, and of all the other qualities and acquirements necessary to "form the character of a statesman, or "a useful member of Parliament. It is "not necessary for me to particularise, "examples in abundance will occur to "your minds. Plain sense, in plain "language (very rare in Parliament at "present), with a competent knowledge of the subject proposed, will be "found much more conducive to the "public good, than those 'stale, flat, "and unprofitable' harangues which "occupy five or six hours in the delivery; "and are delivered at those hours of "the night, during which, as Fielding "says, 'honest watchmen are fast "asleep.'

"Gentlemen, if a candidate should "present himself for your choice, who "was directly or indirectly connected "with any of those disgraceful schemes, "called 'Bubble Companies,' which "left an indelible stain upon the characters of many men theretofore considered as respectable. If any candidate should present himself, who "has been so connected, and who "screened himself from the consequences by his 'privilege of Parliament,' throwing the burden upon "others, and such would, I am sure, be "rejected with scorn. But would you "be less culpable in choosing a Minister of State, who has always been "connected with the Tories in their "worst measures, and is, even now, acting more like a partisan of the Tories, "than a member of a reforming Government? Look at the state of our "foreign affairs! Behold the farce in "which we have been engaged with "regard to Belgium and Holland; and "then ask yourselves, whether our "Foreign Secretary has not quite enough "to do, without being encumbered "with the care of the interest of the "borough of Lambeth? As to the "candidate who rests his pretensions "upon the knowledge acquired by him "in his capacity of magistrate, I think "it unnecessary to say one word more "than this, that if he had no better "ground for claiming your votes, he "would have acted more discreetly by "leaving it to his friends to recommend "him; and to the good nature of the "electors to take his merits for granted. "When, before, did we ever hear of a "man offering himself as a candidate "for a situation upon such a ground?

"Gentlemen, I am of opinion that it "is the bounden duty of the electors to "make known beforehand, most explicitly, the grounds on which alone "they will give their votes to any candidate; and I take the liberty of suggesting, for your consideration, a few "of the pledges which candidates "should be required to give in this great "crisis of our country's fate:—

"1st. To endeavour to obtain the "immediate abolition of all sinecures, "and of all pensions not merited by "real services.

"2d. To vote for the abolition of the "malt and soap duties, and stamp and "assessed taxes.

"3d. To vote for a repeal of the "corn laws, which laws would become "unnecessary by the taking off of the "taxes and tithes.

"4th. To vote for the abolition of "tithes, and the appropriation of all "church property to public uses.

"5th. To vote for the exclusion of "the clergy from the House of Lords, "and from all interference in secular "affairs.

"6th. To endeavour to obtain the "abolition of the law of primogeniture.

"7th. To vote for triennial Parliaments and election by ballot.

"8th. To vote for disbanding the "standing army, and for the restoration "of the old constitutional force, the "Militia.

"9th. Above all things, the candidate "should pledge himself to surrender his "trust into the hands of his constituents, whenever he shall find himself "unable to act up to their instructions.

"Gentlemen, if your sentiments accord with mine, it will give me great "pleasure to see you act in conformity "with them; and in case of no other "candidate appearing, who will pledge "himself to use his best endeavours to "accomplish your wishes, I will offer "myself to your notice on the day of "election, assuring you, that if you "honour me with your confidence, no "exertions on my part shall be wanting "to justify your choice.

"I am, gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"ARTHUR ROSE,

"Colour and oil-merchant, No. 65, Trinity-square, Newington, Surrey.

"July 26th, 1832."

BOROUGH OF MARY-LE-BONE.

Here "the education" appears to be making a grand push. LITTLE PORTMAN and "COLONEL JONES," a well-known tool of the WHIGS, are chosen to make a stand *against pledges*. The people of MARY-LE-BONE consist a good deal of tradesmen, dependent on the aristocracy. They live, like the people of WESTMINSTER, on the incomes of the tax-eaters. All the western part of LONDON consists of a mass of consumers of the fruits of labour; but, still I believe there is spirit enough left in the people to make them do their duty upon this occasion. They ought to choose *two tradesmen*; but, at any rate, they ought to reject any man who will not pledge himself to an abolition of the tithes and a repeal of the malt, hop, and soap tax, and the corn bill. LITTLE PORTMAN has played a curious sort of game in DORSETSHIRE; and he played a still more curious game with the *friendly societies*, all of whom who had sense, broke up the societies and divided the money upon the very appearance of his bill. LITTLE PORTMAN seems to be an old GEORGE ROSE number two, and to have a scheme for getting poor men bound to the system by means of their savings. LITTLE PORTMAN will fail in all his schemes; but his intentions are the same as if he succeeded. The people of MARY-LE-BONE ought to reject him, unless he will distinctly pledge himself to the things before mentioned.

BOROUGH OF BATH.

There seems to be a great stir in this city. A HOBHOUSE, brother of LITTLE SANCHO, is, it appears, a candidate at Bath. The *impudence* of these people surpasses any thing that the world ever witnessed before. I do not know what place, what channel of public money, if any, this fellow has been in; but I know that he was fed on pap bought with the public money. I know that his father, first as chairman in the ways and means in the house of schedules A and B, and afterwards as chairman of the Commissioners of the NABOB of ARCOT'S debts, was receiving about two thousand a year of the public money from the year 1801 to the day of his death, which happened last year; that is to say, about *sixty thousand pounds* of principal money, besides the interest, which in such a case is always to be reckoned, and which must be reckoned, to be sure, *when the nation comes to settle accounts with the parties or with their heirs*; and, when the nation does that, it will soon find who has got the eight hundred millions, of which the DEBT consists! I know that death has scarcely put an end to the father's receiving public money before the eldest son jumped into the Secretary of Warship; as if the baronetcy and the right

to receive public money descended together. I know that the wife of this eldest son was on the pension list so long ago as the year 1808 for a *hundred pounds* a year, and that she had her pension to the day of her marriage, if she have it not still. Here are *twenty-four hundred pounds* of principal money, part of which bears interest from twenty-four years ago. I know that the uncle of this BATH HOBHOUSE was Under-Secretary of State to SIDMOUTH, during the terrible years from 1812 or thereabouts, to the year 1823 or 4, when I believe he was transferred to some place of great emolument in India. The father of this HOBHOUSE was made a baronet by ADDINGTON about twenty-seven years ago; and, here is a family created by and made up of public money.

I know nothing of this fellow, who has had the impudence to offer himself to the electors of BATH, except that which I learn from a paper printed by his committee at BATH, from which I learn that he made a speech there at the FREEMASONS'-HALL, on Monday, the 2d of July; that pledges were put to him; and that he shuffled out of them all, even of a pledge to vote for the repeal of the *Septennial Bill!* He was tried upon the subject of tithes in particular; and he shuffled out of the pledge. In short he would take no pledge, and departed under a very general cry of "*He will not do for us.*" He appears to be a great fool; for he talked during his speech of a bishop, who, on dying, left three hundred thousand pounds which he had saved out of his see. Mr. CRISP put the pledges to him one by one; and he appears to have been sadly annoyed. According to all appearance, it seems impossible that this creature can be member for BATH, where the following address from the POLITICAL UNION was published on the 10th of July.

"PLEDGES or PERFIDY! *Real* "*Reform or Confusion!—Friends and* "*Fellow Citizens!* Learn to do your "first duty as electors, for if the system "of requiring SPECIFIC PLEDGES "be generally adopted, every thing will "go well; but if no such pledges be "required, the next Parliament will "occasion *more dissatisfaction*, and be-"come *more unpopular* with the great "body of the people, than any Bo-"roughmonger Parliament that has "ever assembled within the walls of "St. STEPHEN'S. In the mean time you "are earnestly requested not to pro-"mise or pledge your votes, till all the "candidates are seen and heard."

This is very sensible advice: it ought to be attended to by every body of electors. Nothing can be more true than that we are now to have *pledges or perfidy; real reform or confusion*; and that if the pledges be not required, the next Parliament will occasion more dissatisfaction and become more unpopular than any boroughmonger Parliament that has ever assembled within the walls of St. STEPHEN'S. It seems that the people of BATH *want a candidate*, want a man. This is a very general want: it seems to be experienced almost everywhere. My opinion is, that men should offer themselves, not for particular places but generally; should advertise in the newspapers that they are ready to serve and ready to give the LONDON pledges. This is what ought to be done. The electors on their part should refrain from giving any promise at all with regard to their votes until they find a candidate that will take the pledges at any rate.

BUNGAY IN SUFFOLK.

I have received a very interesting account of the reform festival at Bungay. It appears that a hundred and forty-four pounds were collected for the purpose of giving an entertainment to the poorer part of the inhabitants of BUNGAY. A great number of tables were placed in the broad street of that town; and the entertainment appears to have been conducted in the finest possible manner.

At numerous other places the same thing has been done, though not in so grand a style; and now the question is, Is all this rejoicing to end in nothing? for, in nothing it will end, or in general confusion, unless the people insist upon

pledges. At the reform festival at NORWICH, there was a procession, and a flag was carried in the procession having painted on it, "*The clerical magistrate*;" the sight of which seems to have stirred the blood of the parsons in that county. I dare say the parson SLAPP can find matter now full as interesting to him as his correspondence with the Marquis of BLANDFORD about me. I thank my correspondent at Norwich for sending me a copy of the painting on this banner, which copy I shall leave for the amusement of the people of this village of FIRLE.

ALDERMEN'S ALDERMAN.

What is this that I read in the newspapers? That HUGHES HUGHES *has given up his gown!* What! given up his gown! and is no compensation, no *atonement* to be made by the COURT of ALDERMEN to Mr. ALDERMAN SCALES and the people of PORTSOKEN WARD! Are the people of that WARD to have *another election* now, and is this impudent COURT of ALDERMEN again to refuse to swear in the man they may choose? If a reformed Parliament suffer this corporation to exist unaltered, it will be the most corrupt body that ever assembled under the roof of St. STEPHEN'S. What! Mr. SCALES put to an expense of *a thousand pounds*, in order to make HUGHES HUGHES show by what authority he filled the office of alderman; the judges suffering HUGHES HUGHES to put off his answer until after Trinity Term was ended; and then HUGHES HUGHES give no answer at all but throw up his gown; and is there to be no atonement to Mr. SCALES and the people of PORTSOKEN WARD? Is this Court of Aldermen still to possess the power of preventing the people of the several wards from having aldermen of their own choosing? If a reformed Parliament suffer this, a curse, shall I say, light on the reformed Parliament.

Here is one of the monstrous evils of the country. Local laws are more oppressive than the general laws. The severest of our tyrannies are those which proceed from the local powers given by acts of parliament. Here this Court of Aldermen have violated the charter of the CITY; they have practically abrogated it, and there must be a complete revision of the laws and of every thing relating to the government of that great city. The representation of the people in Parliament wants to be amended; but mass of abuse as it was; usurpation as it was; ruinous as its measures necessarily were, it was not half so great an abuse, and its measures were not half so ruinous as those of this debased and detestable corporation, which, from one act of despotism to another, have at last arrived at that daring pitch of profligacy, to treat an election duly made by the people of a ward as being of no more account than the rattling of the wheels of the hackney-coaches. So impudent a set of petty despots never were assembled together in this whole world before; and to put an end to their despotism, will be one of the first duties of a reformed Parliament.

Lewes, 31st July, 1832.

Since writing the above I have returned to head-quarters, where I have found, to my great comfort, the illuminating columns of the *Chronicle* of yesterday and to-day; blessed turnpike-roads and stage coaches, that so quickly caused to dart upon us these all-illuminating rays! In plain English, these *Chronicles* have brought me the following two articles, the subject matter of which will furnish, I should think, very good materials for a play, to be called The Devil among the Aldermen. I am the more anxious to insert these articles, as, in my above observations, I have rather done injustice to persons, to do injustice to whom wilfully, I am, I hope, the last man in the world; namely, *my lords the judges*, who, as I thought, had not been so quick in their movements with regard to HUGHES HUGHES, as I thought they ought to have been. Begging pardon for having for one moment entertained a thought of anything wrong having been done by my lords, I now insert the two articles to which I have alluded; for my

readers will perceive with great pleasure that the Aldermen's Alderman HUGHES HUGHES, Esq., M. P., and lately HEWIT the Attorney at CLAPHAM, has been OUSTED by my lords.

44, Aldgate, July 27, 1832.

SIR—As the Lord Mayor is indisposed and out of town, and most likely will be so for some weeks; and as no Court of Aldermen is to take place until September; I shall be glad to know how these city Solons will deal with the following law made by them in 1812, and in force at this time:—

"Hunter, Mayor.

"At a Court of Common Council held in the Chamber of Guildhall, in the City of London, on Friday, the 17th day of April 1812, it was enacted as follows, amongst several other clauses:—'And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that upon any vacancy by death, or resignation of any person being an Alderman of this city, the Lord Mayor of the said city for the time being shall, within eight days next after such death or resignation (Sundays expected) cause a Ward-mote to be duly summoned and held, for the election of a fit and able person to be Alderman of such Ward or Wards respectively where such vacancy shall happen, and returning such person so elected to the said Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the said city.

(Signed) 'WOODTHORPE.'"

Now, what say these Corporators, and amongst others, I am told, this Woodthorpe himself—that Hughes Hughes is proved in law never to have been legally appointed an Alderman, and consequently cannot resign, and consequently no new election need take place, because no vacancy has occurred, and because, as Hughes Hughes was not a legal Alderman, he cannot perform a legal act, and cannot legally resign. This town clerk, Woodthorpe, is an LL.D., and if his fellow-citizens do not give him a further title, I am sure he richly deserves it.

Such is the state of reasoning in the heads of my opponents in the city of London. Is it at all surprising that they are become contemptible in the estimation of all honest and reasonable men?

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
MICHAEL SCALES.

44, Aldgate, July 30, 1832.

SIR,—As the corporators of London still adhere to their tool Hughes Hughes with the pertinacity of a barnacle to an oak plank, and declare they will not accept of his resignation, as he was appointed an alderman for life, and "therefore cannot resign," such being the law according to that round and weighty authority in the city, Dr. Harry Woodthorpe, LL.D., I shall feel obliged by your inserting the law of the Court of King's Bench sent herewith, it being an exact copy of the judgment obtained by me against Hughes. Whether these city law-givers will please to obey the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, is more than I can tell; but this I do know—they will disobey it at their peril.

Your insertion of the above, with the copy of the judgment annexed, will much oblige,

Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MICHAEL SCALES.

"2d William 4th, 1832.

"AS YET OF EASTER TERM.—LINCOLN'S-INN.

"Judgment is signed for our Lord the King "against the defendant, of Trinity Term, in "the second year of the reign of King William "the Fourth, for want of a plea.

"London: An entry of an appearance for "William Hughes Hughes, late of the city of "London, Esq., to an information, in nature "of a *quo warranto*, to show by what autho-"rity he claims to be an alderman of the city "of London.—LET HIM BE OUSTED."

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Guildhall, July 30, 1832.

SIR,—Having seen, in the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, a letter dated the 27th inst., signed "Michael Scales," in which my name is introduced as having made the observations therein stated relative to the alderman of the Ward of Portsoken, I feel it incumbent upon me, however desirous I may be not unnecessarily to intrude my name upon the public, to declare that I have never made any such absurd and ridiculous observations.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
HENRY WOODTHORPE.

POLITICAL UNIONS.

WITH great pleasure I lay before my readers an elaborate DECLARATION of the RADSTOCK POLITICAL UNION; and I defy the whole of the six hundred and fifty-eight to produce a man amongst them, from whom a piece of writing like this has ever come. I wish I could cause this paper to be read by every man in the kingdom. Here the reasons for upholding the POLITICAL UNIONS are ably set forth; and so clear and so strong are the reasons which are here given in support of the maintenance of these UNIONS until things be settled, that I defy any man in the world to produce reasons in confutation.

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DECLARATION
OF THE
BRENTFORD POLITICAL UNION.

"Unite, Persevere, and be Free."

AT this memorable era of national triumph and political regeneration, the *Council of the Brentford Political Union* think it a duty incumbent upon them, to lay their future views and opinions open to the animadversion of a discerning people; in order to supersede any secrecy of intention which might be attributed to them by the unthinking and prejudiced or by the denunciator and heartless opposer of the renovated charter of our liberties, and the natural benefits which are calculated to spring therefrom. The mountains rejoice in freedom's cause; and the valleys burst with the sacred hymn of liberty. The earth we tread, and the air we breathe, seem electrified with the movements of a mighty nation. Union has saved us from convulsion, and accomplished what the brightest pages of history cannot rival.

Actuated by these feelings, the *Council of the Brentford Political Union*, in drawing up this, the second declaration of the body, of which they constitute the temporary organ, think they cannot better calculate and advance the object they have in view, than by proceeding after the following method: First, to describe the political circumstances which at once cause and justify the farther extension of the labours of this Union;—next, to endeavour to point out clearly and explicitly some of the principal abuses and corruptions of church and state, which require to be redressed and eradicated, before the people can settle down calmly, or have any confidence in the blessings which all good men anticipate from this great measure. And, lastly, to produce some reasons why Political Unions should be co-existent with the unredressed and acknowledged grievances of the community. Should we not succeed, through weakness of argument, or mystification of language, in convincing the unconvinced, or in giving activity to the inactive, yet we humbly conceive our opinions and views will meet the cordial acquiescence of the great mass of our fellow-countrymen.

When we first called this Political Union into existence, under the auspices of a patriotic King, and universally approved administration, in order to assist in supporting them against a faction of unprecedented extortioners, tyrants, and hypocrites, we could contemplate no reason why our labours should not have terminated with the full accomplishment of the Bill of Parliamentary Reform, introduced to his Majesty's Government by Lord John Russell;—but circumstances have arisen, subsequently, seriously alarming to the disinterested policy and united movements of our constitutional rulers, in handling the appalling difficulties which surround the vital interests of this afflicted country. We cannot now flatter ourselves with a certainty of that peaceful magnanimity and mutual forbearance which ought to animate the councillors of the realm, at this critical period of redress, concession, and melioration. What, we would ask, but the best feelings of human nature, united in knowledge and inclination, can wrestle triumphantly with the deranged state of the finances, and the ruinous involvement of the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of the kingdom! We regret sincerely, as every lover of peace and good order must, that we cannot retire from the scene of popular excitation, under the present circumstances, without compromising our principles, and despising the ordeal of public opinion. Our inertness at this moment might endanger the best fruits of our previous exertions. Our dissolution on the eve of the most popular election the British annals may ever have to boast of, would militate against freedom, and give back to the enemy the best portion of the conquest. The boroughmongers are stronger, even in their defeat, and more inveterate even in their imbecility, than the general opinion of the reformers ever calculated. The House of Lords is unchanged in principle and character; and the *highest power* is wrapped up in unfathomable mystery: what, then, might avail the decisions of the most patriotic House of Commons, without the strenuous and combined support of the people? While we continue united, we can laugh at the menaces of the oligarchs with impunity, and curb their despotic career, without any extraordinary efforts; but let England be once divided into factions, no matter of what grade or stamp, and, like the unfortunate but high-minded people of France, carnage and bloodshed will glut the appetite of the oppressor, till property and freedom fall a wreck with the constitution. Their plans of reaction and convulsion are concocting in the secret hells of tyranny, superstition, and bigotry. They would move mountains in their cause, should bribery and corruption find a sufficiency of tools in existence. We have certainly already accomplished the most glorious triumph that truth and justice ever obtained over falsehood, fraud, and oppression; but we must not be shorn of our locks, like Sampson, till we strip the Philistines of their blood-stained trappings, and chase them into the cave of obscurity, there to ruminate amidst their own impenetrable darkness.

Let us now look around us and picture to the mind's eye the real state of the country. We see men of moderate affluence, obliged to curtail their pleasures and comforts at home; or go on the continent, where the necessaries of life bear no comparison in point of value. We behold the small farmer sinking into the labourer; and the natural peasant encumbering the parish, or wandering about in destitution and despair. We see the manufacturer,

possessed of indefatigable skill and perseverance, and, assisted by the power of unrivalled machinery, struggling to compete with the foreign market, by pressing the labourer under him to the very earth, and even then, in many instances, gradually sacrificing a portion of his capital. We behold the mechanic and the artisan suffering, if possible, more than any other class of the community, not so much from the low scale of their wages, as from the general scarcity of employment, and the high price of provision and raiment. We see the vigilant shop-keeper and tradesman staggering under high rents, oppressive taxes, and a frightfully increasing weight of poor-rate, while their profits are diminishing, and their customers are being subdivided. We behold the merchant harassed by the general pressure of the times, and overbalanced by anti-national monopolies of a monstrous growth. We see the land-owner and the stock-holder embarked in a crazy ship, on a troubled and dangerous sea, without compass, or helm, or the prospect of a haven! Seeing all these things! and having seen them advancing with undeviating deterioration, in the midst of the profound peace of the borough-mongers, after their *glorious war against revolutionary principles, which they purchased at the expense of fifteen hundred millions of money*; the whole of which has been either taken out of the pockets of the people, or saddled on the rising generation; we cannot refrain from exclaiming, Would to God they were made amenable for their actions, and accountable for the reckoning!!

How different is the picture, when we turn our eyes upon them, their satellites, panders and abettors! There we behold the great captain of the age cursing the land with his machinations, while he hugs to his pestiferous embrace, a princely fortune, every farthing of which is pilfered from the scanty pittance of industry. We see a motley crew of pluralists and sinecurists, gorging the emoluments of office and hypocrisy, without even a fractional utility in the public service. An innumerable conclave of pensioners, who have wormed their way into the public purse, by venal acts of popular execration. A hot-bed of self-styled conservators, hanging on the public services, whether civil or military, with audacious effrontery, and rioting in salaries disproportionate to anything but the magic wand of Fortunatus. We behold a church which professes to teach the principles of Christianity, absorbing, with the rapacity of harpies, the charity funds which were bequeathed to the poor, by our virtuous ancestors; and otherwise making us pay fourfold the value of its service, in the shape of tithes, church-cesses, fees, consecrations, easter-offerings, repairing of churches, and pew-rents. We see offices created, unnecessary and ludicrous, purposely to place the extraneous brats and sucklings of the aristocracy on the public contributions. We behold more officers in the army, in this seventeenth year of peace, than Napoleon commanded in the height of his splendour: and, watching the sources from which they are principally promoted, though we doubt not their bravery, we have great misgivings in regard to their honour and humanity. We see the magistracy of the country composed of fox-hunting parsons and sleek-brained ultra Tories, truckling to the dying embers of a desperate faction.

Turning to our laws and institutions, with the abominable chicanery and trickery in their execution; we see the petty peculator drawn from the path of rectitude by poverty, and the imbibed seductions of oppression, transported, or condemned to the gallows, while the wholesale pirate, shielded by the monied intricacies of the law, can rob and ruin hundreds of families with impunity. We see the quadrupeds of the creation protected from savage treatment, by *Martin's humane act*; while the back of the soldier or sailor, in his civil rights a citizen, is doomed to be lacerated by the lash of cruelty, to the utmost pang of torture the human frame can bear. We see the wild animals of nature, which cannot be kept together as the private property of any man, secured to the gorgeous appetites of our oppressors, by penal laws which amount to transportation, while the execution of them is steeped in blood, and stamped with a debasement and demoralization of the human mind which we cannot contemplate without horror. We see an universally abhorred Corn Bill, which doubles the incomes of the tax-eater and tithe-consumer, and robs the industrious classes of half their wages. We see the press, the best bulwark of freedom, shackled, persecuted, and belied; while its liberty is left to depend solely on the spirited perseverance of its adventurers, and the overwhelming thirst after political knowledge. We see Ireland, that ill-starred gem of the ocean, struggling to obtain the rights and privileges which are due to her in justice and equity, by a system of tactics, founded on patience, perseverance, and self-denial, which would do honour to the greatest political philosophers of the age; while it seems to be the "sole employment of the civil government to keep down the people, and collect taxes and rents; and the sole employment of the ecclesiastical establishment, to get in tithes at the point of the bayonet." In a word, we see the sufferance of the people; the enormity of the national debt; the voracity of the pensioner, placeman, and sinecurist; the temerity of the oligarchial faction; the mystification of royalty; the obduracy of the criminal code; the severity of the game laws; the tyranny of the tithe system; the partiality of the corn-laws; the malignity of the flogging system; and the insecurity of the lives, liberty, and property, of the real pillars of the realm. Such is the true situation of the country; and, while these glaring absurdities and overt acts of licentious injustice and oppression predominate, we cannot be persuaded the

victory is final, and crowned with the certainty of a happy futurity. It would be downright infatuation, to break up the sacred union of the people, before we accomplish the dissolution of the union of despotism, and see the reign of truth and justice fairly established.

The British constitution has been extorted from the remorseless grasp of tyrants at various periods; but, hitherto, Englishmen have been too much in the habit of trusting their concerns in the hands of a few leading characters, instead of attending to their rights themselves. We have followed and supported leaders; and, when they have procured a declaration of our rights, we have found our condition somewhat bettered, and have sat down tamely and contentedly, hugging the shadow to our breasts instead of the reality. Let us determine not to be deluded again. Let us improve by experience, and convince the world we are thinking beings! Let us foster the germs of political knowlege, and drive our enemies into obscurity, by a sense of their own ignorance and insignificancy. And, above all, let those who join our Union be particularly cautious to reform themselves, and show, by their actions, that they are proper characters to reform others. Be firm; be just and upright: "do unto others as you would they should do unto you." Be determined to allow no one to draw you into any secret plot, or excite you to riot or outrage. If you ever suffer yourselves to fall into the childish plan of confusion and riot, you will thenceforth lose the glorious object of your wishes. Our weapons are those of "*Reason, Justice*, and *Truth*." Our motto is, "*Unite, persevere, and be free.*" While we continue true to these principles, we defy all the powers of faction to prevail against us.

"It is the firm opinion of this Council, and they hereby declare it, that, under our ancient form of Government of King, Lords, and Commons, every blessing of liberty may be obtained, secured, and enjoyed; and that, with a King reigning in accordance with those principles which placed his family on, and gave them their right to, the throne of these kingdoms,—with a House of Lords deprived of all undue temptations to deem their interests distinct from those of the people,—and with a Commons House chosen by, and verily and indeed representatives of, that people,—this country may, without disturbing any of the relations of the different parts of civil society, be made to present a scene of happiness, peace, and greatness, such as Europe never yet saw."

We did hope, nay we were all but confident, that this great rectification and enlargement of the franchise, once constitutionally approved of, would have so amalgamated and cemented the three great estates of the realm, as to have secured their cordial co-operation in the great work of national improvement, a criterion so diligently sought after by the people, and so essentially necessary to the activity and promptitude of a well-regulated government. But how have we been disappointed. The close of the great struggle for Parliamentary reform will speak more convincingly to the understanding than any language we can dictate.

We do not acknowledge ourselves an interminable faction, that would sit in judgment over the general weal, when the purity of the constitution is being acted upon with principles and vigour. We repudiate the ideas of those restless demagogues, who advocate the necessary existence of Political Unions, after the grievances of the people have been radically redressed, and the harmony of the Government permanently established.

Let the three estates of the realm be assimilated on the side of justice, and sanctify the great work of national improvement, with magnanimity and disinterestedness, and we shall cease our labours, like virtuous patriots, and proclaim to our fellow-countrymen—"That, where such a diversity of clashing interests exists, as must necessarily in a nation like this, the constitutional powers of the realm should be left to settle the business of the state without control or dictation."

At all times, and under all circumstances, factious persons will be found to play upon the passions of the multitude, according to the dictation of their own selfish motives, or misguided conceptions, but we are none of those: our maxim is, the union of all classes, and the concentration of all opinions, which can only be obtained by congregating together, and diffusing the doctrine of moral dignity and rational argument. Every great question of national improvement interests all classes of the community, but with different terminations in minor points, according to the sphere in which they move: therefore, to enlighten, disabuse, and bring into unison, the various views and opinions which float on the surface of society, is the first principle of the political philosopher.

And now to our fellow-countrymen, whether united with us in opinion and regulation or not, we give the right hand of fellowship in secular affairs, with purity and sincerity of heart, and offer a prayer to Divine Providence, to harmonize all hearts and understandings, in the glorious cause of virtue, peace, and happiness.

G. LAYTON, Secretary.

June, 1832.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 27, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

PARDOE, W. H., Cardiff, Glamorganshire, dealer in china.

WARWICK, W. A., Romford, Essex, dealer in wine.

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BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BARKHEAD, G., Norton, Yorkshire, corn-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

CRANEIS, R. J., and J. W. Ward, late of Maldon, Essex, butchers.
KELSON, J., Bradford, Wilts, brewer.
LATHAM, W., Stow-park, Lincolnsh., higgler.
MACWATT, R., Billiter-street, Leadenhall-street, oil and colour-merchant.
MAUD, W., Bradford, Yorkshire, grocer.
SHIPMAN, A., Dudley, Worcesters., innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HINE, R., and R. Ralston, Greenock, coal-merchants.
M'MORLAND, P., Greenock, merchant.
STRANG, R. R., Glasgow, insurance-broker.

TUESDAY, JULY 31, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

AGATE, M., Horsham, grocer.
PLATTS, J., Hamilton-terrace, Maida-hill, carpenter.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

CLARK, J., Godalming, linen-draper.
JEFFERIES, H., King-street, Clerkenwell, brewer.

BANKRUPTS.

ADAMS, W. J., East India-chambers, Leadenhall-street, scrivener.
BEAVER, G., Belgrave-st. South, carpenter.
BLISS, J., Chichester-place, Gray's-inn-lane-road, baker.
BOYLE, W., Newgate-street, paper-hanger.
CARTER, C. R., Cheapside, carpet-warehouseman.
GREEN, S., Leeds, builder.
JONES, G., Carnarvon, merchant.
LEE, W., Arundel-street, Strand, commission-agent.
LOGAN, W., Upper Baker-street, Marylebone, merchant.
MATTHEWS, W., City-road, timber-merchant.
NEWINGTON, J., Lewes, Sussex, wine-merch.
NORRIS, H. J., and G. Tyas, Bury-place, Bloomsbury, wine-merchants.
RUDD, T., Bishopsgate-street, tea-dealer.
SANDYS, T., Bell-court, Brook's-market, bookseller.
TEMPERLEY, N., Westgate, Northumberland, ship-owner.
WATERS, J., and A. and D. Jones, Carmarthen, bankers.
WOOLCOTT, C. F., Tunbridge, Kent, plumber.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

EASTON, R., Glasgow, tavern-keeper.
SMELLIE, T., Coatbridge, near Airdrie, smith.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JULY 30.—We had no new wheat at market this morning, and a very small supply of old from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk; yet as the weather continues fine, and harvest pretty generally began, with the most favourable reports of the crops, there was scarcely any business doing, as only necessitous buyers would purchase, and that merely in small quantities for their immediate wants, which they were enabled to obtain at an abatement of 2s. per qr. from the quotations of last Monday. In foreign wheat, free or bonded, there was nothing doing, and prices merely nominal.

The little grinding barley that appeared was readily disposed of, on full as good terms as on this day week.

The oat trade was exceedingly heavy, and only fine fresh English corn supported the prices of last week; all other sorts were cheaper. We had one or two samples of new from Essex, the quality of which was very fine.

In beans and peas there is no alteration.

Wheat	66s. to 72s.
Rye	33s. to 34s.
Barley	26s. to 33s.
—— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
—— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
—— Grey	37s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
—— Tick	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to —s.
—— Feed	21s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	44s. to 47s. per cwt.
—— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per bar.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
—— Carlow	—s. to —s.
—— Cork	82s. to 83s.
—— Limerick	82s. to 83s.
—— Waterford	80s. to 82s.
—— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	60s. to 78s.
—— Gloucester, Double	60s. to 68s.
—— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
—— Edam	46s. to 56s.
—— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 30.

This day's supply—full a third of the bullock part of which were Lincoln and Durham steers and heifers, with some few oxen; about another third Scots and Welsh runts; and the remainder, for the most part, about equal numbers of Herefordshire, Devonshire, and Irish steers and heifers, and short-horned, chiefly town's-end cows; about two-thirds of

the sheep and lambs, South Downs and new Leicesters; the remainder, for the most part, about equal numbers of Kents, and sundry other polled breeds—wax, for the time of year, good, both as to number and quality.

Prime selling Scots, &c., say from 76 to 100 stones of 8lbs. each, prime six-toothed South Downs, and half-bred sheep not exceeding 10 stones each, and prime lambs of not more than 19lbs. per qr., were in steady demand at fully—but with other kinds of meat the trade was depressingly dull, at barely—Friday's quotations. Although there were a considerable number of the London marshmen in attendance, for the purpose of buying young sheep, which formed a considerable proportion of the fleshy part of the supply, several thousands of sheep and lambs were expected to leave the market unsold.

The veal trade was considered to be dull beyond recollected precedent.

Beasts, 2,440; sheep and lambs, 24,780; calves, 219; pigs, 100.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 3.

The arrivals this week are moderate but the market is very dull, with very little business doing. Prices nominally the same as on Monday.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO THE

ELECTORS OF MANCHESTER;

AND TO THOSE OF ALL THE TOWNS IN THE NORTH:

ON THE CORN BILL.

Lewes, Sussex, 2nd of August, 1832,

MY FRIENDS,

THIS is a subject, for us to have a clear understanding with regard to which, is of vast importance; and especially at this time. The prohibition to import corn has arisen from the necessity of doing it, *in order to raise taxes.* TORRENS, in one of his addresses to the people of NEWPORT, says, that he "*struggled* for the *abolition* of the Corn Bill in 1815." TORRENS is deficient in the prime quality for a person of his character; namely, MEMORY; for the Corn Bill never came into operation *until* 1816; and it was not passed until late in the year 1815; so that this wondrous man, who says, that the people of BOLTON are dying for him, actually struggled to *abolish* the bill *before it became a law!*

The bill was passed in spite of the petitions of the whole kingdom, and while the House of schedules A and B were passing it, *more than a thousand soldiers were drawn up round that House!* But, now, when we are about to insist upon its repeal, let us see *what other things must be done first*; and, the way to have a clear view of this matter is, to look back at the reasons which were given for the passing of the bill. The reasons were these: that the lands of this kingdom were loaded with tithes and taxes, while France, America, and other great corn-growing countries were not so loaded; that these tithes and taxes must remain, the former because they formed "an *institution* of the country," and the latter because they were necessary to *maintain the standing army and pay the interest of the debt*, which two concerns were inseparably connected with each other. HUSKISSON, who was for the Corn Bill, and who, on account of his support of the bill, was *burnt in effigy* at HAVANT, in Hampshire, supported it in these words, "That it was necessary to have a Corn "Bill, in order to be able to pay *the* "*interest of the debt*; that the debt "had been contracted in order to ensure "*a glorious result to the war*; and that "Englishmen must be *content to eat* "*dear bread* as long as they had to pay "the interest of the debt in full."

The Corn Bill was first petitioned for by the land-owners and farmers of WILTSHIRE, who met at SALISBURY for the purpose, and who had for their chairman that BENNETT who is now a member for the county, and who has had *to ensure his standing crops against fire!* These men told the Parliament that they were *willing to continue to pay all the taxes and tithes* if it would but give them a CORN BILL; but that it was impossible for them to continue to pay tithes and taxes if foreign corn was suffered to come in duty free! This was the ground upon which the Corn Bill was passed. I, who was a pretty large farmer at the time, reprobated the bill in the strongest terms, opposed it to my utmost at every

stage, and pursued it to the House of Lords by earnest petition against it. I contended, that the taxes ought to be taken off, and the tithes also if found necessary, and that the Corn Bill ought not to be passed.

But it was clear to every man of sense that, if all the taxes remained, and the tithes too, English land could not raise corn in competition with other countries; and that HUSKISSON was quite right when he said, "that Englishmen must "*be content to eat dear bread* as long as "they had to pay the interest of the "debt in full." You will please to observe that, with the exception of about three millions of people, the whole twenty millions of which England, Scotland, and Ireland, consist, depend in one way or another, upon the *produce of the land*. This fine country town, in which I now am, is here only for the purpose of supplying, in various ways, those who own and cultivate the land. The moment agriculture is depressed, that moment every tradesman and professional man in this town feels the effects of the depression; and, if the whole of the agricultural people could be ruined, ruin must fall upon the manufacturers at the same time and from the same cause, because their customers having become beggars there could be no sale for their goods; and you will please to bear in mind, that all the foreign countries in the world put together do not take away *a fourth part* of the goods manufactured in this kingdom.

So that to repeal the Corn Bill without repealing taxes at the same time, and abolishing tithes, would be to produce general ruin and beggary. Therefore we are to begin by abolishing tithes; by repealing the malt, hop, and soap taxes; and, these measures adopted, I am not for a *revision* of the Corn Bill, but for a *total repeal of it*; and this, you will observe, makes the whole country unanimous, with the exception of those who devour our earnings through the channel of the taxes. No man, who is not well acquainted with the whole of these affairs, can form an adequate idea of the prodigious benefit which the land would receive, and which we should all receive, from the repeal of the *malt-tax alone*. The amount of this tax, including the expense of collection, is about *six millions* a year. Now, mark: when the barley is *four shillings* a bushel, the malt would be *four shillings* a bushel, if there were no tax; because the *increase* during the malting pays for the malting. As things now stand, when barley is *four shillings* a bushel, malt is *nine shillings*, though the tax is only *two and sixpence*. The other two and sixpence goes to the maltster to pay for the capital which he is obliged to employ in the advance of duties, to compensate him for the various injuries he receives from the excise restrictions, and to guarantee him against the perils amidst which he is continually placed by the pains and penalties which surround him; so that this malt-tax, which nominally amounts to *six millions* a year, amounts in reality to *thirteen millions and a half* in a year!

This is a mere glimpse at the effects of this one terrible tax, of which the attendant evils, moral as well as physical, are greater than any pen or tongue can describe; and yet, I see that Mr. MARK PHILLIPS *will not pledge himself even to a repeal of the malt-tax!* Take these burdens from the land, and there is no country in the world that can grow corn in competition with England. Take off these burdens, and you may sweep away the Corn Bill at once. Take them off, and then we proceed with reason and justice for our guides; and, I do hope, that no member will be chosen not pledged to take off these intolerable burdens, leaving those who have chosen to lend their money to schedules A and B, to get it from those worthies, if they can; and, at any rate, not to suffer our children now in the cradle to be slaves for life to those money-lenders. Hoping that you all will be faithful and true to your trust, to your country, to your neighbours, and to your children, I remain,

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

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TO THE

ELECTORS OF MANCHESTER,

OF OLDHAM, OF PRESTON, OF BOLTON, OF WIGAN, OF BLACKBURN,

And those of the other towns in the North;

ON THE HOP AND SOAP TAXES.

Lewes, Sussex, 4 August, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

BE so good as to attend, while I explain to you the reasons why I deem it of so much importance that candidates be *pledged to the repeal of these taxes.* The taxes both together do not, I think, amount to *a million and a half a year.* Being at a distance from my books, I cannot speak with precision; but I am not far from being correct as to this amount. Why, then, seeing that the amount is so small compared to that of some other taxes, do I deem a repeal of these as being of such *primary importance*? Please, then, to attend to my reasons.

In my last address, which was on the subject of the MALT-TAX, I showed that while its annual amount was *six millions* a year, it caused THE PEOPLE TO PAY THIRTEEN MILLIONS AND A HALF A YEAR more than they would pay if the tax were taken off. It is the same thing, and in a greater degree, in the case of SOAP. To make *hard soap* is a process requiring some skill, and certain utensils; but, to make *soft soap* (applicable to all really important purposes) is a thing done by, not only all farmers, but by the poorest people in America; and we here in England might make it for about *three half-pence or two-pence a pound.* Look, then, at the *magnitude* of the thing; consider how *absolutely necessary* the article; consider the enormous expense of collecting this tax, and you will find that *we pay four millions a year for soap more than we should pay if there were no tax upon it!*

The HOP-TAX is a still more monstrous thing; amongst all the fiscal oppressions ever endured by men it is the most unjust and most odious, and is immediately and visibly attended with the worst consequences. This tax amounts, on an average of years, to about four hundred thousand pounds; but this is a mere trifle compared with the sum which the tax *causes the people to pay for their hops.* The hops are an ingredient absolutely necessary in the making of good and wholesome beer. To every bushel of malt, there is required, in the making of *strong* beer, which is to keep for a good while, *one pound of hops.* These hops, owing to the tax, now cost, on an average of years, more than a *shilling a pound*, on which the duty is *twopence.* If there were no tax, hops would not cost the people, on an average, twopence a pound. Throughout all the counties south of Cheshire, they would cost not one penny a pound. The hops are *a pure gift of God*, as much as the *salt* is: the latter he causes the sea to cast upon the shore for us; and the former he causes to spring up in our hedges, without any more care on our part than is demanded by the lily of the field. I have seen the hops in the hedges from the neighbourhood of HULL in Yorkshire to LANGUARD in the Isle of Wight, and from WALMER, in the neighbourhood of DOVER, to HELSTON in Cornwall. In many cases it would be sufficient to stick poles into the hedges, and let the hops run up them; but, in no case would a labourer's family require more than about eight hills of hops, which would occupy about half a rod of ground, sixteen feet and a half to the rod. Upon a bit of ground like this there would be eight hop-hills, which, attended to as they necessarily would be in a garden, would produce, on an average of years, from ten to twelve pounds of hops, actually costing nothing but the use of the poles, those poles, observe, being fuel, after three or four years of service in carrying the hops. The main part of the beer, used by working people, would not require more than a third part of a pound of hops to a bushel of malt; so that, merely from the private gardens alone, there would be more than a sufficient supply of hops, in the far greater part of the counties; for, as to *country towns*, they form, to all intents and purposes, a

part of the agricultural population of the kingdom. Hops would be raised everywhere; more in the south than in the north; but they would be raised everywhere; and the price would, on an average, not exceed twopence a pound. They might be threepence, or even fourpence, in the very great towns, especially in the north; but, on an *average*, the price to the people of England and Scotland would not exceed twopence a pound; and I dare say that they would be as cheap in Ireland, when once the cultivation of them should be understood there.

So that, observe, it is not only these 400,000 pounds a year which we pay in hop-duty, together with the monstrous expense in collecting the duty, which, in many cases, EXCEEDS IN AMOUNT THE DUTY ITSELF; it is not only these burdens which we are compelled to bear, in order to be permitted to have our beer to keep for any length of time; but, there is the much heavier burden arising from the PROHIBITION. At a shilling a pound, our present average supply of hops costs us *two millions four hundred thousand pounds a year*; when, if there were no *prohibition* to the growing of them, they would, as I have shown, cost us only four hundred thousand pounds a year. A man cannot now raise hops in his garden, nor anywhere else, without *making a report of his intention to the Government*, and without all sorts of plague from the visits of excisemen and supervisors and God knows what, or without being dragged into the Exchequer by the hair of the head, and there torn to pieces. The hops would grow up to our hands, and invite us to gather them; but this Government, which we have so long endured, forbids us to accept of the invitation, on pain of pretty certain ruin and of probable death! A gracious Providence says to us, "THERE ARE HOPS FOR YOU." The "envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world" says, "YOU SHALL NOT HAVE THOSE HOPS; AND IF YOU ATTEMPT TO OBEY THIS INVITATION, WE WILL TEAR YOU TO PIECES!" This is what the "envy" has said to us for more than a century: and this is what HOPE and LLOYD, and, I believe, MARK PHILLIPS, too, have now the audacity to say, if not in so many words, by clear implication, to the electors of MANCHESTER; and, if those electors can listen to such men for one moment, let me, in God's name, be an object even of their curses.

Thus, then, here we have *two millions four hundred thousand pounds* to pay for hops, *purely on account of this tax*. The "ENVY OF SURROUNDING," in order to screw four hundred thousand pounds a year out of us, compels us to pay *two millions four hundred thousand pounds!* Nor does the evil end with this fiscal oppression. All the physical evils attending the malt-tax; the compelling of the sack-weaver, naked to his waist in the cellars of PRESTON, to drink water instead of beer; the compelling of the toilers in the mines, at the furnaces, to do the same; the compelling of the labourer in the fields to quench his thirst from a bottle of water, while the scythe is stretching his nerves nearly to the cracking, and while the sun is darting its rays upon his back; the driving of the young men and boys from the farmhouses to crowd into the cottages of their parents, and to stroll about in the night; the taking of the beer-barrels from the working man's house, and to plunge him into the debaucheries of the alehouse or the beer-shop: in the producing of these monstrous evils, these great causes of the disgraceful increase of crime, and the still more disgraceful hardening of the criminal code; in the producing of these evils, the hop-tax has its full share with the malt-tax; but it is attended with an evil *peculiar to itself*, and one of peculiar malignity of character: it is the ground-work, the sole cause of GAMBLING, the most extensive and the most mischievous that was ever heard of in the world. The hop is a plant of very precarious produce; sometimes a single pole will have from a pound to two pounds of hops upon it; and the crop varies from that amount down to an ounce, or to nothing at all. It will keep good for almost any length of time. I have

made excellent beer with hops nearly twenty years old: so that no inconvenience arises from this great variation in the amount of the crop; or, at least, no inconvenience would arise out of it, were it not for the hellish tax which has been inflicted upon us. Owing to the tax, the cultivation of the hop is in reality a *monopoly*, almost exclusively confined to the planters of KENT, SUSSEX, SURREY, and WORCESTER. The duty, you will perceive, is twopence the pound weight. When the hop-harvest is over, the number of pounds grown in the whole kingdom is ascertained to a nicety by the whole amount of the duty. The hop begins to climb the pole in the month of May, and it has hardly begun to climb, when the gambling vagabonds in all these counties, intermixed with a swarm in each county coming out of the BOROUGH of SOUTHWARK, which is their *rendezvous*, begin BETTING *upon the amount of the duty!* According to the variations in the season, the hop varies in the prospect which it gives of a crop; as the prospect varies the bettings vary: an easterly wind will cause a profligate fellow to make a bet to day in the teeth of a bet that he made yesterday. Thus, from May till September, there are going on scenes of profligacy infinitely worse than those ever ereated by the lotteries, till, at last, before the crop be gathered in, there is *staked*, in the way of gambling, perhaps ten times the amount of even the worth of the hops! Thus are hundreds and thousands of families brought to ruin; thus do stupid and wicked rulers convert the choicest blessings of God into the means of afflicting and tormenting the people to whom those blessings are sent!

And shall a *reformed Parliament* suffer these crying evils to exist? That will depend solely *upon you*, the electors of the great towns of the North. I am persuaded that my Lord GREY knows nothing at all of the evils of this tax, and of the malt-tax. Being made acquainted with them, I hope that he will be ready to take the taxes off; but this I know well, that if you elect any man who will not pledge himself to use his utmost endeavours to cause these taxes to be taken off, you will deserve to be slaves to the last hour of your lives, and will merit the scorn, instead of the dutiful affection, of your children. In the sure and certain hope that you will do your duty well, and that you will bear in mind, that, in voting, you will vote for your non-voting neighbours as well as for yourselves; in this sure and certain hope, I remain

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF BOLTON.

TORRENS-HUNTING.

Lewes, Sussex, 1 August, 1832.

TALK of rat-hunting, indeed! Talk of badger-baiting! Talk of otter-hunting: the pursued animal sometimes under water, sometimes swimming, and sometimes on land! Talk of any of these, while we have TORRENS-HUNTING to attract our attention!

In order to describe this sport, in a manner to do it anything like justice, I must begin by a little narrative, to *the dates* in which I must beg my readers to pay attention. On the 4th *of July*, I saw, in the *Bolton Chronicle*, a paragraph, stating that TORRENS wished the people of BOLTON *to make haste*, and pledge themselves to elect him by a decided majority; for that *two-thirds* of the electors of the borough of NEWPORT, in the *Isle of Wight*, were actually fainting with impatience, actually sighing and sick with a longing to have him for one of their members. I, knowing the fellow to be a *brevet-colonel* of Marines ON FULL PAY, and stated, in the last *Navy List*, *to be stationed on duty at Chatham*; knowing that he was receiving his full pay, and had quarters and servants, and was receiving candles and coals at CHATHAM; knowing that he has lived in London about twelve years, where he has been a dabbler in divers newspapers, and where he is now

the chief dabbler in that dirtiest of all the dirty tools of the Whigs, called "THE GLOBE;" I, knowing these things, and being fully persuaded that the good people of BOLTON and of NEWPORT knew nothing of them, stated the facts in my *Register* of the 7th *of July*.

But, as time was precious, I put the statement into the form of an address to the people of BOLTON, had it printed in the shape of a *hand-bill*, two thousand in number, which (with the exception of *one hundred*) I sent off to BOLTON by coach, on *Thursday, the 5th of July*, accompanied with the *Navy List*, containing the proof of the facts. On the same day (5th of July) I set off for the CHOPSTICK festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, which was held on the *7th*. At this festival I met, as I expected, some friends from the Isle of Wight. To them I gave *the hundred* BOLTON *bills*, which I had reserved for the purpose. These bills got about NEWPORT on the *eighth*. The Bolton bills had reached their destination on the same day; so that there was TORRENS, the hunters actually at his heels, at one and the same time at both places, though at three hundred miles distance from each other; and, viewing him as AN OTTER, it thus became useless for him to *dive*; for, rise at which end he would, there was a shot or a snap at his service.

TORRENS appears to have been in London at the time, looking after his "GLOBE," and hatching the scheme of being *elected for both places*; when, all of a sudden, while lost in the delightful reverie, he was aroused by hearing the hunter upon his heels! There is a gentleman of the name of PRING, at NEWPORT; a man of considerable business, who has also a business which he carries on at CHATHAM, in Kent. From some motive or other, which I do not understand, but which I by no means have reason to think bad, this Mr. PRING, together with others, who are very laudably anxious to counteract the old corporation of the borough, who are endeavouring to thrust in one WILLOUGHBY GORDON, a notorious tax-eater to a vast amount; these gentlemen, most likely knowing very little of TORRENS, went and offered their borough to him; so that, when my Bolton-bill arrived at NEWPORT, it caused great confusion: for, though Mr. PRING and those who had acted with him, are very worthy and very much respected persons, it was too monstrous a thing to suppose that a majortty of the electors of that beautiful and now independent town would actually choose, to represent them in Parliament, a SINECURIST of the *most odious description*.

In short, it was very soon found, that this full-pay newspaper-conductor must be *cast off*; or that the most virtuous part of the electors would not vote at all; and that, the old corporation would still be the choosers of the members. The result was, a resolution to *get rid of Torrens* as speedily as possible, and to bring another man into the field. Accordingly, a Mr. ORD, who is mentioned in my last *Register*, has been brought forward by the radical-committee to supply the place of TORRENS; and of this ORD I shall have to speak by-and-bye. At a meeting held at Newport on the *24th of July*, Mr. PRING had to state what had taken place between him and TORRENS, relative to this change in the views of the parties: and here we get into a full view of the TORRENS-HUNTING affair. Mr. PRING's account places us upon an eminence, whence we behold all the interesting circumstances of the chase; all the scamperings and creepings and lurkings and lodgings and divings of the OTTER; and see him at last fairly turned up amidst the shouting and laughing of the spectators. Mr. PRING's affecting narrative was in the following words; and I beseech my readers to pay attention to every word of it.—"Mr. PRING, "on rising, was *loudly cheered*. He "said, '*On the 11th inst.*, when *at* "'*Chatham*, I received *a letter from* "'*Colonel Torrens*, stating that he had "'*something of importance* to commu- "'nicate to me. *Fearing that all was* "'*not right at Newport*, I immediately "'proceeded *to London* to get an inter- "'view with him, which, *after some lit-* "'*tle difficulty*, I obtained, and then I "'eagerly inquired *if all was not right*

" ' *at Newport.* He assured me that " ' *nothing was amiss there*; but the " ' Bolton people having *redoubled their* " ' *exertions to secure his return*, he was " ' at a loss to know *which path to pur-* " ' *sue.* I said to him, You must fulfil " ' the pledge you have given to the " ' electors of Newport, and therefore " ' I wish to have your final resolve, " ' that I may inform my colleagues " ' and friends there. He said he could " ' not give an answer then; but that " ' he would do so *on the morrow.* I " ' saw him again next day, and wished " ' him to write to the committee and " ' there state what he intended to do, " ' as the people of Newport were de- " ' termined that he should have *only* " ' *one sweetheart at a time.* (Cheers.) " ' But, gentlemen, I will tell you what " ' I said further to him. ' Are you or " ' are you not *called on by the Treasury* " ' *to abandon us*?' He declared *by his* " ' *God* that he was not called on by " ' them to act; but, as *a gentleman*, in " ' *in point of honour* he could *not give* " ' *up his friends at Bolton*; still, if the " ' electors of Newport would *let him* " ' *try his chance for both*, they might " ' *command* him and he would *obey.* I " ' then proceeded to Newport, with a " ' promise from Colonel Torrens that " ' he would write to the committee " ' and state what had passed between " ' us.'"

Now, pray mark; it was on the *eleventh* of July that Mr. PRING (being at *Chatham*) got a letter from TORRENS, which, of course, was written on the *tenth*; stating that he, TORRENS, had something of *importance* to communicate to him. Observe, this letter was written *three days* after the BOLTON bill had appeared in the *Register*, and *two days* after it had appeared at NEWPORT. *Why* should Mr. PRING fear that "*all was not right at* NEWPORT?" Off, however, he flew to London; and, though he had been pressed by TORRENS to come to him on matters of importance, "he had *some little difficulty*" in getting a sight of the full-pay newspaper-conductor! When he did get at him, however, he "*eagerly* asked him if *all was not right at Newport.*" Come, come, Mr. PRING, be frank, and tell us, that you had not only seen the BOLTON-bill in the *Register*, but that you had been informed of its effect at NEWPORT!

However, TORRENS told you "*that there was nothing amiss there*; but that his Bolton electors were so devilishly troublesome with their importunities, that he, like one of his military predecessors, CAPTAIN MACHEATH, between POLLY PEACHUM and LUCY LOCKIT, was at "*a loss to know what path to pursue!*" O God! what a mass of lies and of hypocrisy? Mr. PRING, who seems to have been in mighty close correspondence with TORRENS, the latter writing to him at CHATHAM, and not at NEWPORT: Mr. PRING seems to have been peremptory, like POLLY PEACHUM, that there should be *no division* of the favours of TORRENS; and, to use his own words, that the hero should have "but *one sweetheart at a time.*" TORRENS, however, seems to have had a strong hankering after an indulgence in political bigamy; and, after declaring, "*by his God,*" that he was not acting under the influence of the Treasury, but under the constraint imposed upon him by the *honour of a gentleman*, which bound him not to *give up* his friends at BOLTON, he said that he was still ready to "*obey*" the electors of Newport, "*if they would let him try his chance for both places!*"

This seems to have been a dose of impudence too much for even Mr. PRING to swallow; and so that gentleman set off for Newport, to make a report of the progress of the chace thus far. TORRENS "finding that *all was not right* at Newport," appears to have *dived away* to the North; for, in about five or six days, we find him coming up, crowned with "all the majesty of mud," at Bolton. There the hunters were ready for him with the devilish bills in their hands; but there was something worse than this; there was Mr. THOMAS SMITH from Liverpool, openly to reprobate, in speech and in print, his professions and his principles, and *to challenge him to an open discussion of them both before the faces of his wished-for constituents*;

which challenge *he declined*, under the miserable pretence that his committee *would not let him accept of it!* And now, there he stands, rejected with scorn at Newport, rejected by the virtuous electors of that town; and having, I trust, no more chance of being elected for BOLTON, than HULTON or BIRLEY would, if they had the audacity to offer themselves. What! this town, pre-eminent for its public spirit; this town, which has a hundred times expressed its indignation at the existence of the insolent *sinecures*; this town elect a man, who is the most odious of all possible sinecurists; a man who cannot vote for taking off the burdens from the people of BOLTON, without voting away his own bread! This town, thus do an act that would say, that the child in the cradle ought to be a slave all its life! This town, so distinguished for public virtue, choose this sinecure placeman, when they know all about him; and when they know, too, that the virtuous electors of the town of Newport cast him off with scorn, the moment they discovered that he was a sinecure-feeder on the taxes! To believe in this thing I must *see it*; and to see this thing done in a town of Lancashire, would give me pain such as never yet found its way to my heart.

To the people of NEWPORT, whose kind treatment of me entitles them to my attention and my regard, I would beg leave to observe, generally, that *boroughmongering* can be carried on by other persons besides Lords; and that, if they be to have members thrust upon them, who will not pledge themselves distinctly to do the things that are necessary to be done to relieve the people from their burdens, it signifies not a straw to them whether the members be *forced* upon them by Lords, or *foisted* upon them by others. This ORD is said to be *a nominee of Burdett*: it would be full as well for him to be the nominee of the Treasury. But the true way is, let a man be who or what he may, *to make him distinctly pledge himself* to the *abolition of tithes*, the repeal of the *malt, hop, and soap taxes*, and the *repeal of the Corn Bill*. I think it a monstrous absurdity, that the people of Newport should seek for anybody but a couple of their own farmers or tradesmen to represent them; but if they must go a Parliament-man-hunting; if they must send deputations to London to seek for somebody to take care of them, let the virtuous electors resolve, that they will vote for no man who will not distinctly give the above-mentioned pledges.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have heard from BOLTON, and find that the chase there has been literally *hot!* It seems that, on the 27th of July, (Mr. SMITH having departed for LIVERPOOL) the gallant man in full-pay, imitating those skilful commanders who deem "*discretion* the better part of *valour*," made his appearance before the people of BOLTON; but, for a reason not very necessary to mention, made that appearance at *a window*, and not on any collateral station, that being considered, doubtless, to be beneath a gentleman in *full-pay!* Though this station put the person of the gallant man out of the reach of hostile *arms*, it appears not to have protected him against the hostility of *tongues*; and, it seems, that he was compelled to retreat from the window by hissing and groaning indescribable. After which he had, it appears, to undergo by *proxy* that species of *fiery* ordeal to which his great leader, the DUKE, has of late been so frequently subjected, and which is but too probably "a foretaste of *that which is to come*." It is said, that thus beset, he offered to *take the pledges* which had been tendered to him, and even *to sell his commission!* Sell! *Sell*, indeed! What! Being detected, he is ready to shift out of the thing himself and to fasten a successor upon us. He is ready to turn over his sinecure to another, and to sack a sum of money as a compensation for the transfer! The people of BOLTON want him *disbanded*: they want him *discharged*, and *sent to work for his bread*. They want him to be scraping the roads, or filling dung-carts, instead of getting 500*l.* a year out of the people, as "an officer *on ser-*

vice," while he is trundling about that ball of filth, which he calls "the *Globe.*" Yes, yes, filling dung-*carts*, instead of tumbling over and over this ball of contents much more disgusting than any that ever broom ejected from a stable. How my readers in America will laugh, when I compare TORRENS's occupation to that of their *back insects*, which make the cow-droppings into round balls, that they *tumble* over and over, and to which insects an *alliterative compound name* is given, which it is not necessary for me to write! Yes, dung-*cart*; and, then, when the "*statute of labourers*" shall have been revived, he will have "*full-pay*" still; but he will be kept at *full-work*, and will not be paid *for filling dung-carts at Chatham*, while he is gabbling politics *at fifty miles distance!* Dung-cart for your life, my friends of Bolton; a hunch of good pork and bread for his breakfast, washed down with a mug of bushel-beer, he seated upon a dry knole in the farm-yard, with a pair of great clumping nailed shoes upon his feet, his beard three days old, and each of his dirty fingers as thick as a broomstick. Aye, my friends, put a good Kentish dung-fork into his hand instead of that *pen* with which he is everlastingly scribbling about "*corn bills*, and *against poor-laws for Ireland*;" and that too, in language so brutally illiterate, as to make us believe that he had drawn the letters promiscuously out of a bag. Make him help to *raise corn*, my friends, instead of spoiling paper about it; make him *feel* the necessity of *poor-laws*, instead of making others poor by devouring their earnings, and then abusing them because they are poor; and, as he is for *checking population*, take especial good care that you have none of his progeny to keep.

DELICIOUS DISH.

READER, I dare say that you have, very frequently, when you have stuck your teeth into a fine ripe *French Mignonne* peach, been compelled hastily to push your head forward and hang it down, lest the juice should gallop down your chin under your cravat: just such a motion of the mouth, and just such an expression of luscious delight as your mouth has in such a case expressed, did mine make and express when I read the following account of the "FIRST COMMONER IN ENGLAND" notifying his intention to bid farewell, a long farewell, to those "*envy of the surrounding,*" the ever-renowned schedules A and B! But, however strongly tempted to indulge in the delicious dish myself, I must not keep you from it; and I, therefore, here lay it before you without any garnish, of which, God knows, it stands in no need any more than of *sauce piquante*; it being within itself dish, garnish, sauce and all. Pray, do mark BURDETT! Pray, do mark them all: see how they rise, one after another: first one *on one side*; then one on *t'other side*; and each seeming to try to surpass the other in the discovery of reasons for the voting away of our money, and the laying a load on the backs of our children who are now in the cradle. One day's enjoyment of the feast appears not to have been enough. They came at it the second day, apparently with more keenness than the first, verifying the old proverb, "That "eating like scratching, only wants a be-"ginning." God save us, if they go on at this rate: they will *bespeak* all the taxes before they go away; and then, if we ask for a repeal of any, that honest, honest man, Lord ALTHORP, with his mouth full of lamb's-wool, will tell us that they are "*vethted!*" "The devil they are!" a reformed Parliament will exclaim. Well, we must unvest them then, if they be vested. This would be a pretty story, indeed! The things really seems to resemble a ship that is got upon the rocks and is manifestly going to pieces, every man looking to himself, and is laying hold of what he can to get off with. "*Vethted,*" indeed! It will be "*vethted*" till the reformed Parliament shall meet; but not much longer I imagine.

I am breaking my promise; but the temptation to gormandise is so great,

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that I can hardly bring myself to give up the dish to my readers Here it is, however. And I do beseech them to look well at BURDETT; I beseech them to look at MURRAY and his "*experiment.*" Look at Lord JOHNNY: look at them all. There were three or four days during which this delightful performance was taking place; and I shall insert an account of the whole affair.

Monday, 30th July.

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF THE SPEAKER.

The SPEAKER addressed the House in nearly the following terms:—As the state of the public business indicates at the present moment, the near approach of the close of the session, and as I know not how close on the termination of this session there may be a dissolution of Parliament, I hope the House will not deem me unreasonable in requesting to be allowed to present myself to their notice before my seat in this chair shall be brought to a final conclusion. I have had the honour and the pride to be elected to fill this chair in six successive Parliaments. (Cheers.) I have at all times been impressed with the conviction, that the first and most important duties of the Speaker were to maintain the strictest watchfulness over his own conduct, and to keep alive the watchfulness of this House in the maintenance of all their rights, privileges, and independence—to facilitate, as far as was within his power, the regular course of all public business—and to conduct himself to the House at large, and to every individual member of it, with the strictest impartiality. (Cheers.) I can most conscientiously, and I hope it will not be attributed to me that I speak arrogantly, when I boldly say that I have served this office with the strictest impartiality. (Loud cheers.) I have not the temerity to place myself in contrast or comparison with any of my predecessors; but among the various duties that have been by circumstances imposed upon me, always laborious, often difficult and delicate, I have been cheered and upheld by the best encouragement and support—by the constant co-operation, the confidence, and the approbation of the House. (Cheers.) I therefore hope, that in my conduct in this chair, I have not been wholly inefficient; for, however various have been the changes during these successive Parliaments in the returns of members of this House, I at least have seen no change in the kindness, the consideration, and the assistance that all the members have willingly afforded me; that kindness has been uniform and unvaried. I ought, after this announcement, no longer to trespass on your time; but conscious as I am, and as every man must be, of the great variety of imperfections under which I labour, there is one to which I particularly wish to refer, and if at any time through infirmity of temper, or pressure of indisposition, there has been any inattentiveness or hastiness on my part, it must be attributed to these causes; incivility, I hope there has never been. (Hear, hear, hear.) To any member of this House to whom I may have appeared inattentive or hasty, I beg to express my most sincere and hearty regret. It is not, I hope, consistent with the general turn of my nature. I know it is inconsistent with the discharge of my duty. Before I go, the House I hope will pardon me for taking this opportunity of saying, that in my endeavours to discharge my duty, I am conscious that I must have committed many faults. The House, I am persuaded, will pardon them; and suffer me to say in one sentence, which proceeds from the fulness of my heart, that I owe them a debt of gratitude which it is impossible to describe, which any power of language, at least any that I possess, must inadequately express, but of which the deep and lasting recollection neither time nor circumstances can never efface. The right hon. Gentleman, who spoke throughout with very observable emotion, sat down amidst the loud and continued cheering of the House.

Lord ALTHORP then addressed the House, but in so low and indistinct a tone, that although the most perfect silence prevailed, it was often extremely difficult to catch what he said:—What I have just heard from you, Sir, I have heard with deep regret, because it announces to us the loss of your most valuable services; and I am sure I speak the sentiments of every Gentleman in this House, in saying, that in every respect those services have been most valuable to this House and the country. (Hear, hear, hear.) I have had the honour of a seat in this House during the whole of the period that you have sat in that chair. I was present at the period of your election, and I hope I may be permitted to say

that, although on that occasion I did not agree with the majority, yet, that subsequent experience proved to me that which I am happy now to have the opportunity of stating publicly, as I have often before stated it in private, that the House could not at that period have selected any individual better qualified than yourself to sustain your high station. (Hear, hear, hear.) That station is one of great difficulty—you have to maintain the order of this House; but your peculiar felicity in the discharge of that difficult duty has been to exhibit the greatest urbanity of manner, (hear, hear, hear,) the greatest kindness towards every member of this House; and I am sure that every member will agree with me in saying, that by the exhibition of those qualities, you have greatly facilitated the discharge of your duty, and have entitled yourself to the gratitude of us all. (Hear, hear.) You have, during the course of the period you have been in that chair, been called on for a degree of exertion which I believe has never before been required from any Speaker. (Hear, hear.) Although others have sat as Speakers for a longer period, no one has had such laborious duties to perform, and I am perfectly confident that no one ever performed those duties in a manner more satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) I have personally felt the great kindness which you have always been ready to show. You have assisted us when we have been in difficulties. Instead of standing strictly upon forms, you have gone out of your way to assist us in the conduct of business, and I am perfectly satisfied, from long experience in this House, that you have facilitated the dispatch of public business with the greatest credit to yourself, with advantage to the public, and in such a manner that we are never likely to see exceeded, if we see it equalled. (Hear, hear.) The feeling of regret which I have expressed is, I assure you, the sincere feeling of my heart. I am most sorry that we should lose the advantage of your services. I should have been most happy that you should have taken the chair in the new Parliament (hear, hear); for your experience would have conduced greatly to the advantage of the public. (Hear, hear.) We cannot, however, call on you to make greater sacrifices than you have done; and the only thing we can do is, to regret the loss of your services, and to hope that your place may be supplied by one who will endeavour to imitate you. (Hear.) I now address myself to the House. I am confident that there will be no dissentient voice on the motion which I am about to submit to the House. The feelings of every one must lead him to wish that we should pass a vote of thanks to the Speaker; and it will therefore not be necessary that I should urge any arguments in favour of my motion. (Hear.) The noble Lord then moved, "That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Hon. Charles Manners Sutton, Speaker of this House, for his eminent services in the six successive Parliaments, during which he has discharged the duties of Speaker with a zeal and ability alike honourable to himself and conducive to the progress of public business: that he be assured that this House feels the strongest sense of the advantage which it has derived from his attachment to the interests of his country, from his unwearied assiduity during a period of unexampled labour in this House, from the steadiness and firmness with which he has on all occasions maintained the dignity and privileges of the Commons House of Parliament, from the attention which he has paid to the order of our proceedings, and from the urbanity and kindness which he has uniformly displayed in the discharge of his high and important duties."

Mr. GOULBURN—I trust, Sir, that I may be permitted to have the honour of seconding the motion of the noble Lord opposite. I, too, Sir, am one of the few who were present when we selected you to fill the situation of Speaker to this House, and I have witnessed, for six successive Parliaments, your able discharge of the duties of that office. On your election to that chair I was, with every one of your friends, fully convinced that, in electing you, we had secured to the House all the advantages of which the noble Lord has spoken. Although there were two candidates for the chair, I believe there was not one dissentient voice as to the eminent qualifications you possessed for the office. There was only a preference among some of the Members, but you alone ventured to express a doubt of the impropriety of the choice. There is no task more difficult than to state the particular grounds of approval where all your conduct deserves approbation. I will not say how you have discharged your duty, for all must be conscious of your general urbanity of manner. (Hear, hear.) During periods of the greatest excitement you have maintained the freedom of debate, yet you have known how to check

personal violence—you have known how to do so by the influence of your own example. (Hear, hear.) I have not the least doubt, that whenever any individual comes to review the transactions of the last fifteen years, the impartial historian will record that you have preserved the best rights of this House in the best manner. You have bound every member of the House to you by ties of affection which your conduct has most amply deserved. (Hear, hear.) I will not fatigue the House by dwelling longer on these topics; I shall only express my deep regret that the period has at length arrived at which the House of Commons must necessarily be deprived of your valuable services. (Hear, hear.) But whether it shall be your pleasure to retire to the walks of private life, or whether, as I hope, you will continue to take part in the great affairs of this country—(hear, hear)—in either alternative, I am sure the House and the country will entertain a grateful recollection of your services; and throughout the United Empire you will only meet with one voice of approbation. (Cheers.)

Mr. LITTLETON—I have not much, Sir, to add to what has fallen from my right hon. Friend and from the noble Lord who has proposed this motion; but I cannot let this opportunity pass without adding my humble tribute of approbation to that which they have expressed; and I am sure that the hundreds of members who have passed through this House during the time that you have held the chair, will re-echo the sentiment. (Hear, hear.) There is, however, one point in your conduct which has not yet been mentioned, and to which I wish particularly to call the attention of the House. As a county member, I must say, that I have always observed in you the exercise of the most constant and vigilant attention to parliamentary business, which, during six successive Parliaments, has had the effect of purifying the proceedings upon private bills; and you have always shown the utmost readiness, in disregard of your own health and convenience, to assist those members who have sought your advice. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the latter fact, I may mention the result of your kindness and your labour. In the first session in which you took the chair as Speaker, there were no less than one in five bills liable to objection on account of informality; while in the last session, not more than one in seventeen was found to be defective. (Hear, hear, hear.) The public have, therefore, gained greatly in the security afforded by your means to arrangements relating to property; and the House have gained by the time you have economised. I could not let this opportunity pass without stating this fact, which I do with the more pride and pleasure, when I reflect that I had the honour to second your nomination to the high office you have so ably filled. (Hear, hear.)

Sir F. BURDETT—I should not feel satisfied with myself, Sir, if I were to sit still without stating the result of my experience of your conduct in that chair. In one point only do I differ from the noble Lord who has made this motion. Like him, I am satisfied that the House could not have elected any one better qualified to fill your high office than yourself; but, unlike him, I thought so at the time of your election; and I had the good fortune—not being swayed, as I hope I never was nor ever shall be under such circumstances by feelings of a political cast—I did then, and I say now with pride that I did it—I did myself the honour of voting for your appointment to the chair. (Hear, hear.) I repeat, that I am proud and honoured by having given that vote. Your ability all are ready to acknowledge; but if there is any one thing which more than another gives a greater dignity to your office, it is not merely your ability or your independence, but, under every circumstance of difficulty, your gentlemanly deportment. I will not say that the persons who come after you will not be able to equal you in this merit; but this I will say, with the utmost confidence, that it is quite impossible any person should ever be your superior. (Cheers.) And this will be, in my opinion, the great difficulty we shall feel in finding a fit successor. (Hear, hear.) The labours you have undergone are such as were never surpassed, and I believe never equalled by any former Speaker; and, excepting one day, on one melancholy occasion, you have never been absent from the discharge of your duty. Most heartily and cordially do I agree with the motion of the noble Lord.

Sir GEORGE MURRAY—I most cordially concur with the motion of the noble Lord, and beg to take this opportunity of expressing my conviction of the excellent manner in which the business of this House has been conducted while under your management. I regret

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most deeply that the business of the new Parliament is not to commence under your guidance. (Hear.) We are about to *try a great experiment*; and I hope every one will give me credit *for sincerity* when I say that I am most *anxious that that experiment should be successful*. (Hear, hear.) I am anxious that the House should enter on that experiment with every possible advantage, and there is no advantage more important than that the chair of this House should be filled by a Speaker possessing extensive knowledge of the laws and usages of Parliament, and be qualified with those endowments which have so eminently distinguished you, and especially with that gentlemanly deportment to which the hon. Baronet has alluded. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL—I cannot let this opportunity pass without saying that I fully agree with all that has been said as to the assistance that the House and the public have derived from the admirable performance of your duty. (Hear, hear.) If there was any difference of opinion as to what candidate should be elected at the time when you were first appointed to the chair, there never since has been any but one unanimous feeling that in re-electing you they have best secured the performance of the duties of Speaker and the preservation of the privileges of this House. (Hear, hear, hear.) You have been pleased to say, that in the discharge of your duties you have received the assistance of this House; if so, then am I sure that that assistance has been willingly and universally rendered, on account of that gentlemanly feeling which made every man feel that in transgressing against the orders of this House he not only violated a public duty, but would have something to reproach himself as a private man in resisting those orders, when enforced on his attention in such a conciliatory manner. Other men may be found with the same knowledge of the laws and usages of Parliament, but it will be difficult enough in practice to find the same urbanity and kindness of demeanour which have so attached us all to you. (Hear, hear.) You have declined a comparison with your predecessors. On that subject, therefore, I will say nothing. But I will say of those who succeed you, that if they wish to join authority to conciliation and a knowledge of the laws of Parliament, which I believe are the best that could be formed for the government of a deliberative assembly—if they wish to learn the art that shall make the execution of their duties pleasant and easy, I hope they will look upon you (hear, hear); and that those who were with you when you presided in this House will try to make up the loss we are about to sustain, by endeavouring as much as possible to imitate your conduct (Cheers.)

Sir C. WETHERELL—I must be allowed to express my concurrence with what has already been said on the subject of this motion. That you deserve the expressions of approbation you have received is manifest from this, that the sentiments expressed on both sides of the House are similar in terms, and in spirit are the same. The honourable Baronet opposite has felicitously observed on that gentlemanly deportment which has distinguished you in presiding over the first Assembly of Freemen in Europe—and I may add, the first Assembly of Gentlemen in Europe. In that you have but fulfilled what we might expect from you. As the Speaker of this House is the first commoner in the country, so ought he to be the first gentleman in the country. You have exhibited the real perfection of a magistrate; for your decisions, even when against any individual, have been given in such a manner, that that individual himself has been satisfied with that decision. I have felt the greatest gratification in hearing the expression of the sentiments of others; but that gratification has not been unmixed with sensations of pain at your retirement. (Hear, hear, hear.)

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The SPEAKER—It is with the utmost gratitude and respect that I thank the House for the vote which they have just agreed to; and I can assure the House, with the utmost sincerity, that long as I have been in public life, and frequently as it has been my duty to address myself to this House, I never on any occasion felt so incompetent to give utterance to my feelings as at present. After the honour which the House have been pleased to confer on me, it would be hypocrisy in me to disclaim all merit whatever. My merit has been an anxious and steady desire to persevere in the discharge of my duty; and from the House have emanated the power, the force, and strength, that have enabled me to carry that wish into effect. I have now to acknowledge that most distinguished honour which a

public man can receive—the public approbation of my services given by those who have had the best opportunity of knowing how those services have been performed. I do acknowledge that honour with the most heartfelt gratitude.

Lord ALTHORP then moved—"That the thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for what he has now said to the House, and that the same be printed in the votes of this day, and entered on the journals of this House."—Agreed to unanimously.

Lord ALTHORP—I now rise for a purpose in which I am sure every Gentleman who hears me will concur with me. We have expressed the sense we entertain of the manner in which you have performed your duty; but it becomes our duty to carry the expression of our opinion further—it becomes us to carry to our Sovereign our sense of the mode in which you have performed your duty, and humbly to crave him to give us the power to show our approbation of your conduct, and to offer you some permanent expression of it. The noble Lord concluded by moving

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of his Royal favour upon the Right Honourable Charles Manners Sutton for his eminent services in the six Parliaments during which he has discharged the duties of Speaker of this House with a zeal and ability alike honourable to himself, and conducive to the progress of public business; to commence and take effect immediately upon his ceasing to hold the office of Speaker of this House; and to assure his Majesty that this House will make good whatever expense his Majesty may think proper to be incurred on that account."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Tuesday, 31st July.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER appeared at the bar of the House, and stated in a voice too low to be audible but at intermissions, that he had to present to the House his Majesty's most gracious answer to the address of the Commons of England, voted on the preceding evening, and praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of his royal favour upon the Right Hon. C. Manners Sutton, for his eminent services in the six Parliaments, during which he has discharged the duties of Speaker of the House with a zeal and ability alike honourable to himself and conducive to the progress of public business, to commence and take effect immediately upon his ceasing to hold the office of Speaker of this House, and to assure his Majesty that this House would make good whatever expense his Majesty might think proper to be incurred on that account. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had received his Majesty's most gracious commands to tell the House, that his Majesty would comply with its wishes, and confer upon its Speaker some signal mark of his royal favour; and his Majesty recommended to the House the adoption of such measures as would accomplish that purpose. The message being brought up, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that to-morrow (this day) the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider his Majesty's most gracious answer.

Wednesday, 1st August.

PENSION TO THE SPEAKER.

On the motion of Mr. HUME, a return was ordered of the names of all Speakers who had received pensions on retiring from the chair, stating the number of years they had acted as Speaker, with the amount of the pensions, and the conditions under which they were granted. —Ordered.

On the motion of Lord ALTHORP, the House resolved itself into a committee on the King's answer to the address.

The SPEAKER accordingly left the chair, and it was taken by Mr. BERNAL.

Lord ALTHORP said, that after what had passed on a former night, it was not necessary for him to dwell on the special claims and merits of the Speaker. That right hon. Gentleman had stated that he would make no allusion to his predecessors in the office; but referring only to his own experience, he (Lord Althorp) would assert, that all the advantages the House had enjoyed of knowledge and facility under the last Speaker, Lord Colchester, had been increased under the present. (Cheers.) It was but justice to admit, that whatever claims former Speakers might have had on the liberality of Parliament, those of the present Speaker were at least equal in amount and value. He had filled the chair as long as Lord Colchester, and although he had not presided for the period it had been

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occupied by Mr. Speaker Onslow (33 years), he had sat for considerably more hours of debate, which was to be accounted for by the vast increase of public business. He would now shortly advert to the precedents already established. Mr. Speaker Onslow had been allowed 3,000*l.* a year for his own life and that of his son, without any limitation as to appointment to office. At that date three thousand pounds a year was a much larger provision in proportion to the value of money than he was now about to propose. When Lord Sidmouth ceased to be Speaker he became Prime Minister of the country; he was, therefore, in receipt of a pension, not because he had been Speaker, but under an act of Parliament enabling the Crown to grant rewards to public servants. In the last instance, that of Lord Colchester, 4,000*l.* a year was given for his own life, and 3,000*l.* a year to his first successor; but the 4,000*l.* a year was to be reduced one-half if Lord Colchester accepted any office under the Crown to an equal amount. The proposition he (Lord Althorp) had now to make was, that 4,000*l.* should be granted to the Speaker for his own life (subject to the same conditions as Lord Colchester's pension), and 3,000*l.* a year for the life of his son. As, however, that son was entitled to the reversion of a considerable sinecure, it was intended that when he came into possession of that sinecure the pension should cease. This arrangement would be made in the bill to be founded upon the resolution, in which it would appear only that a sum of 4,000*l.* a year was granted to the Speaker, and 3,000*l.* a year to his son. He (Lord Althorp) apprehended it was not necessary to say more to induce the House to concur in the vote. (Cheers.) It was not, indeed, the general rule to grant pensions to Speakers, but in a case like the present, he did not think the proposition would meet with the slightest dissent. (Cheers from all sides.)

The resolution was then moved, and the question was put upon it.

Mr. HUME bore willing testimony to the urbane manners of the Speaker, and to the unexceptionable mode in which he had discharged his public duties. He contended, however, that the practice of granting pensions in cases like the present was quite novel, and that it was so would be shown by a return for which he had only this day moved. He hoped that the custom hereafter would be discontinued, and that no expectation of the kind would be held out to any future Speaker. It was an office of honour, and many men, fully competent, would be ready to fill it, merely for the distinction it would confer. If he should have a seat in Parliament *when the next Speaker was elected, he should protest against any hope of pension being held out to him.* On this occasion he had *no intention of opposing the grant.*

Sir R. INGLIS fully concurred in what had been said on all sides respecting the claims and merits of the Speaker: he was unquestionably the first gentleman of one of the first assemblies of gentlemen, and on the whole was such a speaker as was not likely to be seen again. He combined the most perfect knowledge with the most finished manners.

Sir C. WETHERELL adverted to the case of Lord Colchester, who, together with his pension of 4,000*l.* a year, held a sinecure office in Ireland worth from 1,500*l.* to 1,800*l.* a year. The sinecure which would revert to the present Speaker's son was that of registrar of wills, but he saw no sufficient reason for not making the grant to the father 5,000*l.* a year, even if that to the son were continued at 3,000*l.* a year.

Lord ALTHORP said that he spoke in all sincerity, when he declared that he put the merits of the present Speaker above those of the gentlemen whom he had known in the same situation, and he did not even except the right hon. Gentleman's immediate predecessor, whom every one spoke of in terms of very high approbation. Still, however, he did not think, that when all the circumstances came to be considered, the increase recommended by the hon. and learned Member ought to be adopted. The son of the Speaker would succeed to a very lucrative office, the profits of which were, he believed, as much as 8,000*l.* a year, and with such an income he would not require a larger annuity than was proposed by the present resolution. He did not think that it should be a rule that there always should be a pension; but on the other hand, he did not think it ought to be a rule that there never should be a pension. The giving a pension ought to be a matter in the discretion of the House.

Mr. HUNT took this opportunity of saying what he should have said the other day, had he been present, that he agreed fully with all that had been said as to the merits of the

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Speaker. He, the only Radical in that House (No, no)—the only avowed Radical (hear, hear from the Opposition)—agreed, *on this occasion, most perfectly with the sentiments of Whig and Tory.* The right hon. Gentleman's maxim had been to ride that House with a snaffle instead of a curb (hear, and a laugh), and every body liked him the better for it. (Hear, hear.) He was so anxious for unanimity on this subject, that *if the vote had been for* 5,000*l. a year he should have agreed to it*, although he was not very ready to vote away the public money.

Sir C. BURRELL supported the grants proposed by the noble Lord.

After a few words from Mr. CRESSET PELHAM, the resolution was agreed to.

The House resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

There it is "*vethted*," then; and now let us see *what it is*. This man has been Speaker fourteen years, I think it is. I know he was Speaker in 1819, when he made that stupid and ungrammatical speech to the Prince Regent, on the subject of PEEL'S BILL, which is consigned to everlasting ridicule and contempt in my English Grammar, and which shows him to have been as profoundly ignorant in matters of politics, as he was illiterate with regard to language. His salary has been *six thousand pounds sterling a year*, besides a *palace* to live in all the time, and besides all the servants and other expenses attending that palace. I believe he has great fees upon the passing of all bills for inclosures, turnpikes, canals, and so forth; but, taking only the *salary* into view, he has, all this time, been receiving more from this burdened nation, than the President of the United States of America, with a thousand times his labour, and ten thousand times his talent, has been during the same period, receiving from that *prosperous and happy republic!* Is not this monstrous? Do we not here see how it is that one nation is rich, and the other poor; one containing a happy, and the other a miserable people?

But we have here but a glimpse of the contrast so degrading to us, for, who has ever dared to insult the people of America with a proposition to tax them for a pension to the President at his retirement from office? Such a proposition would bring everlasting opprobrium upon the head of the man from whom it should proceed. What! Mr. HUME proposes as a *pledge*, that the pledged member shall endeavour to get us "*cheap government*;" and yet he gives his assent to this grant, though the son of this Speaker is the heir to a sinecure of three thousand pounds a year! If this is the way that Mr. HUME means to get us "*cheap government*," the sooner we get rid of Mr. HUME the better. The son, observe, may be receiving the sinecure of his three thousand a year, while he will be receiving his pension of four thousand a year. Allow them to do this for ten years; that will be seventy thousand pounds. Allow the son to have the four thousands pounds for thirty years afterwards, that gives them a hundred and ninety thousand pounds. Add the eighty-four thousand pounds which the Speaker has already received in salary alone; and thus the speakership for fourteen years costs this burdened and insulted nation, two hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds; while there is an uncle who has been long receiving four thousand pounds a year, as retired Lord Chancellor of Ireland; while there is a father who is just dead, who was receiving for seven-and-twenty years, not less than thirty thousand pounds a year as Archbishop of CANTERBURY; and while there are of the same family, God knows how many generals, and other receivers of the taxes! What! and will a reformed Parliament cause the people of England still to be taxed to pay the pension now created; will it do this thing? If it do; *then confusion must come.*

But, now, did HUNT say that IF THE VOTE HAD BEEN FOR FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR HE WOULD HAVE AGREED TO IT? Did he say that he would have given to this man more than the wages received by *two hundred miserable handweavers of Preston*, who have to maintain, with that wages, themselves, and wives and children, amounting, pro-

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bably, to a thousand persons? *Did he say this or did he not*? And if he did, is there, O God, one human being upon the face of the earth, who will *attempt to justify the saying*? Did Hunt remember that this man was Speaker at the time of the Manchester massacre, and did he remember that it was *this man's father*, who gave Parson Hay the the great living of Rochdale, *immediately after that bloody day*?

Alas! it is not by means like these that the kingly government is to be sustained in England; I have always most anxiously wished that it should be sustained; I most anxiously wish it still; but this is not the way to sustain it. Our aristocracy do not perceive the prodigious effect which has been produced on the minds of men by the *captivating example of the United States of America*. They do not perceive this; they do not perceive that the horrible depression in England has filled the United States with multitudes of intelligent Englishmen; they do not perceive that these move backwards and forwards from one country to the other; and that there is not now a circuit of ten miles in England itself, in which you do not find intelligent men who *have been* in the United States, and who know, in all their detail, the causes of the great difference in the state of the two countries. Those who wish to see the order of aristocracy overturned are glad to behold that which has now taken place with regard to the Speaker; as the gin-drinkers say when they swallow a potion, so the republicans say on occasions like this, "*There's another nail in the coffin*!" If one could cease to be serious on a subject so well calculated to engage the strong and sober feelings, one might observe upon the circumstance of the Speaker having been seized with this *fit of modesty*, on his having felt himself worn out with fatigue just at the moment when he saw a reformed Parliament making its appearance in the horizon; just as sailors when they see Mother Carey's chickens touching the curling waves with the tips of their wings, and see the sun setting behind a cloud, begin to reef their sails, haul down their masts and to make all tight against a storm. The Speaker, with experienced seaman's eye, saw schedules A and B fast sinking behind the lowering clouds in the west, and accordingly he prepared for the consequences. But does he seriously believe that a reformed Parliament will abolish no pensions and no sinecures? Does he seriously believe this? He must believe it or he would not have acted as he has done; he must, strange as it is, believe that the Potters and Phillipses and such-like men will *vote against* the abolition of pensions and sinecures, and will again dare to show their faces at Wigan and at Manchester. Seeing that Burdett, who for years and years declared that there could be no relief for us "*until the leaves were torn out of the accursed Red Book*;" seeing that this Burdett is now for putting more leaves into that book, he evidently thinks that *all is safe*! Seeing that this Burdett, who so railed against the "*crib*," is now for cramming it with fodder, the Speaker thinks that his pension is as safe as the rents of an estate. He will find himself grievously deceived, for, all the efforts of a reformed Parliament out of the question, there is the MONEY AFFAIR yet to be settled; of which affair the result is not to be described by any man that ever yet held a pen. Murray says that it is "*a great experiment*" that we are about to "try." No one can doubt Murray's "*sincerity*" in hoping that it will succeed! Yes, Murray, we are going to *try* a great experiment; we are going to *try* hard to put a stop to LADY LOUISA's pension. LADY LOUISA *is the sister of the* Marquis of Anglesea; she had one pension when she was a *maiden*, and another pension after she became the wife of Sir William Erskine; she has had them both not much short of thirty years; and what public services LADY LOUISA has rendered, you, Murray, *are much more likely to know than I am*. But the cream of this jest is this, LADY LOUISA and her pension used to be a standing topic with Burdett, *on the hustings at* Brentford, *and at his din-*

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nerings at the Crown and Anchor! "Gentlemen," he used to say, raising up his head and stretching out his hand at the same time, "*they tell us* that the "taxes are necessary to *the safety of* "*the nation.* Now, gentlemen, I should "be glad to know how the nation can "derive safety *from the pension to* LADY "LOUISA PAGET?" Aye, BURDETT, and a reformed Parliament will be glad to know this, too, and it will put the question to you just as you used to put it to your hearers at BRENTFORD; and if you tell them that it is *vested*, they will laugh in your face.

In taking leave of this subject for the present I have only to add, that the whole of the transaction is a clear proof that neither of the two political parties have the least idea that any change whatsoever is to take place in the management of the affairs of the nation or in the treatment of the people.

BRIGHTON CANDIDATES.

THE following article will show to the people of the NORTH, that the reformers of the SOUTH are not quite asleep. The spenders of money in BRIGHTON have been brought together by the taxes and by nothing else; but the *tradesmen* and *working people* of BRIGHTON justly conclude that they are not indebted to the taxes. If these masses of the nation's means were not drawn together upon the spot, these tradesmen and working people know that they should have their share of those means in some other part of the kingdom. They feel that they are under *no obligation* to the taxing system, and that they suffer from it in common with the rest of their country. They have, too, experienced uncommon suffering from the *fluctuations caused by the paper-money*. A good understanding on such matters convinces them that they must benefit by the general benefit, which reform must confer on the rest of the country: they know that they do not *live on taxes*, but live *on labour*; they know, that the transferring of wealth from one place to another can only *change the scene of their industry*. This BRIGHTON is so beautiful a place; it is so salubrious; it is so well calculated for the enjoyment of leisure and the renovation of the human frame, that, in a country so opulent as England, it will now always continue to be a very considerable town; and, perhaps, though it would be disturbed by the abolition of the taxing system, it would afterwards become more permanently prosperous; and this, I think very likely to be the case. But if it were not so, if the contrary were *sure* to be the case, the wealth now drawn hither would remain elsewhere in the kingdom; and the industry and labour now excited here would quickly find their way to that wealth. But, all this aside, when men have a duty to their country to perform, *self* is to be thrown out of the question: they are to act upon the old *Norman* proverb, "*Faire ce qu'il faut, arrive ce qu'il pourra*:" which MAJOR CARTWRIGHT used to interpret, "*do what is right and leave the rest to God.*" This was invariably his answer to all those who pestered him with fanciful difficulties and dangers. Upon this maxim the electors of BRIGHTON seem now resolved to act. The following paper contains the creed of Mr. GEORGE FAITHFULL, one of the candidates; and every one tells me that there is no doubt of his being elected. Thus, then, from PAISLEY and GLASGOW and EDINBURGH to the very *water's edge* in the south of England, this noble spirit prevails amongst the people; and, I must *see* a town of LANCASHIRE, of LANCASHIRE above all; I must *see* a town of *that* county that will choose a man not pledged to these things, before I will believe it.

THE POLITICAL CREED

OF

MR. GEORGE FAITHFULL,

One of the Candidates for the New Borough of Brighton, as expressed by himself at a numerous Meeting of his Friends, held at the Royal Sovereign, on Thursday, July 12, 1832.

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(*From the Brighton Herald of July* 14.)

1. *Public Property.*—Private property must be held sacred; but public property is at the disposal of the people. Under this head I class church-lands, tithes, crown-lands, barracks, and naval and military academies. All this, I contend, is public property, and ought to be sold, and the proceeds applied towards tho exigencies of the nation.

2. *Clergy.*—I think they should be allowed the churches, parsonage-houses, and ancient glebes; and that, in small parishes, where voluntary contributions are not to be expected, I am of opinion that the clergyman ought to have a reasonable allowance to support him decently, but not in a luxurious manner: none but the working clergy should receive anything; and as to the archbishops and bishops, if it can be shown that they are necessary, I would not consent to pay either of them more than 1,500*l.* a year. And as to the bishops legislating, and having seats in the House of Lords, I should be ashamed to suffer one session of Parliament to pass over without endeavouring to deprive them of their seats. (Applause.)

3. *Army*—I am decidedly of opinion that it should be disbanded. The constitution knows nothing of a soldier in time of peace. Perhaps it might be necessary to keep a few in our valuable colonies abroad; but I would not have one soldier in England, Scotland, or Ireland. I would have horse and foot militias, which should be called out at stated periods of the year, and then return to the bosoms of their families; and not a body of men prepared, on the orders of their superiors, to plunge their bayonets into the breasts of their countrymen.

4. *Navy.*—It is the great bulwark of the nation. If we were to lose the sovereignty of the seas, we should sink into a state of comparative, if not positive, insignificance. I think, therefore, that the navy should be supported. But let it not be supposed that I am an advocate for that shameful system of patronage which has so long prevailed. Merit should be the only passport to promotion: and as to having two or three admirals to every ship of the line, which I believe is the case at present—(cries of "Shame," and laughter)—I am of opinion that that abomination ought to be put an end to.

5. *Taxes.*—They press heavily on us all. Now I think that the assessed taxes, the malt, hop, soap, and stamp duties, should be done away with, and that there should be no taxes whatever except on land, houses, and interest of money lent on security; and I also think that a tax of that description should be on a graduated scale. For instance, and by way of illustration, I would say that a man who has anything under a thousand a year arising from ground, houses, or money, he should pay one per cent.; from one thousand to two, two per cent.; and so on up to 20,000*l.* Thus the burden would be borne by those who are best able to bear it.

6. *Parliament.*—The Septennial Act always appeared to me to be a shameful thing, and I would not sit over one session of Parliament without endeavouring to get it repealed. We then come to the triennial parliaments: now I am willing to give them a fair trial; but if they failed to produce the desired effect, I should then say we will have annual parliaments. (Applause.) And as regards the mode of taking votes, I am decidedly for the ballot. (Loud cheers.)

7. *Pensions and Sinecures.*—I say, without hesitation, sweep off the latter; but such pensions as shall be found to have been well merited, I would suggest should remain; but I firmly believe that, on investigation, it would turn out that there are but comparatively few of that description.

8. *Places.*—There are a great many useless ones which should be immediately abolished, and I think that, of those which are necessary, most of the salaries ought to be greatly reduced.

9. *Civil List.*—To me this is a very mysterious affair. I believe the civil list amounts to 800,000*l.* a year; a very *moderate* sum, certainly. (Laughter.) But the misfortune is, that the people do not know how it is disposed of. I believe it is expended partly in the pay of ambassadors, &c. I am an advocate for relieving his Majesty of that trouble, and for allowing the King a certain annual sum, free of all deductions. It is not necessary for me at present to state the precise sum which I think the King ought to receive, but I cannot refrain from stating that 500,000*l.* a year, the sum which his Majesty is supposed to have, is a great deal too much for his own expenditure; and as to the enormous sum settled on the Queen, in the event of the

demise of the King, that should be greatly reduced; and I do not know that I should consent to her receiving more than 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* a year.

10. *Custom-House Duties.*—I think they ought not to be all wholly abolished, as that would be prejudicial to our own manufactures; but, at the same time, I am of opinion that they should be to such an extent only as would afford a fair protection.

11. *Corn Laws.*—It strikes me that the country could never have been reduced to its present deplorable state, if the Minister of the day had not been supported by the landed interest. It is evident, however, that an immediate repeal of the corn-laws would ruin the farmers. Those laws ought to be repealed, but I think that an attempt should first be made to reduce taxation, so that our own farmers may be placed upon something like an equal footing with foreign agriculturists; but if the landed interest will not at once unite with other classes in demanding such a reduction of taxation, then I should be an advocate for repealing the corn-laws without further ceremony.

12. *Armed Police.*—I detest it, and would do everything in my power to put it down.

"I thank a gentleman opposite (resumed Mr. F.) who has reminded me that I have omitted to state my sentiments on universal suffrage. I believe it to be the abstract right of every man; and I think, moreover, that a heavy responsibility rests on those who have now the power of sending proper men to Parliament. I would, however, give the present extension of suffrage a fair trial, and if it fails I would be one of the forwardest in advocating universal suffrage. (Loud cheers.) Thus then, gentlemen, you have, in few words, the substance of my political creed. Those who approve of it will support me; and as to those who do not, I would rather be without their votes. I thank you for the hearing you have given me, and wish you all a good night." Mr. Faithfull then retired amidst a burst of applause.

THE GRENVILLES.

IN the *Preston Chronicle* of the 28th of July I find the following article, on which, when I have inserted it, I have a remark or two to offer. "The continued infirm state of the health of "*Lord Grenville* affords no prospect of "his Lordship *again taking any part in* "*public affairs.* His Lordship, who is "advancing towards his 80th year, resides in comparative retirement at his "*pleasant seat at Dropmore*, where he "enjoys the occasional society of his "nephew *the Duke of Buckingham*, the "*Right Hon. Thomas Grenville*, and a "select circle of friends."

Here is a goodly group got together. The editor of this paper seems to look upon it as a *misfortune* that Lord GRENVILLE's state of health affords no prospect of his again taking any *part in public affairs.* To comfort Mr. WILCOCKSON, I beg to remind him, that this noble person, as his two last acts, *not only justified* the MANCHESTER magistrates and yeomanry of the 16th of August, 1819; but said that they would have deserved censure and punishment *if they had not done that which they did*; and, let it be remembered, to the honour of Lord GREY, that he most completely answered this speech and reprobated these sentiments of GRENVILLE, though GRENVILLE was seconded by the ELDER WELLESLEY, who is now Lord Steward of the Household. The other closing act of GRENVILLE *was, to support* PEEL's BILL, *to censure* the Bank Directors for expressing *fears with regard to its effects*, to assert that it would cause a depression of prices only in a degree *of three-and-a-half per cent.*, and to assert, that the nation would be ruined if the bill were not passed and adhered to. He was once SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, beginning his career about forty-eight or forty-nine years ago; from that post he went to the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Those two offices gave him six thousand a year for about seventeen years. In 1806, he was made FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, out of which post PERCEVAL poked him in 1807. He has been out of active office ever since; but he has held the sinecure of Auditor of the Exchequer for about *fifty years.* It is a clear *four thousand pounds a year*; so that, for doing no-

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thing at all, he has received two hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts; and, during the eighteen years and a half that he was in office he received, *in salary*, a hundred and eleven thousand pounds; so that, if there be any truth in arithmetic, here are *three hundred and eleven thousand pounds* of the public money, which this one GRENVILLE has received within my lifetime. Quite enough to make his retirement pretty pleasant at his seat at DROPMORE! but enough also to convince the editor of the *Preston Chronicle* that there is nothing so very *melancholy* in the fate of his Lordship.

But there are some particulars relating to this GRENVILLE that ought never to be lost sight of. The business of the Auditor of the Exchequer is, to examine and *check the accounts of the First Lord of the Treasury*. When, therefore, this man was made First Lord of the Treasury in 1806, it was necessary that he should *resign* his office of Auditor of the Exchequer! Sad dilemma for a GRENVILLE; to forego the great emoluments and patronage and power of First Lord of the Treasury, all of which might not be permanent; or to give up the life-long sinecure of four thousand pounds a year! One cannot help feeling for the man, as I, when a boy, hard-hearted as we used to be to those animals, frequently have for a jackass, when I saw him balancing between two thistles. "Come along, you fool," we used to say, and, pulling his head up to one of them, to leave him to browse away. Faith, a GRENVILLE was not to be treated thus: he would *have both at once*; or else he would not consent to form the new Ministry: and there were Fox and WINDHAM, *aye, and* GREY *too*, all in the most infernal stew, lest they should be kept out, and the PITTITES kept in, in consequence of the inflexibility of this double-devourer. At last, there being no other way of getting rid of the difficulty, he took the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and the very first act of the new Ministry was, to *hurry an act through both Houses of Parliament, to enable him to continue to be the Auditor, and to be the examiner and checker of his own accounts!* And, there stands the act in the statute book, not far distant from another act, to idemnify PITT (the cousin of this GRENVILLE) that is to say, *to bear him harmless*, for having lent public money to BOYD and BENFIELD, to enable them to *make good instalments upon a loan which they had made to that public!* And, are these things to sleep *for ever*? Is there *never* to be a day when these wrongs are to be rectified?

This GRENVILLE had one duty to perform as Auditor of the Exchequer; namely, *to sign the Exchecquer bills*. This duty he did not do, but left it to be done by a clerk. In 1809, I think it was, ASLETT, who was cashier, I think, in the Bank, embezzled a great parcel of Exchequer bills, for which he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to be *hanged*. He was related to some powerful person in the Bank; judgment was stayed upon the ground, *that the Exchequer bills were not Exchequer bills, because not signed by* GRENVILLE; and my Lords the Judges decided that *it was so*, and that ASLETT ought not to be hanged. What finally became of him I do not know, and it is of very little consequence; but, was GRENVILLE *called to account* for not having signed the Exchequer bills? Was he called to account for having been guilty of neglect, which furnished a colour for the escape of this mighty criminal? Oh, no! But GRENVILLE signed the bills *in future*, to be sure? Not he, indeed; and there stands another act in the statute book, *to dispense with his signature*, and to make it death to steal the bills, though not signed by him! Well then, the devil take the fellow, say I, who has the impudence to deny that this Government is "the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world." Every GRENVILLE is as proud as LUCIFER; but this one is the proudest of them all. It might be in the way of exaggeration; but it used to be related of him, *that he would not suffer a tailor to touch him when he measured him for clothes*; but, that he used to make him stand off at a distance

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and take his dimensions by the view, as engineers take distances by their instruments. And, the good of it is, that I, who know well the extent of the talents of this man, am willing to take my oath, that I know *ten tailors*, each of whom is more fit for a Secretary of State than he ever was in his life. How often did FOX, SHERIDAN, old BEN HOBHOUSE, TIERNEY, and, above all, my Lord GREY *himself*, censure this very man, for his stupid and insolent letter, in answer to the letter of BUONAPARTE of 1799! How often did they assert, and truly assert, that that insolent letter would load England with a debt which would finally produce a convulsion? Does my Lord GREY forget these things? He cannot; and, oh! how he must now lament that he ever mixed himself up with this man and his family!

The readers of the *Register* will not have forgotten that, about three years ago, this man wrote and published a pamphlet on the SINKING FUND, in which he, repeating like a parrot what I had published twenty years before, treated the Sinking Fund, as a thing "*essentially mischievous*" in its very nature! Now, mark; this man was the colleague of PITT when the fund was first established; he was one of the loudest advocates for the fund; he was, for more than thirty years, a commissioner for managing the affairs of it; when First Lord of the Treasury he maintained the necessity of upholding it; he gave his sanction to the squandering of eighty millions of the nation's money to uphold it; and, after all that, with three hundred thousand pounds of our money in his pocket, he finds out that the fund is "*essentially mischievous*" in its very nature!

But I know more of this man than even this; I have been at close quarters with him. What! was I ever in the *same room* with him? Oh, Lord, no! The very wind of JUPITER would have stricken me dead! But I have been at close quarters with *the offspring of his brains*, and, luckily for us, he has no other offspring that I know of. When I came from America in the year 1800, I became a bookseller in PALL MALL. This man had a pamphlet to publish, which he called "the letters of SULPICIOUS;" and the subject was a defence of our maritime rights against the claims set up by neutral nations. Who this SULPICIOUS was I do not know, but if he was as dull a fellow as GRENVILLE, never did the world look on such a pair. I received the manuscript from JUPITER, copied out in the neatest possible manner by some clerk. I was wonder-stricken at the nonsense and bad grammar, being then full of the notion that Lords were something more than common men. The manuscript went to my printers, Messrs. Cox and BAYLIS, of Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields; they sent the *proof-sheets* to me, and I, with all possible punctuality, transmitted them to JUPITER. I saw the blunders of every sort, but dared not think of correcting what JUPITER had written. The first *proofs* came back to me so full of alterations and amendments that it was next to impossible to make them out. This rendered second proofs necessary, which came back not much less disfigured than the former; the proofs went on to three, four, five, and six, one after another; and there were these clever printers two months, or more, in bringing out a pamphlet, containing not more matter than they have many times brought out from under my pen in eight-and-forty hours. The *corrections* of this dunder-headed stuff cost three times as much as the printing of the pamphlet itself. The thing had two good effects with regard to me; it made me begin to think that Lords were only *men*, and but indifferent men, too; and it made me resolve never to publish a pamphlet again, even for the real original JUPITER himself, if he were to descend from the skies. I printed but five hundred copies, JUPITER had about a hundred and fifty to give away; if I sold *a dozen*, that was the outside, and the rest went to the trunk-makers along with other rubbish. JUPITER did, however, at last pay for the paper and the print, but I felt so keenly the shame of publishing a thing that would not sell, that I have from that day to

this, never been the publisher of another man's works with a view to profit; and, indeed, I have never done it at all except in the case of Mr. O'CALLAGHAN.

So much for the first personage in this family group. Next comes the nephew, his GRACE OF BUCKINGHAM, who, if, when he goes to "enjoy the society" of his uncle, take the pretty-nearly-*million-bag* which his father filled from his famous sinecure; if he take this and jog it up against his uncle's *three-hundred-thousand-pounds-bag*; and, if UNCLE TOM take the *hundred-and-fifty-thousand-pounds-bag* which he has filled from his sinecure, and joggle that up against the other two bags, what a joyous chinking there must be at DROPMORE! Ah, Mr. WILCOCKSON! And yet the son of Dr. CROMPTON, who, though a *lawyer*, brought, as his venerable father assures you, "*his heart in his hand*;" and yet, even with his heart in his hand, and seeing who has got the money borrowed under the name of DEBT, *wants time to consider* whether the labour of the child in the cradle shall be taxed; whether that child shall be a slave all his life, in order to raise the means of paying the interest of money borrowed for purposes such as those that we have here just beheld! He wants *time to consider* whether this crying injustice shall continue, or whether it shall be put an end to; but he wants not a moment to consider whether he shall abolish the CORN BILL *at once leaving all the taxes as they are*, and thereby plunge into ruin and confusion eighteen-twentieths of the people of this kingdom at once; thereby depriving the manufacturers of four-fifths of their customers, and producing scenes of despair and of anarchy, such as never were witnessed before in the world. He is ready to do this at once, off hand, while he denounces as "*quacks*," those who propose that the child in the cradle shall not be a slave all its life to pay the interest of debts contracted before its father was born; contracted, too, by schedules A and B; and contracted, sir, for purposes such as we have seen.

I am extremely obliged to Mr. WILCOCKSON, not for anything that he has said favourable to me; but for his having inserted the above paragraph, which has served as a text to this, I hope, very useful article, which, if he have room, I request him to insert in his excellent paper, for the information of the people of PRESTON, who, act in this case as they may, will always be objects of my unfeigned and unabated regard.

I had forgotten to mention one striking and peculiar characteristic of the family of GRENVILLE; namely, that it always continues to belong to *both the parties at one and the same time*. It takes its *side*; is decided in its hostility; but, like the Swiss, it has always *some branch of the family in the enemy's army*. During the time that PITT became minister, until he went out in 1801, this family was wallowing in power, patronage and emolument; its hostility to Fox and his party amounted to something like a duel with muskets in a sawpit; but BROTHER TOM *was a* FOXITE *all the while!* Right honourable TOM, snugly sheltered behind his sinecure, in spite of his paternal affection, still *adhered to his friendship for* FOX. Cat after kind, they say, and, of course, nephew after *nuncky*; accordingly we have now the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, the Marquis of CHANDOS, the WYNNS, and all the main army of the GRENVILLES, *deadly foes of reform*; but there is a *small* detachment in the person of Lord NUGENT, following the example of *nuncky*, TOM, *marching as bold as brass into the Lord High Commissionership of the* IONIAN *Isles*, vacant by the inopportune death of that famous reformer, Sir JAMES MACDONALD! And the parties think, I dare say, that this game is *always to be kept up!* As the negroes say, "You *tink* a lie, massa;" or, at any rate, if they do not think a lie, I am the most deceived of all the mortals that ever existed. Indeed, I *know* that they do; for I know that, *in one way or another*, this terrible system must come to an end.

THE MONEY AFFAIR.

THIS is a *mighty matter!* I am *watching* the wiseacres. They will

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have all in confusion now, if they *move much*. I should not at all wonder to see them blow the thing up *before the reformed Parliament can be got together*. They must do *something*; and what *can* they do? What a set of fools it is! There are all the means of putting things to rights yet; but they will not adopt them, *because recommended by me*; and for no other reason whatsoever. Well, let them *take the consequences!*

PRESTON AFFAIRS.

I TAKE the following very interesting matter from the *Preston Chronicle* of the 28th of July. It is of great importance in several respects; in the foregoing article, on the GRENVILLES, I have alluded to the principal topic of it. I am particularly pleased with the right understanding which it proves to be entertained in the North with regard to the Corn Bill. I have no room or time for comment at present, and shall only add, that it will give me great pleasure to explain my views on these subjects to the people of PRESTON, in person, which I shall do, life and health permitting, in the last week of this month.

MEETING OF ELECTORS AND MR. CROMPTON.

In consequence, as we understand, of an arrangement between some members of the Political Union and Mr. C. Crompton, a meeting was held in the large room at the Blackamoor's Head, in Chadwick's Orchard, on Wednesday evening last. The meeting began to muster about seven o'clock, and at eight the room was crowded in an excessive manner, there being perhaps two or three hundred persons present, nearly all of them working men. Mr. Crompton was accompanied by his father, Dr. Crompton, Mr. Segar the barrister, and one or two other friends. Owing to the heat and the pressure of the crowd, it was difficult to take any notes; what we give, therefore, is in some degree drawn from memory; but we believe it will be found substantially correct. About half-past seven Mr. ——— was called to the chair, and briefly stated that the object of the meeting was to hear Mr. Crompton, who was a candidate for the representation of the borough, explain his principles; and to afford him an opportunity of answering such questions as might be put to him. He intimated that their old friend Dr. Crompton was in the room, and wished first to say a few words to them.

Dr. CROMPTON then presented himself, and expressed the pleasure he felt in again meeting the electors of Preston,—a pleasure which was enhanced by his remembrance of the glorious scenes they had witnessed in 1817, when a set of saucy magistrates opposed themselves to the people, and wished to get up an address to the King against reform. He had then appeared amongst the people of Preston, and found them to be a set of men resolved to do good, and, by adhering to true rectitude of principle, to endeavour to break through the wretched coalition that then existed. He made some sacrifices on that occasion, without any hope of gaining his point, but he had satisfaction, at last, of making the parties sweat. A few weeks ago he received a beautifully well-written letter, requesting that he would come forward here as a candidate. Aware of his imbecility, aware of his imperfections, still the spirit of liberty was at his heart. (Cheers.) Aware of this, he wrote to the Political Union. Mr. Irvin and Mr. Seddon came and called on him, and on his declining himself, they asked him if he knew of any other man who would meet their views. He thanked them for their confidence, and mentioned his son. That son was now here with him, he it was who was with him when they attacked the infamous coalition, and he had ever since maintained the same independence of principle. He (Dr. C.) knew his son's integrity and his ability, and he knew, too, that no one abhorred more than that young man, meanness, hypocrisy, or truckling. He (Dr. C.) went to London to see him. "I had there (said Dr. C.) three days' unreserved conversation with him, and I found that he went on points which we all consider essential, even further than I did myself. He was brought up to the law, and as such, he has seen the arbitrary conduct of magistrates, and the necessity in all cases of having matters determined by trial by jury. After finding this, I resolved to bring him before you. If I thought he would not answer your expectations, I would not have brought him, for that would be trifling with you, as well as giving me (should his conduct disappoint you) the greatest grief in my latter days. I tell you he comes amongst you carrying his heart in his hand, and that in every action of his life he has been guided by good feeling, honour, and truth, and I therefore recommend him to your notice. Dr. C. concluded by adverting to the great honour which his son's acceptance by the electors would confer—an honour not unmixed with fame. Here he was, they might ask him what questions they liked, and he had no doubt he would answer them in a direct and intelligible manner.

Mr. C. CROMPTON then addressed the meeting. He said the chairman had stated the objects of the meeting, which were, as he had said, to explain to them his political opinions, and to answer such questions as might be put to him. The first part of this object would occupy him only a short time; the second (the questions) would, he trusted, be longer,

as it was the more important, and belonged more immediately to the electors themselves. He would answer all their questions candidly, and whether his replies were pleasing or otherwise, they would, he could assure them, be true. He came forward with no individual purpose, but as their friend on public principles. If any other two persons offered to represent them of sentiments more congenial with their own than those which he entertained, he would give way to such candidates. He would not stoop to solicit their suffrages in the usual way. He would not go about with canvassing books and lawyers from house to house, on the old system; nor did he think this was yet the time for them finally to choose, as some time would yet elapse before the election. He would ask no promises; if better men came, they must choose them. He did not mean to make distinct promises on every subject. If they thought better men would come, let them choose these men—choose anybody, and he would be content. He should now briefly inform them of his political sentiments:—I have thought for many years that the interests of the mass of the community, and particularly of those of the working classes, are not sufficiently represented. Now, however, since the passing of the Reform Bill, there is a chance of all parts of the community, being better attended to. Parliament ought to take care of this. One of the first measures to which he was favourable was the shortening of Parliaments. They ought to be shortened, he thought, in the first place, to three years, and if that would not do, they must go further; but they should try that first. We might perhaps trust them for three years: but not longer—Cries of "One year's enough")—for there were great temptations thrown in the way of Members. He would, therefore, propose them being shortened to three years; he would try that first. Next, the great object was to get Parliament to attend to the wishes of a great majority of the working classes; and a great question, too, was the cutting away of useless pensions and places,—the looking into the church establishment, and a cutting away of monopolies: and looking forward, he should be glad at all times, to support such measures as would ensure to the working classes those comforts as well as necessaries of life which they ought to have. He did not assume that any man whom they might elect would relieve them, all at once, from the state of suffering into which they were plunged; but they might, at least, have the consolation that their children might be so relieved—and themselves at no very distant period. What he should do would be for the mass of the people, and much must be done—for the old enemies of the people would do everything to keep up the old system. He concluded by stating that he was prepared to answer every question that might be put to him, and thanking them for the attention with which they had heard him, he declared that whatever should be the result, whether he or another should be returned, that kindness and attention would claim his grateful thanks. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILCOCKSON then addressed the chairman, and asked if it would be considered intrusive in him, who was not a member of the Union, to submit a question or two to Mr. Crompton; and being told that the meeting was open for all persons, he proceeded to say, that it was very gratifying to him to hear the declarations of honesty and candour which had been made to the meeting, as it assured him of obtaining direct and definite answers to the questions upon which he wished to know the sentiments of Mr. Crompton. He would in the first place, ask him what amount of revenue he considered sufficient to defray all the requisite expenses of such a Government, as would maintain with dignity, and effect, the civil authorities, and the power of this nation?

Mr. CROMPTON—As to these questions of detail I am not quite prepared. They require a great deal of consideration. I believe my friend Mr. Wilcockson, (I hope I may call him so), from what I have heard him say, and from his opinions expressed elsewhere, means to ask "Will you cut down to the lowest possible fraction, the expenditure of the Government and will you cut off the national debt." He wants to know if we are to pay the interest of the debt.

Mr. WILCOCKSON—I have no objection to waive my first question for the present, and come at once to the main point. I will ask, then, is Mr. Crompton prepared to say, whether, in his mind, it be just or not, that the working people of this day should be taxed, should have a portion of their earnings taken from them, in order to pay the interest of what is called the national debt?

Mr. CROMPTON—With respect to the people being taxed for this purpose, I say that the interests of the working classes must be looked to; but when I look to the enormous distress and misery which the cutting off at once of the dividends would cause, I cannot agree to such a proposition without looking to the landed proprietors and then to others; they ought to bear a portion of the misery and the forfeiture. It is a serious matter to consider how far the present generation ought to be taxed for the debts of former ones; but it would be going to a great and awful length to cut off these dividends at once. I am prepared to consider what would be the best course to take. The working classes, I admit, have great cause to complain of the burden of the debt; but much of the debt is in the hands of very poor persons, and I do not like to go to such enormous lengths. It is an awful and a serious question. A time might come when the weight of taxation would be so great that working people would be obliged to work such long hours to make it up, that a question might arise, but at present I do not see that necessity. (A voice in the crowd "You may just as well say, Work, and pay taxes for ever.")

Mr. WILCOCKSON—My question refers to the present time. I ask, do you think the working people of England in the condition in which they actually are, ought to be made to contribute a portion of the fruit of their labour to pay the interest of the debt?

Mr. CROMPTON—I say that first of all we must take all the national property, and see what we can do then. We ought first to see whether the burdens of the people can be removed by this and by reductions in the expenditure—not to let the burden fall on one class only; namely the fundholders. I think the old Parliament laid too much of the weight upon the working classes; but much ought to be done before we sweep away the dividends.

Mr. WILCOCKSON—It must, I think, appear to this meeting pretty evident, that the gentleman (my friend Mr. Crompton) has not sufficiently studied the subject to enable him to give a decisive answer to the question. He is not, therefore, as it appears to me, qualified to become a useful member of Parliament yet. When he has devoted more time to the matter he may possibly come before us under better circumstances; but he now acknowledges that his information is not such as enables him to decide on the important question submitted to him in a decisive manner. He will not say he will advocate the destruction of the debt; and it is very possible, that after all his study he may still adhere to what now appears to be the bent of his mind, namely, to uphold the debt; and the continuance of taxes for payment of the interest of it.

Mr. CROMPTON—I am afraid I have not been quite understood. What I mean is, that if we can relieve the burden by any other means than cutting off the fundholder we should do so; but I do not approve of the wild manner, of sweeping away the debt which Mr. Wilcockson and others propose. If the people cannot be relieved by the means I propose, then we must then go to the debt and consider what must be done with it.

Mr. WILCOCKSON—It is quite clear that Mr. Crompton has not made up his mind on this subject. It is probable, as I have before intimated, that after all his application he may still adhere to the principle of upholding the debt. Returning again, therefore, to my first question, I would beg to ask Mr. Crompton on the supposition of the interest of the debt being to be provided for, how much he thinks it possible, by the most rigid economy and retrenchment, to abate from the present amount of the taxes.

Mr. CROMPTON—With a view to remove that portion of the taxes which weigh upon the people, I have already said I would make reductions. Let that be done first. I am afraid that time will come when some adjustment with the national creditor will become necessary; but if that is to be done, let us see how it is to be accomplished. And if it is to be so, the landowner ought to bear his share of the loss.

Mr. WILCOCKSON—I appeal to the meeting whether they consider that an answer to the question of how much he thinks can be deducted from the national expenditure. If he cannot give an answer, it must be evident that he has yet his lesson to learn. He is not yet, I submit, fit to be a member of Parliament.

Mr. CROMPTON—I did not come here prepared with a budget to meet all these details. I admit that the last generation had no right to tax the present; but I am not ready to give an answer as to the precise amount for which the government could be carried on. No man can yet tell that. (Some one in the crowd here said, "He asks questions that nobody can answer. Mr. Hunt could not answer such questions, and he's the cleverest man in the House of Commons." Some few smiles were visible when this sage remark was delivered; but others, we suppose, heard the declaration with grave approval.) I cannot tell the precise number of millions that would be required, and I think the man who pretends to tell it must be a quack—unless, indeed, he has, as Mr. Wilcockson has, studied the subject for years.

Mr SEGAR here came forward, and proposed that the question should be put in this way. "Is Mr. Crompton prepared to admit that a time may come when what is called the national faith shall be inconsistent with the national happiness and prosperity, and that then the debt ought to be done away with?" (A cry, "That time has come.")

Mr. CROMPTON said he was quite willing to give an affirmative answer to that question.

An individual then asked Mr. Crompton if he thought it right to take the revenues of the church of Ireland to pay the debt.

Mr. CROMPTON—I think the church of Ireland pretty well done for already. (A laugh.) I would take the revenues of the church as they fell in. I would take them quietly. I have long looked upon church property as public poperty, and I would appropriate a part of this property before sweeping away the dividends. My maxim is, to keep churchmen *poor* and *pure*. (Cheers.)

Dr. CROMPTON then stepped forward, and the chairman put it to the meeting whether the worthy doctor should be heard, and the question was carried in the affirmative. He then said he was delighted to enjoy the society of the electors of Preston more than any other body of men, even more than the freemen of Nottingham. Although he had on a former occasion forwarded their cause from the most disinterested motives, and at some pecuniary sacrifice, no influence, no love they might entertain for him should lead them to a preference of his son, if he were undeserving. He believed his son to be such that "corruption would sink abashed at his indignant glance," and that he would ever be found a friend to the people, and to licentiousness an inexorable foe. (Partial cheers.)

Mr. CROMPTON was then questioned by several parties in the room, whose names we did not

obtain, on the following subjects, to which we append the substance of the answers with as much accuracy as the very few notes we could make, and our recollection enable us to give. If we have in any instance given a wrong construction to the replies, we shall be most ready to amend them, upon receiving a satisfactory explanation.

Universal Suffrage.—He thought the present reform act would be the means of causing the people to have great influence; but in some instances, such as Bolton and other like towns, the franchise was not sufficiently extensive. But he would go on by degrees. He would try this first, and if it did not answer he would go to the extreme point, for the people must be attended to.

Ballot.—He had never heard anything like an argument against it.

Taxation on Knowledge.—He thought it the most monstrous tax that could be thought of.

Military Flogging.—He would first abolish the standing army. He would in time of peace have nothing but the nucleus of an army. If soldiers were wanted on an emergency he would have citizen soldiers; and who would think of flogging citizens.

Doing away the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament.—The provision at present was of little use, for under the existing law there were means by which almost anybody might obtain this qualification. He would not pledge himself on this point.

Making the Truth a Justification for Libel.—On this subject he entered into a description of the legal distinctions; but intimated no desire to alter the law on the subject.

The Manchester Massacre.—He always was of opinion that murder was committed on these occasions, and that the parties implicated should have been brought to answer before a jury; but saw no possible good that could arise from a parliamentary inquiry on the subject, and he had a strong objection to proceedings of blood before such a tribunal as the Parliament.

Corn Laws.—These he would instantly abolish.

At the close of these interrogatories Dr. Crompton again presented himself, and said, that his son had answered all the questions put to him in a satisfactory manner; and that as to the debt and such matters, how should any of them if they had money in the funds, like to have their savings taken from them. These were serious things that should be left for Parliament to discuss. As to pledges it was improper, frail mortals as we were, for any man to give them: it was like daring the Almighty. He concluded by eulogising his son, who, he repeated, brought his heart in his hand; who had never through life, deviated from rectitude, and who abhorred all deceit and truckling.

Three cheers were then given to the Doctor for his former services. After some further talking, three cheers were proposed and a tolerable shout was raised, for Dr. Crompton and his son conjointly. These were followed by three rather higher-toned hurras for Mr. Hunt. Some one then proposed three groans for Wilcockson, and a considerable number responded to the call, but what proportion of the meeting thus manifested their feelings we cannot tell. For the credit of the party we hope it was not considerable. For the individual who was the object of the vituperative noise, we can vouch, that the only sensations they raised in his breast, were pity for the mental ignorance, and compassion for the moral blindness of the vomiters of so much foul breath.

After this, Mr. Crompton said, that in about a fortnight hence he hoped to have the pleasure of seeing many of them individually, and should be glad to be called upon by any elector who might wish to know his sentiments on any subject, or to consult him upon local grievances.

Thanks, accompanied by cheers, being given to the chairman, the business of the meeting terminated.

Mr. Crompton, accompanied by his father, and Mr. Rushton, of Liverpool, met a number of the electors on Thursday evening, at Hardwick's, the Grey Horse, when several of the points adverted to on Wednesday, and some others, were discussed. Mr. Crompton, on this occasion, seemed disposed to go farther than he did at the first meeting, in dealing with the debt, as well as on other topics.

THE EDITOR'S REMARKS ON THE ABOVE.

"We give elsewhere an account of a meeting which took place a few evenings ago, touching the sentiments of Mr. Crompton upon various important questions. From that account the electors will be able to judge for themselves how far Mr. Crompton will suit them as a representative of their opinions; and as a man in whose knowledge of state affairs the people can confide. There is only one point to which we would now beg to advert. Although Mr. Crompton is quite unable to say to what extent he would go in the abatement of taxes, and is not at all prepared to encounter the debt, he does not hesitate to declare that he would support the instant abolition of the corn-laws. Now let us discuss, for a moment, the consequences that such a step would produce unaccompanied by any other measures. To allow of the free importation of corn would either cause a fall in

the price of the article or not. If not, no benefit could possibly be gained from free importation; those, therefore, who propose to resort to this measure as a means of relief, calculate upon a considerable reduction. The probability, in fact, is, that the fall would be about two-thirds below the present averages. And what would be the consequence of this drop in the price? Why every contract between landlord and tenant would instantly assume a new character. For every two bushels of wheat which the farmer had to sell, to raise a given amount when his bargain was made, he must now part with three; and so of every other article of produce; in short, his gross receipts would amount in money to just two-thirds what they did before. The farmers through the country must, of course, be ruined the first year. And how would this benefit the manufacturer? He might have cheaper bread, but where would be the market for his goods? He might possibly gain a little in his export trade, but that would be only a poor compensation for the extinction of demand amongst his own countrymen. But the mischief would not stop here; the landowner, who had any interest to pay, would be unable to do so; estates would pass from the owner to the mortgagee; the cultivation of land would be neglected; the rural population would fall into a state of starvation, and be ready for any outrages; and wild confusion and uproar would ensue. Talk of sweeping measures, indeed! of robbing and spoliation! Nothing can equal the absurdity of those who talk of abolishing the corn-laws, *without at the same time taking measures for nearly abolishing the taxes.* Corn-laws, in some shape or another, are a necessary link in the chain by which the nation is bound to the taxing system. That system is one which exposes the commonwealth to the constant risk of a dissolution, and ought to be removed; but to effect this removal with safety, no unskilful hand should be allowed to interfere. It is an affair, as was properly observed by Mr. Crompton, that requires great study to master; and it is on that account that it behoves us to be exceedingly particular to whom we entrust the management of it."

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THIS book is now published, and is for sale at *Bolt-court*, and at the bookshops in general. So large and expensive a book, including forty-three maps, never was sold for less than twice the price before. Here all the new divisions of counties, and everything else relating to the new parliamentary distribution, is to be found in the smallest compass, and in an arrangement the most commodious. I here again insert THE TITLE and the explanatory preface. The reader will be astonished at the mass of matter; and when he sees the book, he will think that we are got into cheap times indeed, when such a book can be sold for twelve shillings. But it was my desire to bring it within the compass of book-clubs of the working people.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into COUNTIES, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with *a map*, showing how the counties are locally situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into CIRCUITS, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into DIOCESES; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the *cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets,* and *tithings*, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of *the county*, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the *English counties*, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the *Welsh counties*, in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a map, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market-towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a *monastic establishment*, the nature and value of it are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The *distance from London* is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the *nearest* city, borough, or market-town, are stated; and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are *markets* or *fairs*, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure places, of which we want a knowledge. How many scores of places have I received letters from, and there being no post-mark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a transaction at *Tilford*, how are we to know where TILFORD is, and what sort of a place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of SURREY; but one should not know whether it were a town or village, or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index*, tells us that it is in SURREY; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a TITHING, that it is in the parish of FARNHAM, and that Farnham is a MARKET-TOWN, distant therefrom in a [illegible] direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from London; and the *county-map*

shows us, that this market-town lies at the WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases *the parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of SURREY, *Bagshot* is a hamlet, the distance of which from CHERTSEY, the nearest town, is not stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of WINDLESHAM, and that that village is 7½ miles from CHERTSEY; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things; which, if left unexplained, might lead to error. FIRST, under the name, in the Dictionary, of each county, is given the *number of parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out *townships*, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come to a correct knowledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, *the parishes*, so called, have, in the statistical table as well as in the Dictionary, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. SECOND, as the *Dictionary part* was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the *number of members of Parliament* returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and which it is now my business to describe.

IX. Next after the Dictionary comes a STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles, its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes the population of each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*, and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In TABLE No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DI-

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VISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order, and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in Parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities* and *boroughs* are, in the Table No. II. not accompanied by a statement of their population, TABLE No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, *and the number of voters which they formerly had*, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove tiresome to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the VERY ROOM in which Dr. JOHNSON wrote his plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toil.

WM. COBBETT.

No. 11, *Bolt-court*, 28 *June*, 1832.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

BOWYER, J., York-st., Westminster, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BROMFIELD, W., Whitchurch, Salop, and High Ash, Chester, cheese-factor.
COOMBS, A. and W., Bennet's-hill, Doctors'-commons, carpenters.
CRANKSHAW, J. and W., Manchester, manufacturers.
RICHENBURGH, M., Bath, silversmith.
TYRELL, J., Manchester-street, Manchester-square, commission-agent.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

AITHCHINSON, J., Edinburgh, stationer.
COLVILL, W., Arbroath, banker.
HULE, R., and R. Ralston, Greenock, coal-merchants.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BEWSHER, W. N., George-street, Brighton, brewer.
HENDERSON, J., Hanover-square, hotel-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

BIDDLE, J., London-road, Surrey, oil and colourman.
BOLTON, W., Harvington, Worcestershire, cattle-dealer.
FELLOWS, G., John's-court, King-street, Snowhill, commission-agent.
NORRIS, J., Liverpool, earthenware-dealer.
SELLERS, J. jun., Burnley, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
WATSON, H., Crown-row, Walworth-road, tea-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, AUG. 6.—Although we had a great deal of rain yester-

day, yet the weather being fine to-day, with every appearance of its continuance, our market was exceedingly heavy, having a liberal supply of old wheat from Essex and Kent, with a few samples of new from the former county, the quality of which was very fine, and sold at 74*s.* to 78*s.* per qr. Old wheat, even of the finest quality, went off very slowly at the prices of last Monday; but lower terms would have been complied with, to have effected sales of any other description. At this important crisis the weather will govern prices for the next three or four weeks, as harvest is now generally begun, and much will depend on the condition in which the crops may be secured.

The little barley at market to-day met very heavy sale, at a reduction of full 1*s.* per qr. Grey peas being scarce, are 2*s.* per qr. dearer.

Notwithstanding the shortness of the supply of oats, both of English and Irish growth, the trade was extremely dull, but fine fresh corn fully maintained the quotations of this day se'nnight.

Wheat	66s. to 72s.
Rye	33s. to 34s.
Barley	30s. to 33s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
——— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
——— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to —s.
——— Feed	21s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	42s. to 48s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	50s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	—s. to —s.
——— Cork	80s. to 82s.
——— Limerick	80s. to 82s.
——— Waterford	78s. to 80s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	64s. to 78s.
——— Gloucester, Double	64s. to 68s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
——— Edam	46s. to 56s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 76s.

SMITHFIELD.—Aug. 6.

In this day's market, which was, for the time of year, throughout well supplied, the trade, with prime small beef and prime South Downs mutton, was somewhat brisk, at fully —with other kinds of beef and mutton, as also veal and pork, very dull, at barely—Friday's quotations; whilst lamb met with an exceedingly heavy sale, at a depression of 4*d.* per stone.

Fully a third of the beasts were Lincoln and Durham oxen, steers, and heifers, the remainder about equal numbers of Welsh runts, Hereford, Devons, Irish—for the most part fattened in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the London marshes,—and Town's-end cows, &c.; the sheep of about equal numbers of South Downs, and Leicester half-breds, and a considerable number, say about 3,000, Kents, with about as many of (for the most part) sundry other polled breeds—there being only a few pens of small Scotch and Welsh horned sheep in the market; the lambs chiefly of the two former breeds.

Beasts, 2,703; sheep and lambs, 26,740; calves, 232; pigs, 200.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Aug. 10.

The arrivals are moderate. The market is very dull, with very little business doing. The prices are nominally the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83¼	83⅜	83⅜	83⅜	83½	83⅝

DR. DOYLE ON TITHES.

This day is published, price 1*s.*,

THE EVIDENCE of the RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE, before the Irish Tithe Committee, taken from the Minutes of Evidence ordered to be printed by the House of Commons; being a comprehensive Explanation of the nature of Tithe and Church Property, and of their abuse in Ireland.

"I should rather have the last chair and table in my house seized on and sold by the auctioneer; nay, I would go so far as to say, I would suffer my life to be sacrificed, rather than voluntarily pay money that it might be applied as the produce of tithes has hitherto been applied."—*Dr. Doyle, Min. of Evid.*

London: Printed and published by W. E. Andrews, 2, Oxford Arms-passage, Warwick-lane. Sold by B. Steill, 20, and W. Strange, 21, Paternoster-row, and all booksellers.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 77.—No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18TH, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*

REFORM BILL.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Bolt-court, 15th Aug. 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

WHILE this bill was passing I paid little attention to any of its details, excepting those which related to the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, the enfranchisement of great towns, and the extension of the right of voting in the counties; all which constituted a very great good. I never imagined that the parts of the bill which provided for the *exercise of the franchise* would, in effect, defeat the apparent intentions of the bill; and, instead of about ninety rotten boroughs, each with a handful of inhabitants, would give us a hundred and fifty rotten boroughs, populous from thirty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand, each having, on an average, about a hundred voters, or from a hundred to two hundred. Further, that this famous reform would operate so as actually to disfranchise a great part of the former *county voters*, and render the counties still more completely the tools of the aristocracy than they were before.

When, however, I came to read the provisions of the bill with attention, I clearly discovered that the bill, as it now stands, never can be executed according to its professed principles and according to the objects which it appears to have in view. Therefore, from LANGUARD in the *Isle of Wight*, on the 17th of July, I sent a petition to be presented to the House of Commons, upon the subject; which petition was presented by Mr. O'CONNELL on the 20th of July, or on the 19th, I forget which it was. I saw that the bill could not be executed. The complexity was too great; and to bring up the arrear of taxes and rates so suddenly, I saw was impossible. I, therefore, prayed that the whole of the bill might be repealed, except that part of it which abolished rotten boroughs and which enfranchised great towns. But I will, before I proceed further, insert my petition again, which I do in the following words.

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of William Cobbett, of Kensington, in the county of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That your humble petitioner, perceiving that your honourable House has discovered that it is impracticable to put the Reform Act, which was passed on the 4th of June last, into execution, until at a time now considerably distant, a fact very alarming, but by no means surprising to your humble petitioner, who, having now had the means of attentively looking at all the provisions of that act; at all the complexity in the rights of voting, which it attempts to establish; at all the troublesome and vexatious regulations which it imposes upon the voters; at all the cumbrous and expensive machinery of assistant-barristers, and their several sets of under-agents, at the discretionary interference and powers of judges, justices, and other persons; having now had the means of attentively examining all these provisions, your humble petitioner is convinced that the said act, in its present form and meaning, cannot, and never will, be carried into effect; and that unless a remedy be speedily applied, by the passing of another act, to amend the act aforesaid, the consequences will be fatal to the peace of the country.

That it is quite evident that all this complexity, all the difficulty and delay, and all the now-manifest impracticability, have arisen from the desire of your right honourable House to exclude from the right of voting all but a small part of the people, and to keep that right exclusively in the hands of the rich; that your petitioner deems it to be a principle, the justice of which is wholly undeniable, that every man arrived at the state of manhood, and being of sane mind, and untarnished by indelible crime, has a right to vote in the choosing of those who shall make

the laws, because every such man not only pays taxes, direct or indirect, but is liable, between the age of eighteen and fifty, to be compelled to assume the military garb, to submit to military discipline, to quit his home, his parents, his wife and his children, and to venture his life in defence of the country and its laws; that, therefore, your petitioner is prepared to hear no argument that can possibly be opposed to such general claim to a right to vote; that however, as applicable to the present prayer of your humble petitioner, the right thus extensively enjoyed, would at once put an end to all those difficulties which now embarrass your honourable House, and threaten the country with confusion.

That your humble petitioner, therefore, prays that your honourable House will be pleased to repeal all the clauses of the aforesaid act, passed on the 4th day of June last, from the eighteenth clause inclusive to the end of the said act; and that, in lieu of the clauses thus repealed, your honourable House will be pleased to pass an act, providing that every man, in every part of the kingdom, being eighteen years of age, and upwards, being of sane mind, and untarnished by indelible crime, shall, in future, have a right to vote at the election of members to serve in Parliament; that you will be pleased to provide that the parish-officers in every parish shall make out lists of the persons in that parish entitled to vote; that they shall place these on the church-doors, on or before the 1st day of September next, notifying to all persons that they may come and demand the insertion of their names, if those names have been improperly omitted; that when the day of election shall arrive, the parish officers shall receive the votes by ballot, and the next day make a return of them to the returning officer for the county, part of county, or borough in which the parish is situated; that the returning officer, after due examination, shall make his declaration of the member or members who have the majority of votes: that the election shall be on one and the same pay, and only on one day, throughout the whole kingdom, and that the returning officer shall make his declaration and his return on the next day.

That your humble petitioner further prays, that the penalty of five hundred pounds forfeiture, for the use of the parish, shall be inflicted on any parish officer who shall neglect any part of this his duty; and that, if fraud or corruption be proved upon him, he shall be transported for life; that with regard to sheriffs and other returning officers, if they be proved guilty of wilfully making a false return, or if they shall refuse to make a return in due time, they shall forfeit all their goods and estates to the king, and be banished for life.

That your humble petitioner can see no necessity for any delay whatsoever; that the lists, having remained on the church-doors during the month of September, will enable your honourable House to provide for having the election taken in the first week of October; that your petitioner here sees the simple means of getting rid of all the cumbrous machinery with which the present act loads a matter that ought to be most simple of execution; that here all the scandalous swearings are got rid of, it being impossible that any man should present himself to vote without being well known to the parish officers, which parish officers must of necessity be men of respectability in their parishes.

That your humble petitioner is convinced, that, upon serious reflection on the matter, your honourable House must be satisfied that the act of the 4th of June aforesaid never can be carried into effect; that it contains within itself a mass of complexities which renders it absolutely inexcutable; and that, after all, if it were practicable to execute it, it would not answer the intention of your honourable House; for that, those, to whom your honourable House have given votes, must of necessity, in numerous cases, be compelled to act under the control of those who have no votes, or else to incur all the consequences of their bitter and just resentment; and that thus ill blood in neighbourhoods, a general hatred of the poor towards the rich, a disrespect for the laws, and strife interminable, must be the consequences.

That to abandon error as soon as it is discovered, is one of the true marks of wisdom and of goodness; that your humble petitioner trusts, that he shall find this mark evinced in the conduct of your honourable House; and, therefore, he again most earnestly prays, that you will now, with all speed, be pleased to pass a bill, repealing the aforesaid clauses in the act of the 4th of June, and containing the provisions above stated, with the most profound respect, by your humble petitioner;

And your petitioner will ever pray,

WM. COBBETT.

Languard, 17th July, 1832.

I will first speak of the *county-voters*; and observe, I have now *seen them*; I have seen the notices on the church-doors; and I know well how the thing will work. In the first place, the elector is to give a written notice, in a certain form, to the parish officers, that he claims a right of voting, and requiring that his name should be registered. This is a trouble imposed upon the old electors as well as the new. Three-fourths of the electors, even if apprised of this provision, which not a tenth part of them are, and which all of them ought to have been by proclamation or other document, read in the churches for several Sundays successively; even if apprised of the necessity of doing

this, a great part of these persons *cannot write*, or, at least, would not like to have their awkward writing exposed to their neighbours. Then there is the getting of somebody to write the notice for them, and there is the getting the form of the notice; all which present obstacles, of which persons who live with pens in their hands cannot have the smallest idea. Then there is the SHILLING to be paid for the registration; and this shilling, whatever Lord ALTHORP may think of the matter, will be a complete block-up, in *nine cases out of ten*. He says "*that men* "*can set very little value on their fran-*"*chise, if they will not give a shilling* "*for it.*" That is not the thing, my *honest* Lord. Men think a great deal of the franchise; but men also think a great deal of an *imposition;* and they regard this as one of the most impudent impositions that ever was thought of; one of the most barefaced, one of the most villanous impositions ever practised upon a people. The freeholders have to pay this shilling as well as others; and they regard it as a downright robbery, and ask, "*Who is to pocket the money?*" I do not say that the Ministers intended this as an obstacle; but I know that it is one, and a most effectual one, too; and that it was their duty to remove it as soon as it was discovered. For my part, as far as my observation has gone, I believe that the counties will be more completely under the control of the great landowners than they were before; and that the change would be infinitely for the worse, if this bill could possibly be carried into effect as it now stands; and especially if the statement of Colonel EVANS be true with regard to the *great towns in the North*. As an instance of the species of reform which this bill will give us as it now stands, there is HOLMES SUMNER offering himself for the western division of the county of Surrey; that man, who was not only hunted out of the county of Surrey, but hunted out of one of the boroughs of the county under the old system. DENISON is the other candidate for the western part of the county; and what are the "*friends of reform*" doing? Why they are proposing LONG, who has been a Tory all his life, to oppose SUMNER, and *who used to be one of the supporters of this* SUMNER *himself*. So that, at the very best, here will be one Whig and one Tory; and as to any measures of real and *beneficial change*, what is to be expected from such men? Talk of *pledges*, indeed, from men like these! They will be the masters, and not the servants of the county. In Hampshire and in Sussex it is precisely the same; and the system of compromises, which the division of counties was said to have a tendency to prevent, will be more complete than ever, in consequence of the obstacles thrown in the way of the voters. The number of voters will be so small, and the compacts so complete, that if this bill could be carried into effect as it stands, county seats would soon be sold as borough seats are now.

I never had much hope of free and public-spirited elections in the counties under this bill; but, with these hamperings and obstacles in the way, no rational man can have any hope at all. From the very beginning I told my readers, that my reliance was solely on the *great towns*, which I thought, would send from fifty to a hundred men, resolutely bent on rescuing the country from its present state; but, if COLONEL EVANS's statement be correct, or anything like correct, those towns will be powerless also; and then the Reform Bill will be a farce, which, by inverting the ordinary course of the drama, will end with a tragedy; for, if the Ministers hug themselves in the hope, that the people will suffer all their expectations to be baulked, and lie down contented under the cruel disappointment, they are the most deceived of all mankind.

COLONEL EVANS's statement is this; that, at the election of the first reformed Parliament, the number of voters in the great towns of Lancashire would be next to nothing. I will give the statement in his own words. "He had received "some information from Lancashire, "which showed how the bill would

"operate there. For example, he understood that in Manchester, not "above 750 persons had paid their "rates; in Ashton, 74; at Bury, 42; "at Oldham, 42; at Bolton, 84; at "Blackburn, 78; at Rochdale, 66; at "Salford, 40; and in Warrington, 38. "That was rather an alarming result, "and it would be so fatal that it would "be enough to endanger the present "administration. He hoped that something would be done to remedy it; "that a short session of Parliament "would be called to remedy it. "All he knew of the subject he had "learned only within a few days, and it "was not to be supposed that the great "mass of the people engaged in their "pursuits could have learned it. That "might account for their not having "troubled themselves about it. Now "that they were aware of it, they were "much disappointed. The bill would "positively convert many large towns "into close boroughs. The Tories "would not suffer from it, and he did "not wonder that they opposed any "alteration. The next Parliament, instead of being a reformed Parliament. "would be—he did not say it offensively "—a Tory Parliament, if the evils of "the bill were not remedied. He "thought this matter of great importance, because the people who had "lately obtained the reform itself by "their own exertions, might have recourse to the same means. In fact, "he had heard that the disappointment "was so great, that the people were "again talking of *not paying the taxes*, "and *of running upon the Bank for "gold*. It would have the most disastrous effects, and might even, from "their unpopularity, *destroy the present "administration*. The honourable and "gallant member concluded by moving "an address to his Majesty, that he will "be graciously pleased to prorogue the "present, and convene another short "session of Parliament, to take into "consideration the unexpected disfranchisement produced by certain restrictive clauses of the act for amending the representation of the people in "Parliament."

So that a population of about *three hundred thousand people will have about twelve hundred voters!* I will not waste my time in remarking upon the monstrousness of this. The only question is, *is this statement true, or anything like true?* If it be, there will be confusion in this country, if an election be attempted under the bill as it now stands. I therefore beg that some friend, who is well known to me personally, in each of the above-named towns, will have the goodness to write to me at BOLT-COURT, and tell me *precisely how the case stands in his town*. If there be less than thirty or forty voters to every thousand souls, the thing will be a great deal worse than a farce; and, if the facts be as stated by Colonel Evans, it would be criminal in any man to do any act, or utter any word, which should seem to *give countenance* to so scandalous a piece of imposture. We are, before it is long, to have a return of the number of voters in each place. There are to be lists of them published; so that we shall know to a certainty how many voters each place is to have at the next election; and, of course, we shall then know the numbers in these places. I shall, therefore, *before I go to the North*, see these numbers ascertained; for, never will I do anything, or say anything, from which any one shall be able to infer that I have any expectation, or hope the most distant, that such a mockery of reform can be attended with anything other than mischief.

On the 7th of August, COLONEL EVANS moved the following resolutions, in order to provide a remedy for this apparently unexpected evil.

"Resolved, That in regard to the numbers of the elective constituency, whether of the metropolitan cities and districts, or in the towns generally throughout the kingdom, the expectations contemplated by the legislature, held out by the Government, and entertained by the country, are now found to be entirely erroneous, in so far as relates to the next general election under the act for the reform of Parliament lately passed.

"That in some places there is even a doubt whether there will be any constituency at all to vote at the next election, excepting old corporate freemen; while in many others, instead of the franchise being enlarged, as

was generally stated and believed would be the case, it will actually be diminished and cut down to one-fourth, one-sixth, or to even a still less fractional part of the extent of elective right previously enjoyed by those towns respectively: and that a similar disfranchisement, miscalculation, or delusion, must be admitted as to the newly-created boroughs.

"That this most unlooked-for and dangerous result, as affecting the composition of the next Parliament, is partly attributable to the severe and restrictive operation of certain clauses of said act, especially the 27th, 23d, 44th, and 80th, requiring as a qualification payment of rates or taxes before specified days, and previous to the periods on which these dues are more usually levied; partly to the distress occasioned to the industrious classes by the long-protracted resistance to the measure of reform, and the consequent stagnation of trade; also to omission or inattention, designedly or otherwise, of the rate and tax collectors; and to misunderstandings respecting dates and other matters of a supposed confused, contradictory, or complicated tenor, which there was not time enough between the promulgation of the act and the periods mentioned to clear up sufficiently for general guidance.

"That the same might be obviated in respect to the next election, by substituting in regard to poor-rates, the '25th day of December last;' and with regard to assessed taxes, the '10th day of October last,' in lieu of the words 'sixth day of April last' wherever the latter date occurs in said act in reference to boroughs—thus rendering all voters eligible who had paid by the 20th July last their poor-rates due at Christmas, and their assessed taxes due the 10th of last October.

"And that it is therefore indispensable, in the opinion of this House, that a short remedial bill be introduced during the present session of Parliament to the above or an equal effect, in order to provide some remedy, at least for the present year, against the fatal error and disfranchisement thus discovered to arise in the working of the restrictive clauses referred to in said act."

These resolutions were opposed by the *honest* Lord ALTHORP, who, at the same time, *withdrew his bill* for extending the time for paying rates and taxes from the 20th of July to the 20th of August, after that bill had induced a great many persons to *pawn their goods* in order to pay up their arears of taxes! On this *honest* proceeding all remark would be superfluous when we know that it comes from a Whig Ministry. That is quite enough. The excuse, however, for withdrawing the bill is worthy of remark. He withdrew it, first, "because it would be impossi-" ble for him to pass the bill if op-" posed in the present state of the ses-" sion; and secondly, because he did " not wish to pass the bill, if it was " held to be a breach of faith that the " Reform Bill should not be altered." Admirable pretence! Why did he bring in the bill? Let him answer that. He must have known that it would be opposed. He must have known it would be what he now calls a "breach of faith." He must have known this; and *why*, therefore, did he bring in the bill? As soon as the bill was brought in they wrote to me from Manchester, that it would *add greatly to the number of voters*. Upon which I instantly observed, that it would *add greatly to the amount of the taxes collected*. This is what it did without adding at all to the number of voters; and this, to be sure, was what it was intended to do. Upon this affair Dr. BLACK remarks, that "Ministers, by " connecting the suffrage with the pay-"ment of rates and taxes before a day " certain, have hung *a millstone round* " *their own necks*. It is *a thousand* " *pities* they did not, instead of a quali-" fication of this invidious kind, *take* " *some broad and obvious one*, not cal-" culated to embitter the people, who " find themselves tantalised by the " promise of a qualification of which " they are unable to avail themselves. " Colonel EVANS said, 'he had heard " ' the disappointment was so great, " ' that the people were again talking " ' of *not paying the taxes*, and of *run-*" ' *ning upon the Bank for gold*.' That " would BE ABSURD. But the dis-" franchisement must make the present " Ministers very unpopular, and perhaps " *destroy them*. Mr. HUME observed that " ' if the population of the large towns " ' were disfranchised to the extent of " ' three-fourths or four-fifths, it would " ' be a most serious evil, and would " ' produce nothing else but dissatis-" ' faction.' Lord ALTHORP admitted " that he knew nothing certain of the " matter; but ' not believing in the ex-" ' tent of the disfranchisement, he " ' could not believe the extent of the

"'dissatisfaction.' This is a matter of "too great importance to be left to ac- "cident. We fear Ministers will be "found to have erred egregiously in their "estimate of the alacrity with which "rates and taxes are paid. Lord ALTHORP "said that 'It should be remembered that "'the period fixed by the bill allowed "'three months to be in arrears.' To "his Lordship three months may ap- "pear a long arrear, but this only "proves *how little his Lordship knows "of what passes among the people.* "The brokers could have told him "something on this subject."

Oh, no, Doctor! It is not a "*mill-stone*" round the necks of the Ministers. It is a little bag with a charm in it, which they think will preserve them from the thunder and lightning of reform; as a Mrs. LEIGH, of once great notoriety, thought that a camphor-bag would preserve her from dangers of a very delicate description; and in both cases the charm will, in the end, be attended with much about the same sort of success. Oh, no, Doctor! The present Ministers know better than to look upon the diminution of the number of voters as the means of their *destruction*. On the contrary, they expect destruction from a large number of voters. You seem to imagine that they dread nobody but the Tories: you seem to forget that there are any such persons as Radicals in the world: you seem to think, that all those who are not for the Ministers are Tories: you do not appear to have an idea that *both these factions may be destroyed at once*; and that it is not pleasant to be destroyed in company any more than singly. The *people* and their leaders do not judge in the manner that you do: they view both factions in the same light; and well they may, seeing that both factions act precisely the same part towards them. They see the two factions cordially united in loading them with taxes, and in resisting every endeavour to diminish their burdens. Why, therefore, should they prefer one to the other? They see not the smallest disposition on the part of the present Ministers to make any of those changes that they want to have made, and that are absolutely necessary to their comfortable existence. For this reason they regard them as one united, consolidated faction, which faction they wish to see stripped of all power. If you, Doctor, do not perceive this, the Ministers do; and, therefore, they regard not this diminution of the number of voters as a "*mill-stone.*"

With regard to the effect of any *unpopularity* which this tax-and-rate trick will bring upon them, they care not a straw: their "*opponents,*" as they are ludicrously called, naturally want the emoluments which they are receiving; but those "*opponents*" would much rather that the present men should keep in power than stand the consequences of a real change in the system. To be plain with you, Doctor, my opinion is, that the two factions, while apparently opposed to each other, go cordially hand-in-hand in all these curious proceedings; and that the great object of both is, to make the Reform Bill produce no change whatever in the manner of conducting the affairs of the nation, and particularly with regard to the burdens which the people have to bear.

Whether the Parliament be to be dissolved, or whether it be to be called together again to alter this Reform Bill, I shall probably learn before this *Register* will go to the press; but this I know already; that, if it be dissolved, and *if Colonel* EVANS *be correct*, the next election will very likely produce scenes which will lead to other scenes which are very likely to bring this celebrated system to a close.

16. August.

Since writing the above, the Parliament has met, and the following conversation took place with respect to the number of persons who had qualified for voting. It appears that Colonel EVANS was *misreported*, and that he did not state the numbers as facts, but merely as a supposition of his own. Therefore, that insult will not be offered to the nation to that extent. But the whole of the conversation, as the reader will

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clearly perceive, shows that an attempt cannot be made to execute the bill without producing confusion throughout the country. The Ministers themselves do not understand the meaning of the bill: but, before I go further, let me insert the report of this conversation, which I do from the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper. When I have done that, I shall make some remarks. I request my readers to go through the whole of this *talk* with great care, and to pay particular attention to the parts which I have marked with *italicks*.

"Lord ALTHORP—If this petition "really prays for the repeal of the "whole bill, except the disfranchising "clauses, I think the opinion of the "petitioners ought not to have weight "with us; for, according to that prayer, "Manchester, and all other large towns, "ought again to be left without repre-"sentatives. Now that I am on my "legs, I wish to take an opportunity of "adverting to a statement made by a "gallant Friend of mine (the Member "for Rye) the other day. My gallant "Friend stated, that in Manchester there "would be, under the Reform Bill, as "qualified by the payment of rates and "taxes, only 758 voters; in Blackburn, "78; in Ashton, 75; in Bolton, 84; "in Bury, 42; in Salford, 40; in "Rochdale, 38; and in Warrington, "40. In consequence of that statement "having been made public, a gentle-"man, on whose authority I have every "right to rely, has written to me on "the subject, and he informs me that, "instead of 758, no less than 4,400 "have qualified in the township of "Manchester alone, and that, taking "the whole borough, there are from "7,000 to 8,000 electors qualified to "vote. In Salford, the number who "have qualified is from 1,100 to 1,200. "In Bolton, instead of 84, the number "is upwards of 1,000, not above 10 "out of the 1,000 being disqualified "from non-payment. In Blackburn, "instead of 78, the number is 1,000, "which information I have derived "from a gentleman who has actually "canvassed 800 out of the 1,000: and "in all the other boroughs, with the "exception of Warrington, concerning "which I have received no information, "I understand that in no case is the "number of voters qualified under 700. "(Hear, hear.) I do not, of course, "know on what authority my gallant "Friend made his statement; but it is "quite clear, from the accounts which "I have received, that he must have "been very much deceived.

"Mr. MACAULAY had that morning "had an opportunity of conversing with "a gentleman from Yorkshire, who had "told him that no inconvenience, such "as that described by the gallant officer, "had been felt about Leeds, for that "there the generality of the rates and "taxes had been paid up, and he be-"lieved that the same statement might "be made with respect to all the manu-"facturing towns in Yorkshire. (Hear, "hear.)

"Colonel EVANS was very glad to "hear the statement that had just been "made by the noble Lord; and, in fact, "if the noble Lord had not made that "statement, he (Colonel Evans) should "have risen for the same purpose, be-"cause he himself had received letters "confirming the account just given by "the noble Lord. In the reports that "had been given of his former speech "on this subject, it had been made to "appear as if he had positively stated "that the numbers in these different "towns were such as had been just re-"counted by his noble Friend. But the "fact was, that he had only stated a "suppositious case. He had said, "taking the standard of the parish of "St. James in London, and reckoning "the towns in Lancashire by the same "rule, the effect will be so and so. He "must, however, again repeat his be-"lief that it would be found that "great disfranchisement would prevail "at the time of registration in the me-"tropolitan districts.

"Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—The noble Lord "on a former occasion, stated, that any "scot-and-lot voter who had paid his "rates up to the day of registration "would be entitled to vote. I wish to "ask him whether he meant the rates

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" due to 5th of April, or the rates due to " the day of registration?

" Lord ALTHORP—I really think that " these questions would be more fairly " addressed *to a lawyer than to me*; " but I apprehend that the law formerly " was, that all rates must be paid by " the scot-and-lot voters *up to the day* " *of the election*; and all that is done by " the present bill is to put the day of " registration *vice the day of election.* " (Hear, hear.) Therefore, where a " voter claims under the old law, all " rates must be paid *up to the day of* " *registration*; and this would have " been the case, if we had adopted the " the proposition of giving all scot-and-" lot voters throughout the kingdom " the elective franchise.

" Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—Then I am " able to state that not one elector in the " parish of St. George, Westminster, " will be entitled to vote. (Hear, hear.) " They have paid their rates up to " 25th of March; but if required to pay " them up to the day of registration, " not one will be able to do that; in-" deed, I believe that it is already too " late now to take such a step. I had " an opportunity this morning of as-" certaining that *not one of the* 5,144 " *rate-payers in St. George's has quali-*" *fied according to the opinion just deli-*" *vered by the noble Lord*; while, on " the other hand, 4,180 of them have " paid their rates *up to Lady-day last.* " And now the simple question is— " *Can they vote*?

" Lord ALTHORP—I omitted just " now to state what I have already fre-" quently stated, that *those only are* " *disqualified who refuse to pay when* " *demand is made on them.* That is " the old law of scot-and-lot voting; " and that is equally applicable under " the present act. Besides, if they have " *all paid up to Lady-day*, such as oc-" cupy 10*l.* houses will be *able to vote* " *on that claim.*

" Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—*No, no*?

" Mr. WILKS—The noble Lord does " not appear to be aware that *subsequent* " *rates have been made.*

" Mr. DUNCOMBE—I understand that " only twenty-two out of the whole pa-" rish have paid the *last rate.*

" Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE—When the " collectors of the taxes give in their " accounts to the public treasury, they " are obliged to make affidavit that " they have made the demand on all the " rate-payers; so that it is impossible " that any can escape that way.

" Lord ALTHORP—My right hon. " Friend having so long been a member " for a scot-and-lot borough, I am sur-" prised that he is not aware that pay-" ment of taxes is *not necessary to* " *entitle* a scot-and lot elector to vote.

" Sir G. WARRENDER wished to ask " whether the Government would allow " the register to be postponed? He " understood the Paymaster of the " Forces to have intimated, that *in* all " probability no new election would take " place before December, in order to " admit of the registration being per-" fectly completed. He therefore wished " to ask the noble Lord whether there " was any chance of a general election " before the register was complete?

" Lord ALTHORP—I think that it is " quite impossible for a Minister of the " Crown, consistently with his duty, to " give an answer to that question. " (Hear, hear.) I certainly did state on " a former occasion, that there would " be a great inconvenience in a general " election taking place before the regis-" ter was complete. I am willing to " repeat that statement; but I think " that I should be guilty of a dereliction " of duty, were I to give any pledge as " to the dissolution of Parliament; and " I must, therefore, decline giving any " answer to the hon. Baronet. (Hear, " hear.)

" Mr. HUME had seen *some dozens of* " *letters* addressed to the candidates for " the Marybonne district, offering a " *pledge of voting if they would pay the* " *writers' rates*; and it certainly was " undeniable, that the clause which " pressed most heavily on the new con-" stituency was that which *referred to* " *the payment of rates* by the small " tradesmen, who constituted by far the " greater bulk of the metropolitan elec-" tors; for which reason he was of

" opinion that the bill would never be " thoroughly satisfactory to the country " until it was so far modified as that the " *test of the payment of rates should be* " *removed altogether.*

" Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE—I shall be " exceedingly glad if my noble Friend " will answer the question of the hon. " member for Hertford. It appears " that 4,180 of the rate-payers of St. " George's paid their rates up *to the* " *25th of March.* A *new rate* was made " on the *1st of April*; and as the " act states all rates must be paid up " to the 5th of April, I understand *that* " *it is very doubtful whether all these* " *persons will not be disqualified.*

" Mr. CRIPPS asked whether those " voters in boroughs whose right did " not before depend on the payment " of rates and taxes, *were now to be* " *forced to pay them to be entitled to* " *vote.*

" Lord ALTHORP said that he could " only state *his wish*—what *the legal* " *effect* of the bill might be, *he could not* " *say.* He *wished* certainly that all the " reserved rights should be good on the " day of election, as they would have " been under the old law.

" Mr. WARBURTON said, that the only " way then of settling the question " would be by exposing the candidates " to the expense of coming to that " House. Probably a short session of " the Parliament would be necessary " *to settle the errors of this bill.*

" Sir GEORGE WARRENDER said the " bill would be good for the lawyers— " not for the people.

" The ATTORNEY-GENERAL did *not* " *believe* that there was so great a diffi- " culty as was said. To ascertain the " right of scot-and-lot voters they must " consult *the old laws*, not the *late bill.* " He deprecated asking questions in the " House, the answers to which, whether " correctly given or not, went abroad " and generated much confusion. The " House of Commons *was not the place* " *to answer* legal questions.

" Mr. HUME contended that it was " the business of that House to settle " the question, and make the laws in- " telligible. *Legal men differed on the* " *question*; who then was to settle it? " There were so many difficulties aris- " ing that it was possible there might " not be *enough members* to form *an* " *election committee in the new Par-* " *liament.* He understood that the " right hon. the Secretary for Ireland " (Mr. Stanley), greatly to his credit, " had *summoned all the registering bar-* " *risters to Dublin*, to state their opini- " ons on the new bill, so that a unifor- " mity in their decisions might be ob- " tained. He recommended a similar " proceeding here, and if that were " done, it would be known whether " there would be a necessity to summon " a short session of Parliament before " Christmas or not.

" Mr. D. WHITTLE HARVEY said no " opinion could yet be formed on the " subject of the disfranchisement or en- " franchisement till the returns of those " who had paid rates and taxes were " completed. Yet should it turn out " that the constituency was not so nar- " row as was expected, it would not be " wise to have a new session of this " *condemned Parliament.* He believed " that when the returns were completed, " it would be found that the constitu- " ency was only narrowed in certain " places, and that *in general* the people " would be found to have paid up their " taxes and rates."

If this be not the TOWER OF BABEL, never was there a Tower of BABEL in the world. When questions are put to the *honest* Minister, he says that such questions ought to be put to a *lawyer*, and not to him; and DENMAN says, that such questions ought not to be put in the House, which was *not the place to answer legal questions!* ALTHORP first says, that all rates and taxes must be paid up to *the day of election*, if the voters be old scot-and-lot voters; and that as the day of registration is now to stand in this respect for the day of election, all rates and taxes must be paid, by this description of voters, up to the day of registration; though the act says, that they shall pay up to the 5th of April only. DENMAN confirms this law by his opinion; and then Mr. DUNCOMBE shows that, out of 5,144

voters in St. GEORGE's parish, 4,180 will be disqualified to vote. Then comes Lord ALTHORP again, and says, that the payment of taxes is not necessary to entitle a scot-and-lot voter to vote. Yes, but the payment of rates is necessary; and it is the want of that payment which produces the disqualification. Then comes Mr. HUME, and states, that he has seen "*some dozens of letters* addressed to a candidate of Marybone borough, in which the writers pledge themselves to vote for the said candidate, IF HE WOULD PAY THEIR RATES!". Here is a fine field! *Field*, did I say? Here is a fine farm of unblushing bribery opened! This is *reform*, is it? If this be *reform*, I should be glad to know what corruption is. Mr. HUME added, "that the bill never could be satisfactory to the country, until it was so far modified as *that the test of the payment of rates should be removed altogether.*" Very true; but this is the very thing that the Whigs intended should be a check upon the exercise of the right of voting. Like all other men of the same description, they have fallen into a trap of their own setting: they have been contriving to narrow the right of voting; they have been placing so many checks here and so many checks there; they have been making so many provisions to protect themselves against the effects of public liberty, that, being gifted with very muddy heads, they have made one part of the bill while they have been forgetting another part of it; and, at last, even lawyers entertain three or four distinct opinions upon the same clauses of the bill. Even Lady JULIANA's husband, who is at once privy-councillor and brewer, requests his noble Friend to tell him how this matter stands; for that 4,180 of the rate-payers of St. GEORGE's *paid their rates up to the 25th of March*; that a NEW RATE was made on the *1st of April*; that these rates could not be paid in so short a space of time as *three clear days*; that the act requires that the rates should be paid up *to the 5th of April*; and that therefore he, the little brewer and privy-councillor, wished to know from his noble friend whether *all these persons would be disqualified or not.*

And what answer does the *honest* statesman give? Why, "that he can only state his WISH, *not being able to say*, what might be the legal effect of the bill." After this, Mr. HUME expresses his opinion, that, "there were so many difficulties arising, that it was possible that there might not be in the new Parliament *members enough to form an election committee!*" And yet, I will be bound to say, that more than ten thousand pounds have been paid to *extra lawyers* for their work in the drawing up of this bill. Mr. HUME says, that STANLEY has summoned all the registering barristers of Ireland to meet at DUBLIN, in order that they may come to an agreement and *common consent* as to the meaning of the act! Such a thing was never heard of before in the world. What! were there not DENMAN and HORNE and BROUGHAM to see that this act was clear in point of meaning? Were there not fifteen judges to be consulted on the meaning of it before it was passed? Were there not a body of lawyers, costing more annually than the whole amount of the American government? And were there not the *prime six hundred and fifty-eight* to see that the thing was understandable before they gave their votes for it? To inquire particularly into the provisions for executing this measure was not, while the measure was in progress, my business; but, the moment the bill was passed, and I could find time to sit down to an examination of its provisions, I saw, that *as it now stands*, it never can be attempted to be executed without producing confusion. In these provisions there are several most odious things; there runs through the whole a manifest design to favour everything appertaining to the order of aristocracy; and every thing is resorted to to narrow the power of the people; but, the main obstacle is the *payment of the rates*, which could not possibly have had any thing but disqualification in view. The payment of the rates is an affair between the parish and the rate-payer. It had nothing at

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all to do with this matter; and the introduction of it could have no other object in view than sweeping disqualification; than taking away in reality rights given in appearance. It could have no other object than this. It was something *sought after* to narrow the right of voting, and to keep the representation in the hands of the rich.

However, as malignity is invariably accompanied with more or less of imbecility, so, in this case, the six hundred and fifty-eight, who have recently had the brass to call themselves "*the first assembly of gentlemen in the world*," have so contrived the matter, that they have hatched up a thing at last, which they themselves cannot tell the meaning of. What they will now do, it would be temerity, indeed, to pretend to foresee; but, this I know well, that the bill can never be executed as it now stands; and, I verily believe, that *both factions* are heartily glad of it. When PEEL'S-MILL PEEL talked, a short time back, of a "*short session* in October or November," I said, "*it was a feeler*;" and I observed, that none of the Ministers put a negative upon the suggestion. It was clear to me what was meant then. I then thought, as I now think, that the election of the reformed Parliament would be put off as long as possible. I should not wonder, if it were not to be elected before the middle of the next year. No troop of poultry ever were in greater dread of a hawk or a kite, than these two factions are of a reformed Parliament. But, are they quite sure that there is not something still more to be dreaded than that? If their *money-affair* go to pieces, it will not be a question of *political rights*; but a question of landed estates. Already they begin to hear people talk in a very strange manner about these landed estates. Even Dr. BLACK tells his readers, that it is the *largeness* of the landed estates, which is the principal cause of the profligate waste of the public money in pensions, sinecures, and salaries. This opinion of the Doctor's is false, to be sure; but it is not at all the less dangerous for that; and, let the aristocracy be well assured, that, the longer reform is delayed, the more general this opinion will become. There wants a Parliament which shall prove to the people its sincere regard for them; the confidence which such a Parliament would possess, would enable it, while it was relieving the people from their burdens, to convince them that they would not gain by the destruction of all the orders of society. Therefore, every delay which the aristocracy can procure, and every attempt that it makes hostile to the rights of the people, has a direct tendency to produce its own destruction,

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THE KING'S SPEECH.

About half-past two o'clock this afternoon (16th Aug.) the King entered the House of Lords, and having taken his seat on the throne, his Majesty directed the Usher of the Black Rod to command the attendance of the Commons.

In a few minutes the Speaker, accompanied by several members of the lower House, made their appearance at the bar, when his Majesty proceeded to deliver the following speech:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"The state of the public business now enabling me to release you from a further attendance in Parliament, I cannot take leave of you without expressing the satisfaction with which I have observed your diligence and zeal in the discharge of your duties during a session of extraordinary labour and duration.

"The matters which you have had under your consideration have been of the first importance; and the laws in particular which have been passed for reforming the representation of the people have occupied, as was unavoidable, the greatest portion of your time and attention.

"In recommending this subject to your consideration it was my object, by removing the causes of just complaint, to restore general confidence in the legislature, and to give additional security to the settled institutions of the state. This object will, I trust, be found to have been accomplished.

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"I have still to lament the continuance of disturbances in Ireland, notwithstanding the vigilance and energy displayed by my Government there, in the measures which it has taken to repress them. The laws which have been passed, in conformity with my recommendation at the beginning of the session with respect to the collection of tithes, are well calculated to lay the foundation of a new system, to the completion of which the attention of Parliament, when it again assembles, will of course be directed.

"To this necessary work my best assistance will be given, by enforcing the execution of the laws, and by promoting the prosperity of a country blessed by Divine Providence with so many natural advantages. As conducive to this object, I must express the satisfaction which I have felt at the measures adopted for extending generally to my people in that kingdom the benefits of education.

"I continue to receive the most friendly assurances from all Foreign Powers; and, though I am not enabled to announce to you the final arrangement of the questions which have been so long pending between Holland and Belgium, and though unhappily the contest in Portugal between the Princes of the house of Braganza still continues, I look with confidence, through the intimate union which subsists between me and my allies, to the preservation of general peace.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I thank you for the supplies which you have granted to me, and it is as great satisfaction to me to find, notwithstanding large deductions from the revenue occasioned by the repeal of some taxes which pressed most heavily on my people, that you have been enabled, by the exercise of a well-considered economy in all the departments of the State, to provide for the service of the year, without any addition to the public burdens.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I recommend to you during the recess the most careful attention to the preservation of the public peace, and to the maintenance of the authority of the law in your respective counties. I trust that the advantages enjoyed by all my subjects under our free constitution will be duly appreciated and cherished; that relief, from any real causes of complaint, will be sought only through legitimate channels; that all irregular and illegal proceedings will be discountenanced and resisted; and that the establishment of internal tranquillity and order will prove that the measures which I have sanctioned will not be fruitless in promoting the security of the State and the contentment and welfare of my people."

COUNTY-VOTING.

The following, from a correspondent *in Surrey*, is dated on Wednesday last.

Notice of claim to be given to the overseers, on or before the 20th day of August, in order to be entitled to vote at the next election.

I hereby give you notice, that I claim to be inserted in the list of voters for the ——— division of the county of ———, and that the particulars of my place of abode and qualification are stated below. Dated the —— day of ———, in the year ——. (Christian and surname at full length.) Signed ———.

Place of abode, ———.

Nature of qualification.—Freehold house (or warehouse, stable, land, field, annuity, rent-charge, &c. as the case may be, giving such a description of the property as may serve to identify it.)

Where situate in the parish.—(If the property be not situate in any street, lane, or the like place, then say) ———

Name of the property, ———

or, name of the occupying tenant ———

N. B.—*One shilling to be paid for the registry.*

Printed and sold by G. and W. Russell, Guildford.

I have just heard that the forms of notices, of which the above is a copy, have been put into the hands of many of the persons entitled to vote, round Guildford. These forms are distributed by the overseers themselves, for whom the notice is intended; but I understand that others take a part in distributing, and that they, as well as the overseers, take care, at the same time,

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to present the electioneering card of HOLME SUMNER; and they endeavour to extract promises to vote for him. His card is in the following words: "Col. Holme Sumner, candidate to re-"present the western division of the "county of Surrey, requests the favour "of your vote and interest."

You are aware of the objections which existed to *paying the shilling fine*, namely, that many of those who have the right to vote now had it before, and that the fine is a gross imposition upon all, besides; perhaps, intended for the very purpose of getting rid of sticklers for principle. However, the fear of being tricked by Sumner, in the case of election coming on in Surrey, by some accident (for no one has any idea of a general election) has decided many of the electors to pay the shilling; and they are now going to the overseers in all the parishes, for forms to fill up.

In this parish they have a different form from the above, and a better one, being in less words and more distinct; it is also filled up for the *Western* Division of the County of *Surrey*; it is printed by the same printer, but is a second edition, revised and corrected, of the above, which no doubt emanates from the head-quarters of the tricky and bungling draughtsmen of the bill itself.

This form, with Sumner's card, was carried to a farmer, who told the overseer that he could not "see a word of it." The farmer, though he occupies two farms, *cannot read a word*, which the overseer knew very well, and so explained what he had to do by word of mouth, and which chiefly consisted in paying a shilling and promising to vote for Sumner; but neither of which (perhaps from want of education and knowing better) the farmer would do.

The people in this division of the county are completely alive to keep out this Sumner; they know how they have been managed before, and that it was the voters from London who prevented his election when he stood last. I do not believe that he has the slightest chance of outwitting a new set of constituents, though he is trying it by all the means afforded him by the slippery, double-dealing, and squinting bill. One of these tricks is, *backwardness on the part of the overseers in giving the forms*, except to those whom they know to be disposed, from taste, folly, interest or fear (very few of the first) to vote for them: for there is hardly one man in ten who knows the candidate; but they know his friends well, and judge of him accordingly.

There is no doubt but that Sumner will be beaten hollow by the more considerable land occupiers; people who might be afraid to vote against him or rather his friends, will neglect to pay their fine, so that in a few days they can be tormented no more. There is some doubt here, *when the day is up* for giving in the claim; there is a written notice on the church-door, which has not been read by a fiftieth part of the parish, and has been misunderstood by most that have read it, unless it mean the 30*th* of August. The people who cannot read and write, and are not in *the habit* of writing, are obliged to ask some one who is "a scholar" to fill up their notices, even where they have the printed form; this scholar is necessarily almost always the overseer from whom they receive the form, or some other officious person, and thus they are dependent on these people for their right to vote, and at their mercy when they proceed to the poll, in case there be any technical incorrectness in the notice.

The above are only a few of the difficulties produced by the bill, in those clauses of it manifestly intended to nullify the right given by it in nine cases out of ten; there are many others, too intricate to describe here, even in this quiet, comparatively thinly-inhabited, opulent county, where the electing of a member for Parliament is more a pastime for those who are above the possibility of want, than an affair of immense and immediate importance, as it is, to affect the business and welfare of every individual taking a part in it.

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LETTER OF THE EARL OF RADNOR.

[Which I should have inserted long ago, but it came to Bolt-court in my absence, and was forwarded to me.]

SIR,—I received your letter on the 2nd, on my return from the House of Lords very late on Monday night; and have not been able till now to prepare an answer. In the mean time I perceive that you have published it in the *Morning Chronicle*. I know not whether it has appeared in any other papers; but I must beg you to make this my reply as public as your letter: if any thing is charged for the insertion, I shall be ready to repay you.

You refer to the report of my speech as given in the papers. I did not read the report; and having left town at six on Tuesday morning, I have had no opportunity of referring to it. I do not think I stated—I certainly did not mean to state—that your "petition repre-"sented some part of the people as be-"lieving that the cutting up a human "body might have a tendency to pre-"vent its resurrection." But I did refer to another petition presented to the House some days previously, in which this absurdity was broached, and I added, that there were passages in your petition which seemed to countenance it. I think I did not overstate the inference to be drawn from the following passages: "a bill, which has "the manifest tendency to root from "the minds of men those religious opi-"nions, which make a *distinction be-"tween the future state of human beings, "and that of brutes*;" and again, "if "human bodies can be legally sold and "cut up into pieces without *any "detriment to our faith, our hope, our "religious feeling*." If these passages do not mean what I impute to them, I really know not what they mean. And if you admit, as you seem in your letter to admit, that the state of the soul is not affected; if you admit, as you must admit, that the body cannot be pained, or bodily suffering inflicted; what remains but the injury offered to the feelings of the survivors! and if care is taken that no feelings shall be molested, surely the bill does all that can be done.

You think that I took a wrong view of the subject, if I said, that the bill was more for the benefit of the poor than for that of the rich. I did not say so. I did say, that perhaps immediately it might be more for the benefit of the rich than of the poor; but that ultimately it tended equally to their advantage. This I said, alluding to the promotion of science, of which more hereafter: but I am bound to state, that the next day, in conversation with another peer on the subject, he said, and I admitted, that I had understated the immediate advantage accruing to the poor from the improvement and diffusion of the science of surgery. And this, at least, proves the sincerity of our opinion: for even if you could suppose that this assertion we put forth in public is for the purpose of deceiving the people, you can hardly think us hypocrites enough to hold this language of deception amongst ourselves in private; and you will not doubt my account of the communication.

But in another point of view, if I admit, as I am bound to do, that bodies dissected under the bill will be almost universally those of the poor, let me ask you on the other hand, whether, without the bill, it is not so now? Who are they whose tombs are ransacked and remains turned up? Are they not the poor? If I was to die to-morrow, my body would be deposited in a place much more secure than the house I am sitting in. Is there any probability that my body would be stolen? The body likely to be stolen is that consigned to a church-yard grave. Does not the bill give the poor man a better chance that his body will remain undisturbed than he has now? Again, who are they who are *burked*, as it is called? Are they not the poor? I never heard of a lord, or a rich man, who was burked; but I have heard of a poor Italian boy; and poor young women out of place, and distressed: and an old woman, who was a mendicant; will not the bill afford protection to these against this dis-

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graceful (I mean nationally disgraceful) system? Surely you must admit, that apart from science, the bill gives a protection to the distressed poor when living, and to their bodies when dead, which they are now without.

You state in your petition, that the law has "found the effectual means of "protecting the dead bodies of cattle, sheep, swine and poultry;" and that laws have been passed "for transporting "beyond the seas men having, in the "night-time, and in or near a cover, "the dead body of a hare, pheasant, "or partridge, in their possession," and you infer that the legislature has the power, but not the inclination, to give such protection to the dead bodies of the poor. I am sorry to be obliged to think that this passage is introduced for the purpose of inflammation. Is it true that the severity of the law does effectually protect the live or dead bodies of hares, or sheep, or poultry? are they not often stolen? are not hares, and pheasants, and partridges, destroyed? And has not the legislature lately adopted the course of allowing a comparatively free trade in these articles? I do not admit that there is any fair analogy between the cases; but what there is seems to me to make against you. And do you believe that any enactment of increased severity could prevent the stealing of dead bodies? or could there be any increased punishment inflicted on burkers?

I repeat, what I said in the House, that the bill in its provision makes no distinction whatever between the rich and the poor. A poor man can forbid the dissection of his body as well as the rich, or his widow may, or his child, or his relations. But it may be said that the price offered will be a temptation too strong for a poor distressed family to resist. Without laying much stress on the condition (which, however, has I think considerable weight) that not much attention is due to feelings which are to be overcome by many; it is supposed, and with good ground, that when bodies can be procured without any direct or dangerous violation of the law, the price given for them will fall to such an extent, that this temptation will become next to nothing, and that thus their feelings will not be put to so severe a trial.

Now as to the utility of science: is not the poor man benefited by the progress of surgery? Has he not a direct interest in the diffusion of it? If I were to break my leg, I might if I chose obtain the attendance of the first surgeon in London; but if one of my labourers were to do so, could he? or could it be expected that I should for him? And is it not for his manifest benefit that the practitioners of the neighbouring town or the surgeons of the infirmary should be skilful and experienced? I knew some years ago a Russian nobleman, who had lost his leg when commanding an army of 100,000 men; and I was told that when the accident occurred there was no surgeon with the army with proper instrument to perform the amputation, and that a courier was actually sent from Warsaw to Petersburgh to fetch one. What must have been the miserable condition of the privates of his army after and before? What their sufferings! how numerous the deaths!

But you state in your petition that in your opinion "this horrible profanation "of the tomb is not necessary to the perfection of surgical or medical science," and in your letter you repeat this observation in other words and say, "that this "butcher-like work tends to cherish "ignorance rather than promote science." As to "the profanation of the tomb," the authors of the bill hope to prevent it altogether; but as to "the butcher-like work," that is, dissection, can you really believe this? I have read all that you have published (at least in the *Register*) on this subject, and some very ingenious essays in another paper to the same effect, and with every disposition to be persuaded, I cannot believe it. All the most eminent surgeons tell us the reverse. Is it the case with any other study, or art, or science? Have *you* not acquired, by your constant practice, great increased facility in composition? Can a statuary or a painter delineate the human form

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if seen only in the ordinary dress in which we usually appear? And is it to be supposed that the surgeon, who is called upon, with unshaken nerves and unerring hand, unsparingly to cut the flesh within a hair's breadth of a vital part, could do so without an intimate knowledge of the precise position of the part which to touch might be death? and how could such knowledge be acquired except from personal examination of a variety of bodies? Mr. Alexander, the oculist, is said to perform the operation of couching many hundreds of times in the course of the year, and to succeed, I think, in twenty-nine cases out of thirty. Could this be done if every integument of the eye was not perfectly familiar to him? You have yourself more than once stated the comfort and relief you experience from the invention of an eminent surgeon. The machine you allude to is, I believe, an ingenious mechanical contrivance; but do you suppose that any ingenuity would have been able to apply the principles of mechanics in such a way as to afford the relief you experience, had not the inventor made himself perfectly acquainted with the nature of the accident, the situation of the disorder, the formation of the body, and the texture of the parts? and could this be done without repeated personal examination and minute observation?

You have no taste for surgery: nor have I. But I cannot but think it a merciful dispensation of Providence that there are men, with as kind hearts and benevolent feelings as you or I may have, who have not only no distaste for it, but who are enabled to perform its offices fearlessly and most beneficially for their fellow-creatures. To enable them to do so, without either a breach of the law, or a direct or indirect encouragement to crime, this act is proposed. It is not, I confess, drawn up in the form in which I think it should have been; but it has undergone, I believe, some alterations and amendments since I left town. At all events, however, it professes to check, if not altogether to prevent, some most abominable crimes; and it will, I hope, afford protection to the bodies both of the living and the dead.

There are some other parts of your petition which I should like to have observed upon, but I have trespassed too long on your patience and your sheets. I am,

Your obedient humble servant,

RADNOR.

Longford Castle, July 6, 1832.

P. S. I will not continue this controversy, especially as, by so doing, I might be thought not sufficiently to respect the opinions of my Lord RADNOR; but, regarding the bill as *greatly injurious to the poorer part of the people*, I shall never cease my endeavours to cause *its repeal*.

WM. COBBETT.

OH! OH!

DENMAN AT NOTTINGHAM!

I TAKE the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 16th instant, which gives it as an extract from the *Nottingham Journal*.

"At the NOTTINGHAM REFORM FESTIVAL on Monday, Sir T. DENMAN, the Attorney-General, and Sir R. C. FERGUSON, met the procession. Sir THOMAS was assailed with *groans* and *imprecations* from a number of men who had *banded together* for that purpose. Allusions to the execution of the Nottingham rioters, and the most bitter taunts, were addressed to him; *ropes were exhibited round men's necks*, and from the spirit manifested, it was generally believed that, had not the Attorney-General been well protected, he would have sustained some *personal injury*. When he attempted to address them at the Market-place, he was again received with groans, and cries of '*No Denman*,' '*Bristol him*,' &c. All attempts to procure a hearing were ineffectual. Sir R. FERGUSON was received with cheers."

When I was at SHEFFIELD I was advised not to go to NOTTINGHAM; and if I did, to be sure not to utter a breath against DENMAN; for that, if I did so, I

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should get my brains knocked out. I went to NOTTINGHAM; and there, in the face of a very great audience, laid on upon him in set form. I reserved this part of my address till the close of the evening, when I began thus: "And "now, gentlemen, having so many "reasons to be proud of the reception "which you have given me, and being "uncommonly anxious not to do any-"thing to make the world believe that "I am unworthy of your esteem; and "being above all things anxious to "preserve that esteem, I cannot endure "the thought of going from this fa-"mous town, leaving behind me the "impression that I had not had the cou-"rage, in the face of his friends, to "speak of DENMAN in the manner which "I think he deserves. Amongst the "gentlemen present he is likely to have "many advocates, much more able to "defend than I am to attack. If those "gentlemen choose to undertake the "task, all I have to ask of them is, that "they will first *hear me out;* and, upon "that sole condition, I promise them to "sit here, and hear them to the last "word, and not to attempt to trouble "you with any reply." This was so reasonable; it discovered a disposition so perfectly free from all desire to misrepresent; the proposition was so fair, that it was impossible for any one to object to it without doing DENMAN more harm than good.

Having paused a little, my proposition was received with loud marks of approbation, and with a general cry of "*Go on! go on!*" Thus fairly started. *I did go on.* I took the gentleman up from the time when he was standing counsel to the parish officers of ST. GEORGE'S, *Hanover-square.* I carried him along at a pretty speedy rate, stopping a little while to take a glance at his chivalrous exploits in the case of the poor Queen; and then brought him galloping into the *thick* of the special commissioners; and then we had Farmer BOYS, poor HENRY COOK of MICHELDEVER, and the carpenter at thirty shillings a week. Then we darted away to GOODMAN at BATTLE, and Parson RUSH, of CROWHURST. There we had before us all the goodly company that we had before us in the Court of King's Bench; and, ever and anon, there were thunders of applause, at which the lawyers present (it being *Assize time*) seemed as much shocked as if they had heard the roaring of a West India tornado. "Thus, gen-"tlemen," said I. in conclusion, "have "I discharged my duty towards this "man, or rather towards you: discharge "you *your duty* towards your country "and your children; and, if you do "discharge that duty, this man will "never again have to call himself the "representative of this fine town, which "has so long been celebrated for its "good sense, and its love of liberty and "of justice." Then down I sat, amidst very loud cheers; and, finding that no defender appeared, I got up, made the audience a bow, wished prosperity to the town of Nottingham, and bade them good night.

I have always thought that it was a *scarecrow* that I met at SHEFFIELD. I thought so then; but, scarecrow or scarecrow not, I was resolved to go to NOTTINGHAM; and being there, I was resolved to give my opinion of DENMAN. I am not supposing that I had anything ar all to do in producing the effect which is recorded above. The people of NOTTINGHAM are a most spirited people; and they are as sensible as they are spirited: they had had their eye upon all the movements of their member. They had traced him in all the proceedings with regard to the press in London; and, though he had not then actually brought me to trial; though he had very judiciously put off that trial, still it required a great deal of cunning to get smoothly over that election. Now the case is wholly different; for BRISTOL and NOTTINGHAM have since that time made a figure. It was curiously contrived that the Special Assizes for BRISTOL and NOTTINGHAM should be going both at the same time! *He could not be at both*; and he chose to be at BRISTOL! All this, however, does not appear to have been sufficient: the people of NOTTINGHAM seem to have made up their minds to relinquish the high honour of having him for a representative again. The

men who loaded him with imprecations are said to have been "*banded together*" for that purpose. Banded together! What is meant by that, I wonder? there must have been a pretty large number of these "banded" men to put his body in jeopardy, when, according to account, there were more than a *hundred thousand persons assembled* at NOTTINGHAM. It is said, that 30,000 persons sat down to dinner in the great square, or rather triangle, in the middle of that town. The inhabitants from the neighbouring towns, and from all the villages round about, had, it seems, flocked into the town; so that, if the banded men had been few in number, it is strange how they could have *worked him* in this way. I have no doubt, indeed, that it was settled beforehand what sort of a reception he should have; and why are not the people to settle these matters beforehand? But to suppose that he was thus driven about by a mere handful of men is ridiculous: it must have been by the general consent of this multitude of Nottinghamshire people.

But the benefit which he will receive from this treatment at NOTTINGHAM, by no means, I imagine, had its termination on that spot. The character pronounced of him there *will follow him elsewhere*. I was stricken with a little paragraph which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* a little while ago, the object of which was, gently to puff him into the metropolitan borough of FINSBURY. Ah! said I, bad news from Nottingham. Mr. Serjeant SPANKIE, once a *reporther* to the *Morning Chronicle*, was put forth by Dr. BLACK as his colleague for FINSBURY. FINSBURY was sounded; and the electors shook their heads, talked of the crowds of vendors of cheap publications who are in Coldbath-fields prison; talked of several other things; but, above all things they asked why he did not go to NOTTINGHAM. Will he now return to FINSBURY? If he do, I can assure him, I will take it upon myself to assure him, that he will stand just as good a chance there as he would at NOTTINGHAM itself; and I can assure Mr. Serjeant SPANKIE, that his chance would be just as good as that of his "*learned brother*."

ALEXANDER BARING said, that one of his objections to the Reform Bill was, that by taking away the rotten boroughs there would be no seats into which the Ministers could put the law-officers of the crown. Very likely; but what necessity is there that they should be in any seats at all? The only really good reason would be, that they might be in Parliament, ready with their opinions and their advice, respecting the making of laws; but the answer to this is, that this very man declared, only last night, that the houses of Parliament were unfit places for *the asking of questions relative to matters of law*. Besides, there he has been, for nearly two years, while the Reform Bill was framing and passing; he has uttered volumes of gabbling stuff called speeches in defence of it; there he is now confessedly not daring to pronounce what is the meaning of it; there is the bill, receiving a different construction in every different county and town, and, apparently, not to go into force without another session of Parliament to explain, to alter, to amend it.

What, then, is the utility of such a man being in Parliament? From the nature of his situation he can *represent nobody*, unless he can find somebody who is content that members shall vote as the minister shall please. In short, a seat in Parliament is wholly incompatible with his office; for he must either wholly disregard the preservation of his seat, or he must have an eye to his seat, while acting in his office of Attorney-General. Acting upon these grounds, the wise people of America take care that their law-officers shall never be law-makers at the same time; and they also take care, that no man, from the chief justice of the peace, shall be an *administerer* of the laws and a *maker* of them at the same time. Thus it *was* in England, and thus it must be again before we can enjoy anything worthy of the name of freedom.

It will be amusing to follow DENMAN in his beat, and to see to what bo-

rough he will go next; and to observe what reception he will meet with there. Go whither he will, the NOTTINGHAM news will travel before him. The moment his name is mentioned, the scene at NOTTINGHAM will rush into people's minds, and the exclamation in the mouth of every man will be, "What! "Are we to put up with a fellow that "was driven out of NOTTINGHAM?" However, no matter whither he goes, or what he does: either there will be from fifty to a hundred good men in the reformed Parliament or there will not. In either case he will be harmless.

"FRIENDLY SOCIETIES."

WHEN I was in Sussex the other day, I heard with great pleasure, that great numbers of these societies in that county had been broken up, and that the money had been divided. The following letter upon the subject contains very curious matter; matter very well worthy the attention of all those persons who are weak enough to imagine that they can ever secure any *benefit* by depositing their money in this manner. This letter has been pointed out to me as well worthy of general attention. Such I find it to be, and, therefore, I insert it.

Sir,—As your paper is not confined like some, to the hemisphere of the aristocracy, but is read by all, and as you have uniformly shown yourself the stanch friend of the people, both in regard to their collective and individual rights, I feel less hesitation than I should otherwise do, in addressing you on the subject of the present letter.

The subject is one that directly affects the useful classes; and as I am anxious that all should become acquainted with it, I seek to obtain a place for my remarks in your paper (should you consider them deserving that notice), enjoying, as it does, such an extensive circulation.

Since the passing of the "Friendly Societies" Act of Parliament, Mr. J. T. Pratt, who is the appointed barrister to assist in carrying it into operation, and without whose concurrence societies cannot have their rules enrolled, has introduced a clause into all their rules relative to the disposal of the money belonging to a member at his death; by which clauses members are restricted *to will such money to no other person than a relation.*

This is the clause to which I wish to call the public attention, regarding it, as I do, as illegal, as useless, and most mischievous; illegal, because it is contrary to all existing law; useless, because conferring no advantage to societies; and mischievous, because it is a regulation pregnant with evils of the most dangerous tendency to public freedom; and is an interference on the part of the legislature with private property (for in that light we must regard the property of benefit societies), that ought to be viewed by the people with the most jealous suspicion, and deprecated by them in the most pointed manner, inasmuch if we once permit the legislature to take that control of our property, which we ought unquestionably to possess, from our hands, it can carry its power out farther, and declare that no property shall be willed away but as it directs; and if it choose, instead of granting us even the miserable latitude of only willing it to our relations, it may declare that the Crown shall become the great legatee of the country, leaving our connexions dependent on its generosity for support. Some may be inclined to think that no such dangers are likely to result from it; I would in reply observe, that when once a bad principle comes into operation, there is no foreseeing where it will end; besides, it would be as well to recollect, that the Parliament who so kindly undertook by this act the management of upwards of thirty millions of private property (the amount of capital invested in benefit societies) was that very Parliament which has since been driven, unexpectedly on its part, with public execration from the helm of power, and therefore it is not unreasonable to suppose that something not very good was intended. Again, if it were not meant as a feeler put forth

previous to greater encroachments, why was it inserted? If it mean not mischief, *cui bono*, what good will it confer upon the people? This must be shown, or the clause must be repudiated; for it is the greatest of all absurdities to have restrictions placed over us without any motive for doing so. Thus, the Parliament who passed that act and its advocates, must show this clause to be good, and therefore useful, or they must plead guilty to the extreme of either folly or wickedness, to elicit which is one object of my present letter. My next object relates to the act itself; for having perused it, I am of opinion, as far as a man who is no lawyer can judge of these mysterious compositions, that Mr. Pratt is not justified by the act in inflicting this clause upon benefit societies. I am in hopes of finding that he has taken a wrong view of the law; for we know, from experience, that even judges differ upon the meaning of acts of Parliament; so clear and definite are these precious productions; and Mr. Pratt has heretofore had his decisions respecting this act reversed on other, though minor points. Possibly some of your readers, more acquainted with law Latin than myself, may favour me with a clear exposition of the matter. But, however, whether the act authorises the clause, or Mr. Pratt has put a wrong interpretation on it, I consider the clause to be fraught with the most evil consequences, and that, therefore, it ought to be speedily annulled.

Should the members of any benefit society deem my objections valid, the best way, in my opinion, to obtain the removal of the objectionable clause, will be, in the first place, to try the legality of Mr. Pratt's construction, by submitting an altered rule to a magistrate in the usual manner. If, in the sequel, they find that Mr. Pratt be right, there is still another remedy, that of petitioning a reformed Parliament, to alter and amend the act; or, as there are many other objectionable parts, perhaps it would be a shorter and better plan to pass a new act altogether. There is nothing to deter societies from adopting this proceeding, as it would be attended with very little expense, for as it vitally interests all, all ought to contribute, and if they did, the expense would not equal a penny to each member. Let them remember that they must be united if they expect any advantages to accrue to them from the amending or repeal of this act. Union has brought about political reform—and union only can achieve this. Hoping to see the matter taken up by able and influential hands,

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

T. DOUSBERY.

Crown-court, Golden-square,
June 16, 1832.

KING'S HEALTH.

I HAVE not been much of a *dinnerer* in my life-time; but I have presided at *four*, I think; and one or the other of them, in each of the reigns of the three kings, George the Third, George the Fourth, and William the Fourth. At no one of these dinners would I ever consent to give the *King's health*; not because either of the Kings had offended me; not because I disliked either of them; not on account of any opinion that I entertained of their character and conduct; but because I thought it an act of baseness; because I thought it an act of hypocrisy; especially when it is perfectly notorious that there was, for many years, almost a legal compulsion to perform this act; to yield to which compulsion I deemed it excessively base. For a similar reason I left off going to the theatre in 1803; and I have never gone since. In those days of infamous tyranny and unparalleled baseness, it was the fashion, when that collection of rubbish, called "*God save the King*," was being sung by the poor subservient creatures upon the stage, for everybody to *stand up*, with their hats off; and sometimes the poor creatures were compelled to squall the stupid words three or four times over. For this reason I abandoned that scene of baseness, though JOHN KEMBLE continued, for many, many years, to supply me with a free-admission ticket.

I have now lived to see the day when,

at a public meeting held in London, it has not been *omitted* to give the King's health; but, when the health was given by the chairman, and that chairman a member of Parliament, generally very highly esteemed, the health has been *refused to be drunk*. I have lived to see this; and I shall live to see, I dare say, a great many other things, of which this seems to be one of the natural forerunners. It is curious to observe how injustice works, in the end, its own remedy. Every one knows, that the making of this toast *a matter of course*, was the effect of *fear*. After the French revolutionary war began, *men were afraid not to give and to drink this toast*. They did it to save themselves from ruin: if they did it not, they were marked out for destruction. So that at last it became a thing *of course*; to omit it was taken, of course, as an open avowal of hostility to *kingly government*. See, then, the danger, which at last arises from this; for, now, men will *leave it off*; and the inference to be drawn from their so doing may lead to very important consequences.

The festival in question was, all taken together, a very interesting affair. It is said that upwards of fifteen hundred people sat down to table; and the multitude assembled in and about the house was, I am told, prodigious. The order of the proceedings is said to have been admirable, and to have reflected great honour on the members of the National Political Union. I shall insert an account of these proceedings here, without offering any opinions of my own upon the reasons given for not drinking the King's health. But, as the *Morning Chronicle* has expressed some disapprobation of the conduct of the Union upon this subject, I shall insert its remarks; and shall, perhaps, offer a few observations of my own upon those remarks.

GRAND REFORM FESTIVAL OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

Yesterday being the day appointed *by the Council of this Union* for the celebration of the triumph of reform in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the members of the Union dined together, at the *Eyre-Arms Tavern*, St. John's-wood. The large room, which was decorated with the union flag and other emblems of liberty, was crowded to excess. The two smaller rooms were equally crowded; and a large party, which could not obtain admittance into the house, dined together in the gardens. Upwards of 1500 numbers sat down to table. Mr. Hume presided, and was supported by Sir John M. Doyle, M.P., D. W. Harvey, M.P., Rev. W. Fox, Rev. Dr. Wade, Count Poeiro, Count Czapski, Dr. Schultze, Dr. Sczyrma, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Rutt, Mr. Lawless, Mr. Offor (candidate for the Tower Hamlets), Mr. Detrosier (the Secretary), the members of the Council, and many other eminent reformers. The dinner was most excellent; and after the cloth was withdrawn, accommodation was made in the large room, the verandas, and the gallery, for some hundreds of those who were prevented from dining there, and the business of the day then commenced.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the first toast, characterized the bill of reform, though not going so far as he and many reformers could wish, yet, nevertheless, as a great measure, and likely to lead to a reform still better and more extensive. After a few observations, he concluded by giving "*The Sovereignty of the People.*" (Loud Cheers.) The toast was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm.—Air, "Rule Britannia."

The CHAIRMAN then proposed "THE KING;" but was answered by loud cries of "*No, no!*" from all parts of the room. At least 5-6*ths of the company refused to drink the toast*, and the band striking up "*Rule Britannia*," instead of the customary air, was greeted with *three cheers*.

The CHAIRMAN, in rising to propose the next toast, said, that in this toast, at least, he anticipated no difference of opinion; it was "The greatest happiness to the greatest number." (Cheers.) This sentiment was well known to the public, as having been frequently brought before it by one of the best of men, whom we had but recently lost. This principle had hitherto been but very little respected by Government; but he hoped we might shortly look forward to the time when every Government that existed, or that should be established, should have for its object the happiness of those over whom it was called to rule. Unless the attainment of this end were to be promoted by the Reform Bill, he for one should have considered it utterly unworthy of the trouble and labour which he and thousands of others had bestowed upon its advocacy. He, however, did consider, that by accomplishing that measure, they had made a rapid stride towards the consummation of this all-important principle. The terms of Whig and Tory would soon, he trusted, be altogether forgotten, and the House of Commons filled by men having the interests of the people at heart, and seeking to promote those interests by measures founded on enlarged and comprehensive views, instead of those sinister and selfish objects which distinguished the legis-

lation of the faction, whom we had at length succeeded in overthrowing. The best means of accomplishing this would be to return no man to Parliament who would not distinctly pledge himself to promote at all times the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and every man who acted in opposition to this principle was not only unqualified to be a statesman, but was a traitor to his country. (Loud cheers.) He proposed to them this toast, and hoped they would drink it with that enthusiasm which its paramount importance required. (Applause). Drunk with three times three.

Air—'Haste to the Wedding.'

The CHAIRMAN then drew the attention of the company to Mr. Detrosier, the Secretary of the Union, who would propose the next toast.

Mr. DETROSIER, who appeared to be labouring under indisposition and considerable excitement, was received with loud cheers: Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, if, on the present occasion, I am unable to do that justice to this toast which my feelings and sentiments dictate, you must attribute it to my state of health, which is at present suffering from a recent fit of sickness. If I fail, therefore, in this, it will not be because my heart, as one of those that wish well to mankind, is not in the right place. (Cheers.) Union—for it is "The Unions" which I have to propose to you (great and continued applause)—Union is the basis of society. It is that to which man owes his civil and political power; and Union, directed by knowledge—when knowledge shall have become more general—will become omnipotent to good in all nations of the earth. (Hear, hear.) Government itself is but a Political Union, with all the strength of the country concentrated into one focus, in order to effect that for the people which their individual efforts are not equal to. If I were to allow my feelings to get the better of my judgment, I would say much on this principle of Union amongst the people: but I will refrain. It was not (said Mr. D.) many years since the principle of Union that existed amongst the people was widely different from that which at present prevails. The Union which then existed might be summed up in the word nationality, by which men were led to believe that, to cheat other nations, was the surest way of advancing their own interests; and when, instead of seeking to elevate themselves, their only care was to depress their neighbours. (Hear.) Those days of ignorance were now passed away. (Cheers.) It was no longer in the power of the factious few to appeal to the people of England, to her peasantry, to her artisans, to become parties to a crusade against the liberties of Continental Europe. The people would no longer lend themselves to the establishment of tyranny in foreign countries. (Cheers.) It was but a few years since the occurrences of the memorable massacre of Manchester: the circumstances connected with that event showed how far a spirit of union had gone abroad amongst the people, and how far a much worse spirit prevailed amongst their then rulers. They feared the progress of this popular spirit so opposed to all their maxims of policy, and they did their utmost to put it down, at whatever expense, wherever it presented itself to view. Since that time even the face of the times had materially changed. Men learned from experience, and the evils which they suffered taught them the means by which alone they could hope to extricate themselves. The pressure of the burdens imposed on account of, and the various other consequences of that war, for which men formerly threw up their caps, had made their sons reflect, and effected a total revolution in their opinions and their character; and they were now as different from those who shouted at the murder of Frenchmen—aye, as widely different as were the poles asunder. (Hear, hear.) To what were these changes attributable? First of all, to the operation of the evils resulting from previous misgovernment; and, secondly, from the increase of knowledge amongst the people—and, behold, Union was now a word which all the people understood and reduced to practice. Ireland was the first great modern exemplar of what a united people could effect. (Cheers.) At a period when Ireland with one voice demanded Catholic emancipation, a mighty military Captain, whose greatest pleasure it seemed ever to be to crush the budding hopes of the liberties of mankind, declared that Catholic emancipation should not be granted. Scarcely, however, had a few short months elapsed, when the spirit of the people of Ireland, embodied in the Catholic Association, compelled him to bow beneath its power, and concede that which he had at first declared no circumstances should ever prevail upon him to concede. The example was not lost upon this country; the spirit of union arose in England, and daily increased in strength. The progress of events soon put its power to the test. The same military chieftain who had made that memorable declaration against Catholic emancipation said that reform—that reform for which the voice of the nation was raised—that for which the misery of our domestic hearths was pleading—that for which every lover of his species called—was not needed, and should not be granted. What was the consequence? He whose military tactics had so often led him on to victory was doomed, as a politician, to be defeated, even by the very men whom he despised. He fell—fell at the altar of public opinion, a second time its victim—and was obliged to relinquish a post which the united voice of the empire declared him unfit to hold. He had insulted his country, and his country had doomed him to contempt. Unlike the great of old, his fall was not a great fall: it was indeed pitied by the few, but it was accompanied by the acclamations of millions. Upon that followed the introduction of the

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Reform Bill by Lord John Russell, which exceeded the hopes and expectations of the people, inasmuch as the people had not given the Whigs credit for such liberality. After referring to the progress of the bill through the Commons, and the vexatious opposition it there met with, he proceeded to say that the bill was ultimately carried up to a House (as it was called) of Lords—(laughter)—to which custom had given a title that, in his mind, they had not the slightest claim to—a claim to superior wisdom—a House, the very existence of which was an insult to common sense—(loud cheers)—a House whose existence was a libel to the understanding of man—(cheers)—its existence being based on the assumption of hereditary wisdom, than which nothing could be more absurd. But a day when hereditary wisdom should be acknowledged by mankind was fast receding from our view. The light of truth was shining forth upon the world, and men would soon perceive that no man could be born with wisdom superior to his fellow-man, merely because his father was a lord. (Cheers.) After rendering praise to the King for his conduct in dissolving his Parliament and appealing to his people, and briefly touching on the excitement of the elections, and the successful exertions of the people to return a majority of members pledged to the bill, he came to the event which compelled the Ministers to demand from the King additional powers, with the alternative of their resignation in case of a refusal. He described this period as the most awful crisis that had ever taken place in this country, and drew a graphic picture of the agitation which everywhere prevailed under the determined spirit of union and resistance which had manifested itself in London, Birmingham, Manchester, and to the remotest parts of the empire. After condemning his Majesty's application to Lord Lyndhurst as a gross insult to a people who prized honour, who valued honour and morality—But what, said he, must we think of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington at this juncture? The Duke of Wellington was again ready to take office. It indeed had been said, that Majesty did endeavour to save itself from the imputation of a breach of faith, by stipulating with the Duke that he should carry, if not the whole, the greater part of the bill. And thus the Duke of Wellington, in spite of his repeated declarations, was, like a dog, ready and willing to come a second time to his vomit. (Loud Cheers.) But, in the interim, a power had arisen of which the Duke of Wellington and his party had no conception. The people—the majesty of the people—the people in the majesty of knowledge and of numbers, declared they would not accept a Wellington administration. The people demanded a restoration of Earl Grey. The House of Commons responded to their appeal, and addressed a vigorous remonstrance to the Throne. The Unions increased daily in strength. He had the agreeable task for many days of signing 800, 1,000, 1,100, 1,200 1,500 tickets per day; and even with the assistance he obtained he was scarcely able to meet the demand of the members who thronged for admission. (Cheers.) The Unions were the standards of the country's safety, and around them all the people rallied. (Cheers.) The voice of the people became as the voice of one man—the people spoke their will and it was done. (Loud Cheers.) Earl Grey was carried back in triumph upon the shoulders of the people, and the bill of reform was the reward of their labour. Such were the glorious results of union among his countrymen, and such he trusted would be its result in every nation of the earth. He deprecated in the strongest language the absurdity and folly of those who raised the cuckoo note of Toryism for the dissolution of the Unions. He then took a review of the progress of freedom upon the continent, and the conspiracy now going on between the allied despots to crush it in Italy, in Germany, and wherever it should raise its head. The disgraceful conduct of the King of Hanover (groans) was such as to raise a just suspicion, that he who was so hostile to liberty in Germany could be no sincere friend to liberty in England. He abhorred war and warriors, but he thought there were some circumstances under which peace became a crime. This observation was applicable to the state of Germany and Poland at the present time. Were he a German or a Pole, he should exclaim in the words of the poet—

" Plant, plant the tree, fair freedom's tree,
'Midst dangers, wounds, and slaughter,
The patriot's breast its soil should be,
And tyrants' blood its water." (Cheers.)

He could only, in conclusion, point out to those foreigners who were then present, the result of union here, and urged them to adopt similar means for the purpose of working out their own freedom. And, as Godwin observed years ago, the voice of union became omnipotent to effect all that could be desired by the friends of humanity—and it would be ultimately victorious, though not a sword should be drawn or a finger raised for the purpose of violence from one end of the continent to the other. (Loud applause.)

The toast was then drunk amidst tremendous cheering, and the National Patriotic Hymn, composed for the occasion by Mr. Lloyd, a member of the Union, was sung by Mr. Benedict, the whole company joining in the chorus.

Mr. RUTT proposed "The Liberty of the Press." He was one of the oldest—probably the oldest reformer present. It was nearly half a century since he first stood upon the table at a political meeting, in company with Major Cartwright. After passing a high eulogium upon the character of that eminent reformer, he observed that the celebrated principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and which as it were had become associated with the name of Bentham, was acknowledged by him in one of his early works to be derived from no less a source than

Dr. Priestley. The speaker commented in rather strong language upon the atrocious edicts against the liberty of the press lately promulgated in Germany. George III., as elector of Hanover, sent forward, in 1794, one of the most infamous restrictions of the press ever devised by monarch or submitted to by people; and it might be said of our present King as was said in the old Latin saying—that he followed his father with equal steps. After a few other observations, the venerable gentleman concluded by quoting the celebrated signal of the victorious Nelson, which he begged to state he used in a far other and nobler application than in reference to battle, either by sea or land, "England expects every man to do his duty."

"The liberty of the press" was then drunk amidst great enthusiasm—Air, 'Britons, strike home.'

Rev. Mr. Fox gave the next toast, "Civil and religious liberty all over the world." They were properly combined, for religious liberty was a civil right, and civil liberty was a religious right. The two were inseparable. The Rev. gentleman proceeded to expatiate upon these topics in a most eloquent and much-applauded speech, which we regret our limits will not enable us to give. He commented on the absurdity of those who called upon the Unions to dissolve, at the very moment when they had given such a proof of their utility, and when they had so much more to accomplish. It was true that we had got the Reform Bill, and we rejoiced over it; but what was it? It was but a step or two in advance, and we were called upon, not to desist in our labour, but to go forward, even with more energy, to complete the work which had only been just commenced. It would be wrong to hold the language of complete congratulation; on the contrary, they had no brilliant phantasmagoria to exhibit. They could not point to this or that, as the effects of the bill; but theirs was rather like the puppet-show of George Alexander Stevens, who said, "Now you shall see Adam and Eve a-going to be created." (Laughter and cheers.) The rev. gentleman concluded, by expressing his opinion in favour of an extension of suffrage, and calling upon the country to support the cause of civil and religious liberty, at all times, here and all the world over.

The toast was then drunk with three times three.

Mr. MURPHY proposed the next toast, "The patriots of Ireland." He dwelt, at great length, on the injustice exhibited in the government of that country, and denounced tithes as an imposition that ought to be entirely abolished. He could not but advert to the fact, that whilst we were expressing so much indignation at the attacks upon the liberty of the press in other countries, numbers of those who were endeavouring to uphold it in this country, were languishing in our prisons, at the command of a Whig government. It was a fact that strikingly illustrated the change that had taken place in the character of the times, that Mr. Perry, the able and intelligent writer of the *Argus*, was imprisoned in Newgate, for declaring that the members of the House of Commons were not the representatives of the people; whilst his descendants were rejoicing at the passing of a bill, the preamble of which contained the very same declaration.

The toast was drunk with three times three.

Air—'St. Patrick's day.'

Mr. MAHON gave "Lord Ebrington and the patriotic majority."

The next toast was "Poland." (Great cheering.)

Dr. SCZYRMA and Count CZAPSKI, two Polish exiles, returned thanks.

Sir JOHN M. DOYLE, M.P. gave the next toast, "The rising spirit of liberty in Germany, Italy, and Portugal." He contended that Portugal had great claims upon the sympathy and assistance of Englishmen, because they, or rather their late governors, were mainly instrumental in the establishment of constitutional freedom in that country. The orders of the British army and fleet, when Don Miguel arrived as the regent of his brother, and under the obligation of a most solemn oath, to observe the constitution which his brother, to his praise, had voluntarily granted, were perfect neutrality in the internal affairs of Portugal. That order no one could blame; but they went on to direct that, in case of an attack upon the royal family, our forces should interfere for their protection. So that when Miguel, by his treacherous usurpation and his tyrannical attempts to subvert the constitution, became the object of the most justifiable opposition, the influence of the British power was, under this order, made use of to screen him from the consequences of his own conduct, and thus effectually to enable him to triumph over the liberties of Portugal. He wished this transaction to be more publicly known than it had been hitherto, because it placed in the strongest point of view the claims of Portuguese constitutionalists, not merely to our passive sympathy, but to our active support. (Cheers.)

Dr. ELWOOD spoke at some length on the subject of Germany, and contended that England was deeply interested in maintaining the liberties of the Continent against the combination of the despots, in order to the security of our own institutions.

Dr. SCHULTZE briefly returned thanks on behalf of his German countrymen.

The CHAIRMAN begged to propose a toast, which, although not in the lists of the stewards, would, he hoped, meet with general approbation—"The French Nation, and the glorious three days of July." (Loud cheers.) One of the heroes of that glorious battle would return thanks on behalf of his countrymen.

The toast was drunk with great applause.

Mons. DE SAINTERVILLE, who was received with much cheering, addressed the company

in French. He hoped they would permit him, on behalf of the soldiers of the barricades of July, to express his thanks for the honour which had just been conferred upon himself and his comrades, and more especially for the very flattering manner in which the toast had been received. He felt himself bound more so to return thanks to their respectable president, who, in his own eloquent language, had taken such flattering and obliging notice of the three days of July. Glorious, as he was pleased to call them—glorious they were, without doubt—glorious in reference to the cause in which they were connected, and for the success with which they were crowned. (Cheers.) He then adverted, in feeling language, to the unfortunate condition of Poland. Like ourselves, Frenchmen regarded the Poles as their brothers. All who suffer in the cause of the people were in fact their brethren. Englishmen and Frenchmen had now the pleasure of fighting the battles of freedom side by side. In Portugal, at this moment, his countrymen would be found in the same ranks with ours, assisting in the endeavours to extirpate a ferocious tyrant, and to relieve that country from the domination of a monster, who, whilst committing the greatest cruelties, yet claimed to be king by the grace of God. (Cheers.) He expressed the utmost indignation at the brutal despotism of the diet of Frankfort. Who could patiently submit that a country so intelligent as Germany—the country of Goethe and of Schiller—should be deprived of the light of knowledge? Who could submit that a country that had given birth to the press should be deprived of the free exercise of that wondrous invention? He begged once more to thank them for the kindness with which they had heard him. (Applause.)

One or two other toasts were then given, "The health of the chairman" was proposed, and the dinner company separated.

Bands of music were provided, and a ball was subsequently given to the female friends and relatives of the members. Mr. Lloyd conducted the musical department, and the whole arrangements of the day were such as to call forth from the chairman and the company the most flattering compliments to the stewards and the council.

CHRONICLE'S REMARKS.

WE *regret* to perceive, in our yesterday's report of the reform festival of the National Political Union, that "when the chairman (Mr. Hume) proposed '*The King*,' he was answered by loud cries of '*No, no*,' *from all parts of the room*. At least five-sixths of the company refused to drink the toast, and the band striking up '*Rule Britannia*,' instead of the customary air, was greeted with three cheers." We say *we regret* this; because, speaking *conscientiously*, we do not think his Majesty merits such treatment. We think we *can guess* the cause of this display of feeling. We have no doubt that the wounds caused by the resignation of Earl Grey's ministry have been re-opened, when hardly well healed, by the signature of his Majesty, as *King of Hanover, to the accursed decree of the Diet of Frankfort*. We detest the decree as much as any member of the Political Union can do; but some allowance ought to be made for the circumstances in which the King is placed with regard to Hanover. In fact, we do not believe that his Majesty *knew anything at all of the matter*, till his attention was drawn to the subject by the sensation produced in this country. The people of England do not go along with the Political Union in this matter. The people of England must know that they owe much to his Majesty for his support of reform. They know what has taken place under the countenance of his Majesty; but they cannot know what might have taken place, if his Majesty had not made it a condition with the Duke of Wellington to give as large a measure of reform as that of Earl Grey. We, for our part, should have been sorry to see an attempt made to try what could be done in this country to carry a measure against the determination of the King, and the resources at his command. The report states that Mr. Detrosier, "after condemning his Majesty's application to Lord Lyndhurst as a gross insult to a people who prized honour, who valued honour and morality, exclaimed, But what must we think of the Duke of Wellington at this juncture? The Duke of Wellington was again ready to take office. It, indeed, had been said that Majesty did endeavour to save itself from the imputation of a breach of faith, by stipulating with the Duke, that he should carry, if not the whole, the greater part of the bill." The Duke of Wellington *is fair game*. But why must such *a hard measure be dealt out to the King*, to *whom we are indebted* for the proud distinction of obtaining without bloodshed and domestic confusion one of the greatest revolutions ever obtained by a nation? Let not reformers so soon forget what they owe to our *Monarch*. Allowance ought to be made for the very critical circumstances in which he was placed, when he hesitated to give a power to create Peers, while, on the other hand, justice should be done to the great serivce we obtained from his name and countenance. It certainly does seem singular, that *the very best King* of the Hanover family should be *the first to whom a slight was ever put at a public meeting*.

The present king is always the best; so that here the Doctor gives us nothing new. Why the Doctor should have any guessing about the cause of not drinking the King's health, is rather surprising, seeing that the causes (for there were two of them) were so fully stated by Mr. DETROSIER. As to the

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King signing the decree of the Diet at FRANKFORT, *without knowing any thing at all of the matter*, I dare not give my assent to that opinion; because that would be to say that a King is no more than a log of wood. That is impossible, unless we suppose the King not to have any mind at all; or, unless we regard him as a duplicate personage, being half Hanoverian and half English, the latter having a mind and the former having none. The truth is, that the despots had, when they framed their decree, England in their eye as much as they had Germany; and the decree was passed with a view to counteract the spread of the principles of the English reform: it was in fact a declaration against the English Reform Bill; and, if the reformed Parliament do its duty towards the people, it will grant not one single penny for the purpose of keeping up the diplomatic intercourse with any one of those who signed that decree.

The Doctor thinks, "*that* WELLINGTON *was fair game.*" He might be lashed for having kissed the King's hand; but the King was to be applauded for having held him out the hand to kiss. No, no, Doctor! Better not blame WELLINGTON for that affair. Better say nothing about the conduct of either; or, if you will insist upon it, that WELLINGTON is "*fair game,*" you must suffer the King to take the consequences.

BIRMINGHAM WORKMEN.

THE following address or declaration which was agreed to at Birmingham the other day, and which has doubtless been presented to LORD GREY, is a very eloquent but still very true statement of the case of all the working people in England. I recommend it to the best attention of my readers; but I shall think it necessary to add some remarks upon it.

On the motion of Mr. T. Salt, seconded by Mr. M. P. Haynes,

"That the following declaration be recommended to the workmen of the town of Birmingham, and that such of them as approve its contents, be invited to sign it.

"*To the Right Hon. Earl Grey.*

"We, the undersigned workmen of "the town of Birmingham, on behalf "of ourselves and of our fellow-coun- "trymen of the industrious classes gene- "rally, think it our duty to claim from "your lordship the redress of our nu- "merous wrongs and grievances.

"We appeal to your lordship as the "head of his Majesty's Government, "and we make known to your lordship "our hopes, our rights, and the long "history of our wrongs.

"We represent to your lordship, that "we are men of toil, that we produce "by our labour all the necessaries and "luxuries with which this country "abounds, yet are contented, ourselves, "with the bare means of existence. We "are anxious only to preserve our hum- "ble homes, and to supply the humble "wants of our families.

"We know that no right of property "exists till the labourer is fed out of the "produce of his labour. Yet in Eng- "land the labourer is not fed. By his "toil the harvest is sown and gathered, "by his toil (under the blessings of God) "the land is filled with abundance; "yet, in the midst of this abundance he "starves. The wrongs of the labourers "of England are unmeasured and un- "speakable; famine and despair in Ire- "land, privation of every kind in Eng- "land, exhibit one perpetual sacrifice "of human happiness and of human life. "Want and care, more fatal than pes- "tilence and war, visit our homes. The "wasted strength and the broken heart "—the workhouse and the grave—such "is the fate of the English labourer.

"For many years we suffered patient- "ly, in the hope that our sufferings "would be relieved. We pursued our "humble occupations, trusting that the "legislature would not fail to protect "us. The legislature gave us no pro- "tection. Under the dominion of the "loanmonger and the boroughmonger, "of fraud and of tyranny, our wrongs and "grievances multiplied until our very

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"existence became endangered. We "then thought it our duty to inquire "into the laws which oppress us.

"We first observed that our means of "existence depended on our being able "to exchange our labour for money, "and to exchange the money thus ob- "tained for bread. We found that laws "had been passed to make money "scarce and dear, and other laws to "make bread scarce and dear. The "source of our sufferings became in- "stantly apparent to us—we plainly "saw that when money was scarce, we "could not readily exchange our labour "for money; and that when money was "dear, we must give a great deal of la- "bour to obtain a little money; when "with this money, so hardly earned, we "had to buy dear bread, the sum of our "misery seemed complete. But we "searched further, and we found that "we were burdened with a large debt, "called the National Debt—that this "debt was contracted in paper money, "the lenders having passed a law de- "claratory that their *paper money was* "*as valuable as gold money*. The lend- "ing ceased. The repayment began. "The lenders, through the medium of "their agents and tools, then passed a "law to destroy paper money. They "then declared that *paper was not as* "*valuable as gold*, and insisted on being "paid in gold the vast amount lent in "paper. The gold was *never advanced* "to the nation, it *never existed* in the "nation, yet for nearly fifteen years, "these cruel and sordid men have per- "sisted in the vain and criminal at- "tempt, to wring their fraudulent "claim out of the sweat, the tears, and "the blood of the English labourer. "We have represented to your lordship "our sufferings and the atrocious frauds "of which we have been the victims. "The loanmongers and the borough- "mongers have inflicted, with unrelent- "ing cruelty, torture and death on the "English labourer. The nation ap- "pealed, in vain, for mercy, to these "ruthless despots. Their petitions were "treated with contemptuous neglect, "and they were taught, by long and "fatal experience, that it was useless "to expect that justice would be done "them until they had recovered those "constitutional rights of which they "have been deprived.

"The industrious classes throughout "the British empire, *united as one man*, "to insist that their right to be really "represented in the Commons' House "of Parliament should be *restored*;— "by the patriotism, the wisdom, "the devotion of the British people, "your Lordship has been enabled to "succeed in your great and glorious "task of carrying the Reform Bill into "a law. The only real value of the "Reform Bill to the people of England "is, to ensure that their manifold and "heaven-crying wrongs shall be RE- "DRESSED. We appeal to your Lord- "ship, in the hope that your Lordship "will at once allay the agitation of the "public mind, by assuring the people "that these enormous frauds shall be "no longer suffered to exist under your "Lordship's administration.

"We feel it our duty to state, that the "sufferings of the industrious classes, "which have long been progressively "increasing, have latterly so rapidly "increased in severity, that instant "measures of relief are rendered abso- "lutely necessary.

"There is a point in human suffering "beyond which human endurance can- "not be enforced; and we implore your "Lordship, ere yet too late, by adopt- "ing a just and decisive policy, to avert "that common ruin in which the whole "fabric may be involved by the wild "despair of a people goaded to madness "by long-continued oppression and dis- "regarded sufferings.

"We respectfully submit to your "Lordship, that in our humble opinion "the three following measures are in- "dispensably necessary *to the ends of* "*justice*, and to restore the happiness "and contentment of the country:—

"FIRST.—*The abolition of the pre-* "*sent Money Laws, which beat down* "*the price of labour.*

"SECOND.—*The abolition of the Corn* "*Laws, which lift up the price of food.*

"THIRD.—*The abolition of the Malt*

" *Tax, and of all other taxes which press* " *upon the working classes.*

" *On the motion of* GEORGE HORTON, " *seconded by Mr.* D. B. SMITH,

" That Mr. Salt, Mr. Haynes, Mr. " Edmonds, and Mr. Boultbee, do form " a deputation for the purpose of deli- " vering it to Lord Grey, and of sup- " porting its contents."

Every thing that comes from BIRMINGHAM exhibits both talent and knowledge; but it all comes touched with the *paper-money madness.* This declaration, throughout the body of it, is excellent: its description of the fraud practised by the paper-money crew is very good, and perfectly true; but when we come to the *remedy*, up peeps the madness again. There was a gentleman, some years ago, whose relations took out a statute of lunacy against him, and of course wanted to take his estate out of his management. The main ground of their charge was, that he insisted upon it, that he was Jesus Christ come to judge the world. The Lord Chancellor found him to be so rational, so clever, so correct in his usual views and opinions, that he felt great reluctance in consigning him to a madhouse. He desired that the gentleman should go home with him, that he might converse with him. There he questioned him upon the nature, extent, value and condition of the estate. He found all his answers to be so perfectly rational; found that his estate was so well managed, that he disposed of the revenue in so judicious a manner, and lived in a way so perfectly respectable and happy, that it appeared to be incredible that the man could have anything of madness in his mind. The Lord Chancellor, very much interested in the well-being of a person who appeared to have so many titles to his regard, and whose manners were so amiable, said, taking him by the hand, at the end of a long conversation, "Come, now, Sir, why " give these people such a handle " against you by pretending that you " are Jesus Christ?" Ah! There he touched *the chord*! The gentleman tched his hand away from the Lord Chancellor's; rose suddenly from his seat, clenched his two fists; and, in a foaming rage, said, " As to *other* mat- " ters I am as patient as any man; but " he who disputes that I am the son of " God, I would tear him limb from " limb!" JOHN LORD ELDON (I think it was he) would naturally like to keep his limbs joined on to one another for some time longer, and, therefore, he dropped his exhortations, and was, of course, compelled to conclude that the man was mad.

Much about such is the character of the BIRMINGHAM madness. The *working men* of BIRMINGHAM signed the paper, I dare say, in great numbers. They saw it in a true statement of the hardships which they had to endure, and have to endure; they did not perceive that the first remedy which they proposed, would cause them to be laughed at by the far greater part of the people. In the body of their declaration, they very justly complain of the injury which they have received from the paper-money fraud; and yet they pray for a renewal of that fraud. What else do they mean by " an abolition of " the present money-laws, which *beat* " *down the price of labour*?" Why, they want an abundant issue of paper-money, which would raise the price of labour, they appearing to forget that it would raise the price of wheat and meat and wool, as well as of iron and steel and brass, and of the labour in working them up. But, what money-laws do they want? Why laws that shall abolish all money, properly so called, and substitute a fiction in its stead: laws that could give working people no relief at any rate; for, in whatever degree it would raise the price of their labour it would raise the price of the necessaries of life. In the other two resolutions there is sense: the fit goes off; but, it is very curious, that they want the corn-laws repealed, because they *lift up the price of food*, at the same time that they want issues of paper-money which must lift up the price still more. If, indeed, they who say that the gold was never advanced to the nation, had pro-

posed *to pay the pretended debt in paper* while the money of the country was left as it is, there would have been something rational in the proposition; but their proposition is, to renew the fraud of paper-money, to cause a breach of contracts perfectly enormous, to plunge the affairs of all men into utter confusion, in order to take in an indirect manner a part of what is now unjustly paid to the fundholders and other receivers of taxes. It is quite astonishing that men of so much knowledge and so much sense do not perceive that, however great and however laudable their efforts, they must all fail as long as they are tainted with this manifest hankering after issues of paper-money. For my own part, however, I should have very little objection to see the assignats issue at once. The system *might be* destroyed in that way quicker than in any other way. What I object to is, the villanous thought of our again submitting quietly to the base and fraudulent system of paper-money. In this present case the thing to be lamented is, that this proposition totally destroys the effect of a most excellent declaration.

NEW AND DECIDED.

Church-Rates abolished at Birmingham.

BIRMINGHAM VESTRY MEETING.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

On Monday last a vestry meeting was held in St. Martin's Church, for the purpose of passing the late churchwardens' accounts, receiving the estimates for the current year, and granting the present church and chapelwardens a levy. The church was unusually crowded.

The Rev. the RECTOR, in opening the business of the day, said it would be improper in him to take up the time of the meeting with many preliminary observations; while, at the same time, he should feel that he neglected his duty if he did not direct their attention to one or two points about to come under their consideration. He could not but express his hope that, as the churchwardens during the last year had gone to no unnecessary expenses, and now made no extravagant demands, the meeting would cheerfully grant the rate they now applied for. (Loud cries of "No.") They ought to bear in mind that the church was open to all parties, and was instituted expressly for the advantage of those who were unable to procure religious instruction for themselves. The rev. Gentleman, after addressing a few observations to the same effect, amidst continued interruptions, sat down.

Mr. W. WESTON immediately rose, and was received with loud hisses. As soon as order was restored, he commenced by observing, that he had thought the rate-payers were extremely anxious that the churchwardens' accounts should be fairly laid before the public; indeed he had been called upon, in print, to state them fully and fairly. He now came forward for that purpose, but is was impossible he could perform the duty then imposed upon him, either to his own satisfaction or the satisfaction of the meeting, if he was subjected to the noisy interruptions with which he was threatened. (Hear, hear) When he had concluded his statement they might make what observations they pleased; but he claimed a fair and impartial hearing. After his appointment to the office of churchwarden, and the vestry meeting had granted him a rate, he proceeded to make a number of collecting-books from the grand levy-book at the workhouse. He then found that the fourpenny rate which they had granted him was, in fact, no more than a twopenny rate upon the rental of the parish. The amount of the assessment was 2,376*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*; the amount collected in church-rates, 1,258*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.*; and the amount expended by the churchwardens, 1,628*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* At the time he entered upon office he understood that the parish of St. George's was free and independent; that was, that as far as regarded their church-rate, they were not under the control of himself and colleague. Subsequently it appeared that this was not the case, and he consequently took possession of the rates for that parish, and put the estimates exactly upon the same footing and in the same ratio as those passed at the vestry meeting. The estimates amounted to 1,259*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*; and adding those of St. George's, made 1,381*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* It would be seen from this statement that he had expended in the gross amount 247*l.* 5*s.* more than the estimates allowed. Previous churchwardens, as well as himself, having been suspected of misapplying the parish money, he had, for his own satisfaction, as well as for the satisfaction of the rate-payers, placed his accounts in the hands of Mr. M'Michael, the accountant, for his examination, and that gentleman was now present to vouch for their accuracy. It was, however, his (Mr. W.'s) duty to explain to the meeting how it was that his expenditure exceeded the estimates. He was allowed 60*l.* for repairing St. Martin's Church, the expenses of which had been 136*l.* 16*s.*; making a difference of 76*l.* 16*s.* It was impossible for him or anyone else to know what the cost of such necessary repairs would be until they were done. When the white-washing of the

interior commenced, it was ascertained that the roof was extremely out of repair, and that all the cost of cleaning the inside would be completely thrown away, unless means were taken to prevent its coming through into the church. He determined, therefore, to do the work well at once, as being, in fact, and ultimately, the most economical for the parish. (Hear.) He had, likewise, been allowed only 25*l.* for stationery, when its actual cost for the year had been 56*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*; thus exceeding, by 31*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*, more than the estimates. (Hear, hear.) This excess was owing to a resolution of the vestry, by which the churchwardens were compelled to advertise their estimates three times in the then three Birmingham newspapers. The making of collecting books cost him 10*l.*, for which no allowance was made in the estimates. He had, likewise, been required to take bonds of security from the collectors; these bonds, although drawn up by Mr. Edmonds, had cost 8*l.* 14*s.*, and formed another item of his excess of expenditure. The total excess of expenditure at St. Martin's was 127*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*, being more than that of all the rest of the churches put together. The excess at the rest of the churches amounted altogether to 120*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* He had before stated that he had collected 125*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* When he commenced the duties of his situation, part of the rates had been collected by the churchwardens of St. George's; but when the errors of their collection were discovered, he debited the churchwardens with the money they had received, and concluded the collection himself. He believed he had explained to the satisfaction of the meeting how the excess of expenditure had been occasioned. He would now proceed to state that there was 700*l.* owing by ratepayers, so poor that he could not and would not attempt its collection. (Hear, hear, hear.) He (Mr. W.) had sat twenty-nine Wednesdays at the Public-office, for the purpose of hearing appeals from parties professing their inability to pay the rate. On those occasions there had been an attendance of from 200 to 500 persons; so that, upon a rough calculation, he had seen during his year of office, not fewer than from 8,000 to 9,000. This arose from the lowness of the rate compelling the churchwardens to enforce its general payment. The balance of 700*l.* was owing by poor people, from whom it would be cruel to take it. There was, however, another balance due of 418*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* owing by the rich, and from whom he should be compelled forthwith to enforce its payment. Having obtained this sum, in addition to the 700*l.* owing by the poor, and after paying all the current debts of the year, he should have a clear balance in hand of 47*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* It had been falsely said that in the collection of the rate he had oppressed the poor. (Hear, hear.) This he denied. He challenged any man to stand forward and state one instance in which he had compelled parties to pay who from all appearance and circumstances were not able so to do. (Cheers.) He never had in one instance distressed any individual for the rate. (Cheers.) And he would add, that if any single rate-payer who considered himself hardly dealt with could show that he had been compelled to pay when unable, he would refund him his rate out of the 47*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* balance, which after the collection of the rate, he should hold in his hands. (Cheers.) He owed it to his colleagues in office to state, that he believed every one of them had been as economical in the expenditure of the parish money as he, the man of their appointment had been. The churchwardens of St. Peter's had expended less than the estimates allowed. He (Mr. W.) did not come there to ask for money; but he begged to ask the meeting, did they require him to compel the parishioners to pay the church-rate, when he knew from personal investigation they were unable to do so without aggravating distresses already almost pass such an endurance. (Cries of "No.") On his entrance into office he found great difficulties in his way. He found his predecessors just commencing the collection of a rate, and he was of necessity compelled to wait four months before he could obtain any money. The great political excitement which had existed during the period of his office had likewise considerably increased the embarrassements under which he had laboured. Such, indeed, had been the difficulties against which he had had to contend, and the anxieties and labours which he had endured, that if they offered him 250 sovereigns a year he would not again accept the office. He had nothing more to add, but would call upon Mr. M'Michael to read the statement of his accounts. (Cheers.)

Mr. M'MICHAEL then proceeded to read over the accounts exactly corresponding in the aggregate with Mr. Weston's statement.

Mr. RUSSELL—Will Mr. M'Michael oblige us by saying what he is to be paid for his work. (Great applause.)

Mr. WESTON—I have employed Mr. M'Michael for my own justification and satisfaction, and shall pay him out of my own pocket. (Cheers.)

A Rate-payer, in the body of the church, wished to have some explanation as to the accounts of the wardens of St. Peter's Church.

Mr. WESTON said, the estimates had been allowed at a vestry meeting; the audit committee had passed the accounts; and moreover, the wardens of St. Peter's had expended less by 8*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* than the estimates allowed. (Cheers.)

Mr. EDMONDS wished to say, that as the estimate for St. Peter's had been originally allowed at a vestry meeting, and the wardens had expended a less sum than granted, he did not think the parishioners could fairly complain. (Hear.)

Mr. PARE said, that as the congregation of St. Peter's, in consequence of the demolition of the church, now assembled and worshipped in the school-room, in Pinfold-street, expenses

were necessarily incurred, which, as the law stood, the parish was bound to defray. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. EDMONDS contended, that as the estimates had been allowed by a vestry meeting, the parishioners could not now consistently litigate them, especially when, as in the present instance, the wardens expended less than the amount allowed. (Hear, hear.)

(*To be continued.*)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1832.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

CLARKE, J., and G. O. Parke, Newport Pagnell, corn-dealers.
DAWSON, A., Park-st., Grosvenor-square, boarding and lodging-house-keeper.
FRY, J., Bristol, tailor.
PARKER, W. B., Bristol, scrivener.

BANKRUPTS.

AGATE, M., Horsham, Sussex, grocer.
CALL, C., and J. Glendall, Exeter, carvers and gilders.
FIELD, D. S., Worcester-place, Upper Thames-street, coffee-roaster.
HENLEY, T., Birmingham, glass-cutter.
POOLE, T., Fore-street, draper.
ROBERTSON, H., Aylesbury-st., Clerkenwell, and Doughty-street, surgeon.
SCOTT, D., Mansell-st., Goodman's-fields, dealer in Scotch ale.
SHAW, J., Westbromwich, Staffordsh., tailor.
WARWICK, W. A., Romford, Essex, dealer in wine.
WEDDELL, J., Burr-street, East Smithfield, ship-owner.
WESSEN, C., Bristol, grocer.
WRIGHT, W., New Windsor, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

ALEXANDER, W., Linlithgow, grocer.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BENNETTS, J., and N. Robins, Gunnislake, Cornwall, granite-merchants.

BANKRUPTS.

ALEXANDER, H. jun., Brentwood, Essex, corn-dealer.
BRIERLEY, J., Redvales, near Bury, Lancashire, woollen-manufacturer.
CLEVER, B., High-st., Shadwell, victualler.
COLE, C., and J. Gendall, Exeter, carvers.
COLLIER, J., Manchester and Salford, calico-printer.
FROST, C., Sculcoates, Yorkshire, dealer.
MILTON, J., Bristol, victualler.
PERKINS, W., Beckington, Somerset, fuller.
WRIGHT, W., Southampton-row, Queen-square, cook.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, AUG. 13.—Having very near 1,000 qrs. of new wheat at market this morning, by land carriage from Essex, and the quality and condition being very fine, produced such an effect on the trade, that even the best samples of old met a very limited demand, at a reduction of from 2*s.* to 3*s.* per qr., and rendered totally unsaleable the inferior descriptions. New wheat was from 4*s.* to 6*s.* per qr. cheaper than on this day se'nnight; the supply both of new and old having far exceeded the expectations of the millers. Several samples of new barley were shown to-day, from different counties, of very superior quality, but they were merely exhibited as specimens of the crop, having none as yet on sale. Fine fresh old barley being very scarce, an advance of 1*s.* per qr. was obtained on the few parcels that appeared. Grey peas are 1*s.* per qr. dearer, and white fully supported the quotation of last Monday.

The arrival of upwards of 26,000 qrs. of oats has occasioned a further decline in our prices of 1*s.* per qr., with a very heavy trade at that abatement. In other articles there is no alteration.

Wheat	64s. to 72s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	28s. to 30s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
——— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
——— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to —s.
—— Feed	21s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	42s. to 48s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	50s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	—s. to —s.
——— Cork	80s. to 82s.
——— Limerick	80s. to 82s.
——— Waterford	78s. to 80s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	64s. to 78s.
——— Gloucester, Double	64s. to 68s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
——— Edam	46s. to 56s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 76s.

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SMITHFIELD.—Aug. 13.

This day's supply of beasts, sheep, and calves, was, for the time of year, great; of lambs, moderately good; of porkers, but limited; with prime South-Down lambs, not exceeding 10lbs. per quarter, trade was somewhat brisk, at an advance; with veal exceedingly dull, at a depression of 4*d.* per stone. Other kinds of meat met with a very languid sale, at barely Friday's quotations.

About a third of the beasts were Irish, chiefly steers and heifers, fattened, for the most part, in Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and the London marshes; another third of short-horned oxen, steers and heifers, chiefly fattened in the same districts; about a sixth of equal numbers of Welsh runts, Herefords, and Devons, chiefly from the western and midland districts, and the remaining sixth, for the most part, Scots, Staffords, Town's-end cows, &c., chiefly from Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, the marshes near London, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. Full two-thirds of the sheep and lambs were about equal numbers of South Downs and Leicester half-breds; about a sixth Kents, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, and other polled, with a few of the horned Welsh and Scotch breeds.

Beasts, 2,562; sheep and lambs, 27,490; calves, 209; pigs, 200.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Aug. 17.

The arrivals this week are moderate, but the market is very dull, with the prices from 1*s.* to 2*s.* lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	83⅞	83⅞	83⅞	84	83⅞	84

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealers, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS, Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of men of business.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers and Newsmen throughout the Empire.

"The 'Mark-Lane Express,' a new paper devoted to the agricultural and commercial interests, as well as to general intelligence and politics. It is well printed, and apparently well conducted, and promises to be a useful newspaper to persons in trade."—*Edinburgh Chronicle.*

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CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(*Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church*)

BEG to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, of Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats		16	0
Figured ditto ditto		18	0
Valencia ditto		12	0
Barogan Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 77.—No. 8.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 25TH, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*

GET GOLD!!!

GET it NOW, then, at any rate. Mind, if you be beggars, do not lay the blame upon anybody but yourselves.

WM. COBBETT.

INVITATION

TO THE

POLITICAL COUNCIL OF BIRMINGHAM.

Bolt-court, 19. *August*, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,

I READ, in the *Birmingham Journal*, that you have had a discussion on the MONEY-AFFAIR; and, in the report of it which I have read, it is stated that "Mr. CHARLES JONES spoke in refutation of Mr. COBBETT's doctrines on "the currency, and insisted that Mr. "ATTWOOD had been the true prophet "upon this subject." I am not to take this report as being a correct account of what Mr. Jones said; but the effect is the same—it has been sent forth from BIRMINGHAM that Mr. JONES *has refuted* my doctrine, and that Mr. ATTWOOD is the *true* prophet, and that I am the *false* one. Therefore, I hereby give an invitation to the *Council* in a body to meet me, and discuss with me this great question before the faces of the people of BIRMINGHAM. Life and health permitting, I will be at BIRMINGHAM on *Tuesday next, the 28th day* of August; and, if anybody at BIRMINGHAM will provide a suitable place, and issue notices accordingly, the price of admittance being one shilling, one-half of which to be received by me, I will be there, ready to go to the place so provided, on the 28th, at any hour in the evening, and to discuss this question with the Council. There must be a place suitable for my sitting down while my opponent or opponents are talking; and I shall want no other conveniences or accommodation. I am ready to argue this question with Mr. JONES and Mr. ATTWOOD, the great talents of both of whom I am ready to acknowledge. I am ready to argue it with the whole of the Council, or with anybody else. I will open the discussion myself; or they shall open it, if they please. If they open it, they shall be entitled to a reply; if I open it, I shall expect the same indulgence. We ought, in order to place the matter fairly before our auditors, to have the question or questions clearly stated beforehand. If this be done (and done it must be, indeed), our auditors will clearly understand us; and in that case, I am sure that they will hear with patience, and decide with impartiality. Mr. ATTWOOD, Mr. JONES, and as many others as they please, may speak on that side, one after the other; and nobody but myself shall speak on my side. But, they are all to speak *consecutively*, and not some of them before I have spoken, and some of them after. I intend to be at MANCHESTER on Thursday, the 30th of August. That which I am now writing will reach the Editor of the *Birmingham Journal*, or Mr. JONES, on *Tuesday the 21st instant*. I shall set off from London on Saturday, the 25th. Now, if these gentlemen prefer it, *we will debate the matter in London*, on Friday, the 24th; and if they will write to me so that I can get the letter on the 22d, *I pledge myself to have a place prepared for the purpose*. I request one of these gentlemen, or some friend at Birmingham, to be so good as to write to me on the 22d or 23d, to let me know the decision of these gentlemen as to this matter. I am quite in earnest myself; but I am not unaware of the possibility that these gentlemen may think

me *beneath their notice*. If that should be the case, the question between us must remain where it is, I having the satisfaction to know that I have done all in my power to bring it to a fair issue.

I have written to a friend at BIRMINGHAM to inquire whether this invitation be accepted; and I have requested him, if he find *that it is not accepted*, and that a place will not be prepared for the discussion, to get a place *for me*, that I may have an opportunity of addressing the people of Birmingham upon this important subject, with regard to which we must all come to be of one mind, or else no great good can arise out of this reform of the Parliament. I beg him to secure a place, however small or inconvenient, so that it be in *Birmingham*, for I cannot rest easy under this *imputed refutation* of my doctrines, which I know to be sound, and which I know *must prevail*, or that the country never will revive again, never will emerge from the ruin and misery into which it has been plunged by PITT, ADDINGTON, GRENVILLE, PERCEVAL, JENKINSON, PEEL, and their stupid and conceited co-operators.

WM. COBBETT.

Birmingham, 22nd August, 1832.

IN reply to Mr. Cobbett's challenge received this day, presuming that all parties are agreed upon the fact that the principal part of the distress among the industrious classes in England, is occasioned by Peel's Bill of 1819, and by the monetary measures adopted before, and since, in connexion with that bill; it is then agreed, that Mr. Thomas Attwood and Mr. Charles Jones shall discuss with Mr. Cobbett the following question, viz.:

Whether it is best, for the safety and welfare of the nation, to attempt to relieve the existing distress by an action on the currency, or by an equitable adjustment of the taxes, rents, debts, contracts, and obligations, which now strangle the industry of the country.

The discussion to take place in Birmingham, on *Tuesday, the 28th instant*, at *four o'clock* in the afternoon. A chairman to be appointed by mutual agreement.

Mr. Attwood to open the business, and Mr. Jones to be allowed to speak next. Mr. Cobbett is then to explain his views; after which Mr. Attwood is to be allowed the right of reply, which reply is to close the discussion.

The chairman is then to put it to the meeting, to decide which is the most eligible plan of proceeding.

No person to be admitted to the meeting without the payment of one shilling, agreeably to Mr. Cobbett's proposition; the receipts to be divided as follows, after paying the expenses of the meeting, one-half to Mr. Cobbett, and the other half to the distressed *sand-wheelers* of Birmingham.

In thus accepting Mr. Cobbett's challenge, Mr. Attwood and Mr. Jones leave it to Mr. Cobbett's discretion to decide, whether, at the present period, it is desirable that that portion of the public, who are now agreed upon the great truth, that the general distress is occasioned by monetary measures, should be exposed to the risk of being divided by a discussion, as to which species of remedy is preferable; instead of being united to exert their combined strength to the utmost in the ensuing elections, against that corrupt or ignorant party, who have always persisted in maintaining, either that no general distress has existed, or that such distress has not been occasioned by monetary measures.

THOMAS ATTWOOD.
CHARLES JONES.

ANSWER.

I HAVE only to say, that I will attend, but that the *hour* must be *seven*, if possible; that I agree to the terms, and that I am convinced that the discussion must *do good*. The question is not stated in what I deem the best manner; but, there will be time to settle that. I am sorry that these gentlemen called it "*a challenge*." I called it an "*invitation*."

WM. COBBETT.

London, 23d August, 1832.

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TO THE

PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER.

Bolt-court, 20 Aug. 1832.

My Friends,

Agreeably to my appointment, I shall be at Manchester on the 31st of this month. My presence there is not necessary for the purpose of making you acquainted with either my principles or my views; and as to *asking for your votes*, either individually or collectively, *that*, as I declared from the first, *I never will do* in any way, direct or indirect. We want a Government as *cheap* as that of the United States of America, and to *have it* we must follow their example with regard to the choosing of law-makers. No man in that country ever *offers himself* as a candidate. He is first *proposed* and his *consent is obtained*, and then his supporters carry through the election. Sometimes the candidate *meets the people* in different parts of the county, and *addresses them*, but never in the way of *asking to be chosen*. This is precisely what I shall do; and I shall do this for the sole purpose of showing my respect and regard for that great body of *industrious* people who are assembled at Manchester.

In wishing to be a member of Parliament, I have no *private interest* in view, and no selfish desire to gratify. I *cannot gain* anything by it, and it would be *sure* to impose on me *great toil*. If I undertake the weighty task, it will be from *a sense of duty solely*, and, therefore, there would be no *favour* conferred on me, except the *honour*, and that would be the greatest that any man could receive; but then it must come without any solicitation on my part, or it will be no honour at all. These things being clearly understood, I shall meet you (at such places and in such manner as shall be found to be most convenient) for the purpose of offering you my opinions with regard to what the members of a reformed Parliament ought to endeavour to effect; but never for the purpose of extolling my own merits, or for that of decrying the claims of others.

While at Manchester I shall go to Oldham, to return the people there my thanks for their exemplary public-spirit. Perhaps I shall go to Preston before I go further north, but at present I am not sure of this. I shall go to Bolton also, and to as many places in Lancashire as my time will allow.

I cannot omit to avail myself of this opportunity of saying a word or two relative to the influence which the *unrepresented* are reported to be about to exercise over the voters. Those who make the complaint against the *unrepresented* forget that the advocates of the exclusion justified the excluding upon the ground that every ten-pound voter would *represent a circle of non-voters*. He ought to do it, but if he be influenced by the aristocracy in some cases, and not influenced by the *unrepresented* in any case, he will still be a borough-monger-tool as much as ever. If, indeed, there were no influence exercised by anybody, all would be well enough; but from one end of the country to the other the aristocracy are at work exercising their influence and power in the most barefaced manner. The Duke of Norfolk, for instance, has put forward his steward, Blount, as a candidate for the borough of Horsham, in Sussex, which is to return one member; and there appears to be very great doubt whether the people, nine-tenths of whom are against Blount, will be able to return the member whom they wish to elect. Nine-tenths of the small boroughs will be completely under the paws of the aristocracy. In the counties, *thousands of men refuse to qualify themselves*, avowedly, because they would not be compelled to vote against their consciences. So that, were it not for the great towns, there would scarcely be one single man in the Parliament disposed to advocate the rights of the people; and if the people do not exercise their influence in the great towns, they will have nobody at all to represent them.

The aristocracy would not give the ballot; because the voters should not be free from influence: this was their very reason for not giving it: it was upon this very ground that Baucoman op-

posed it, calling it "*a fanciful novelty.*" They would now wish to have it for the great towns; but not for the counties and the small towns. If they had given the *ballot* to the great towns, and withheld it from the counties and the small towns; then the "*reform*" would have been the most audacious imposture that ever was seen in the world. What! there are all the attorneys, land-stewards, tax-gatherers, half-pay officers, scampering about in every direction all over the country, menacing the farmers and tradesmen in the most undisguised manner; there are the voters by thousands upon thousands disqualifying themselves rather than bear the consequences of giving their votes conscientiously; and there is the *Manchester Guardian* threatening the working-people with vengeance if they attempt to exercise any influence at all! If the working-people were to attend to this menace in any other way than to resent it, there would be a great falling off in that spirit and that good sense for which they have so long been distinguished. However, as I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in a few days, we shall then have time to talk this matter over.

I understand that it is the intention of my friends at MANCHESTER, to conduct me, upon this occasion, into that town by a *public procession*. I would much rather that this should not be done at this my visit to MANCHESTER. I am going thither on a business of great seriousness; I am going to appeal to the sober reason of the people, and not to their passions; I am to meet them in person, in the different districts of the town; the matters in which we shall be engaged, are such as ought to command the exercise of every reflecting faculty of our minds; and, therefore, as a preliminary, I wish very much to avoid every occasion for a display of feeling. I wish to go quietly and privately into the town, as other persons do. If, indeed, at the time of the election, when men's minds shall all have been made up as to how they shall act; when the people shall have heard and seen of me that which may make them consider me worthy the honours of a public entry, I shall be proud to receive that honour; but, with regard to the present instance, my judgment lies the other way. Nevertheless, I will not oppose that judgment to that of the committee and any general wish of my friends at Manchester. I am sure that everything would be conducted in an orderly manner, and that no disagreeable result would take place. I thus leave the matter: having given my opinion about it, I leave my friends to settle amongst themselves on that which they deem to be best, and to their decision I shall implicitly submit.

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

INTENDED TOUR.

ON Monday the 27th instant, I mean to be at COVENTRY; and then I shall proceed, life and health permitting, according to the following rout:—

	AUGUST
COVENTRY	27th.
BIRMINGHAM	28
MANCHESTER	31
	SEPTEMBER
BRADFORD	7
DURHAM	9
SUNDERLAND	10
GATESHEAD and SOUTH SHIELDS	11
NEWCASTLE	12
NORTH SHIELDS and TYNEMOUTH	14
MORPETH	15
BERWICK	16
EDINBURGH	17
GLASGOW	20
PAISLEY	23
GREENOCK	24

After this I shall come back by CARLISLE, KENDALL, and PRESTON, on my way to LIVERPOOL and the "EMERALD ISLE." Now, I request that some friend will write to me from all the above *English* towns north of MANCHESTER, and direct his letter, postage paid (to guard against *hoaxes*), to me at *the office of the Advertiser*, MANCHESTER; so that, by the time I get to

Manchester, or before I quit it, I may be informed of the following particulars from each of the towns before-mentioned. 1. *Whether any suitable place has been or can be engaged.* 2. *What inn the writer would recommend me to go to.* I shall generally go *by the stage-coach.* Friends in the *Scotch* towns will be so good as to give me the same intelligence directed to me at the *Post-office,* MORPETH, *Northumberland.* My intention is to go to DUBLIN, BELFAST, and CORK; for, as I shall, I dare say, very soon be a *law-giver,* I hold it to be necessary that I should *see* all the people to govern whom I am to assist in making laws. I am particularly desirous to see IRELAND; because, of all the matters that can engage our attention, none are of so much importance as those which affect Ireland; and, it signifies not to waste words upon the subject; for that country must be *raised up* before this country can cease to be *dragged down.* SCOTLAND I have always wished to see; especially the people of PAISLEY and GLASGOW, from whom so many sensible petitions have come to the late parliaments. The conduct of the Scotch, with regard to this question of reform, has been, from first to last, exemplary beyond description; and they are now setting an example to the whole kingdom; an example of good sense and public spirit beyond all praise. I have always wished to have an opportunity of dating a *Register* from PAISLEY; and now I am very likely to have that opportunity. I wish also to see *my corn* growing in SCOTLAND. I sent to PAISLEY some ears of a sort of corn *still earlier* than that which I have cultivated. I hope that I shall see it growing and flourishing. Hardly anything that I could name would give me so much pleasure as to be the cause of bestowing this blessing upon Scotland. I mentioned, some time ago, that a friend at GREENOCK had sent me *an ear of corn* that he had grown there. I planted the grains of it; and I am convinced that there will be about *two bushels of ears*; and, if there be, there will be a bushel of *shelled* corn; which will give *fifty-four pounds of flour*; and that is, observe, matter as good as *fourteen four-pound loaves* from one single ear of corn!

I have fixed on certain days to be at each place, but I may be detained in some place longer than I expect; it may be desirable to give two lectures or three in some places, instead of one. In "MODERN ATHENS," for instance, where I shall have so many DEMOSTHENESES for my auditors, and so many and such sharp pens to criticise my performance, I must put on my best airs. Faith! I must cast off the SURREY-CHOPSTICK, and assume something of the CICERONIAN suavity. This may take me some time in the way of preparation. In short, as soon as I pass the TWEED I must make myself as much a new man as I can. A day or two may thus be lost in previous study; so that as some circumstance or other may, here and there, detain me longer than I expect, the days that I have named are only the probable days on which I shall arrive at the several places. The exact days will be ascertained by *previous correspondence* with some friend or other in each place, whom I beg to *pay the postage,* not for the sake of the amount, but for the purpose of guarding against the *hoaxes* of the tax-eaters.

Everywhere the payment for entrance to the lectures will be *a shilling,* except at COVENTRY, where it will be *sixpence,* in acknowledgment of the kindness of that city in lending their tent-coverings for the use of the chopsticks of Hampshire. I have found it absolutely impossible to lecture in quietness and with order *without taking money.* The money is necessary to pay my expenses, in the first place; and, besides that everybody else takes money in such cases, I have purposes of *a public nature* to which I choose to apply a part of mine. I print things very frequently and distribute them gratis; and, as I never in my whole lifetime touched one single farthing of the public money, and am resolved never to do it, so I have a clear right to receive payment, voluntarily given, for that which I utter from my lips as well as for that which I utter

from the press. It is very curious that this practice of mine has never been, as far as I have heard of, censured, or carped at by anybody but *lawyers* and *parsons*, which has arisen, most likely, from the well-known fact, that *they* scorn to take money for *their* talking, to which may be added, however, that they too often take the money for talking *nonsense*, while I take it for talking *sense* at any rate. After all, the payment is *voluntary*; nobody is *forced* and nobody is *coaxed*; people come if they like, and if they don't they let it alone. Hundreds of thousands of persons that have not seen me want to see me, and I want to see all of them, and being both of a mind it is pretty strange if we do not get to see one another.

This is, however, *a bounden duty* on my part; it is impossible for me not to perceive the great effect which I produce on the minds of those who come to hear me. I feel that I have the power to do a great deal of good by these means; and I should be guilty of real crime if I were to neglect to use the means. Therefore, possessing the means, I will use them. I have no object to answer of a selfish nature; no ambition to gratify, no revenge to indulge. I openly avowed and stated my objects long ago. I have acted not the part of a deceiver. There has been nothing *covert* in any of my proceedings, and there never shall be. If I fail in effecting the object which I have in view, the failure will leave no remorse upon my mind; for nothing will I neglect; nothing will I flinch from which I am able to do, and which I think calculated to ensure success.

WM. COBBETT.

SURREY.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE WESTERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

Kensington, 22nd August, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

BEING naturally anxious that my native country, particularly that division of it in which I was born, should do its duty at the ensuing election, I am glad to hear that you mean to choose Mr. JOHN LEECH as one of your members; because I am of opinion that he will do everything that lies in his power to rescue our country from its present embarrassed and disgraceful state. But, my friends, I cannot say that I entertain a similar opinion of Mr. DENISON; on the contrary, I believe he will *not do* that which is necessary to rescue the country from the ruin and misery in which it is now steeped; and, the *reason* for my believing this is as follows.

In the year 1829, I sent a petition to Mr. DENISON, to be by him presented to the House of Commons. He presented it, as it was his bounden duty to do; but in presenting it, he expressed his *decided hostility to the prayer of it*. I will now, before I go further, lay before you the report of *his speech* when he presented the petition, and also *the prayer* of the petition itself, as it was read by him to the House; and then you will, I think, see that unless he have changed his mind since that time, he is not a fit man to represent us in Parliament.

"Mr. DENISON said, I have been requested, sir, by a freeholder in the "county of Surrey, and one of my own "constituents, to present a petition, "which I now hold in my hand, to this "House. I have looked into the petition, and finding that it was properly and respectfully worded, I have "considered it my duty to present it; "as I consider that it is the duty of "members to present any petition to "this House, which may be confided to "them for that purpose, where such "petition is properly and respectfully "worded. At the same time, sir, *I "wish to state most distinctly, that I do "not at all agree in the prayer of* this "*petition*. The petition comes from a "very celebrated political writer, Mr. "Cobbett, and it is dated from Barn-"Elm, in the county of Surrey, April "20, 1829. It is extremely long, and "it prays the House to repeal the Irish "church establishment. It goes at "length into the history of that establishment, and it concludes by praying "the House to repeal it. I shall read

" the concluding passage of the petition " to the House, and then I shall move " to have it printed, in order that ho- " nourable Members may see what the " nature of it is. Before I do so, how- " ever, I beg again to repeat, as I have " already stated in my note to Mr. Cob- " bett this morning, in answer to a " letter which I received from him last " night, enclosing this petition, that I " present this petition in accordance " with what I conceive to be the duty " which a member owes to his constitu- " ents, namely, to present every peti- " tion which is properly and respectfully " worded; *but that I shall, at the same " time, express my decided hostility to " the prayer of the petition.* The pe- " tition, after giving a detailed history " of the Irish church establishment, " concludes as follows :"

" That, therefore, your humble petitioner prays that your honourable House, proceeding upon the clear precedent set by former Parliaments, will be pleased to pass a law *to repeal, abrogate, abolish, and render utterly frustrate and of no effect, the Protestant church now established by law in Ireland;* that you will be pleased to cause a just distribution, in future, of the tithes and other revenues now received by that church : that, in this distribution, you will be pleased to cause to be made *effectual provision for the relief of the poor;* and that you will be pleased to adopt, relative to the premises, such other measures as, in your wisdom, you shall deem to be meet.

" And your petitioner will ever pray,

" WM. COBBETT.

" Barn-Elm, April 28, 1829."

" The honourable Member then " brought up the petition, which was " laid upon the table, and ordered to be " printed."

Now, this was the PRAYER, to which Mr. DENISON expressed his " *decided hostility.*" You now behold Ireland in a state, which the Government call *rebellion*; you see regiment after regiment, squadron after squadron, park of artillery after park of artillery, sent over to Ireland: you read of killings without end; of slaughterings by troops; of hangings by hangmen; of shootings, of stabbings, of knocking on the head with brickbats and stones; you read of violences such as the world never heard of before; you see that country in a state far worse than a state of war; and you naturally ask, *why* all this is? It is for *enforcing the collection of tithes*; it is to uphold that church, for the repeal of which I prayed, and to which prayer Mr. DENISON expressed his " *decided hostility.*" If that prayer had been attended to, never should we have beheld the scenes which we now behold in Ireland; and, my friends, be you assured, that, after rivers of blood shall have been shed, that very prayer must be acted upon at last.

God forbid that I should believe that my native county is inhabited by men who have no feeling for the suffering people of Ireland; but if I could entertain the painful thought, that would be no argument for rendering this subject uninteresting to you, for, you will please to observe, that you participate very largely in the consequences of upholding this church of Ireland. You do not like the taxes upon *malt* and upon *soap*. Remember, then, that to uphold the church of Ireland, *costs England, every year, more than the amount of both these taxes.* Yes, to compel Irishmen to pay tithes, which we want to get rid of ourselves, we are compelled to pay all that we pay in taxes upon our malt and our soap, and yet Mr. DENISON is " *decidedly hostile*" to the repealing of that church establishment, which causes us to bear such heavy burdens, and which is the cause of constant misery and bloodshed in Ireland!

Now, my friends, unless Mr. DENISON have changed this opinion of his, not only will I *not vote* for him, but I will do *everything in my power to oppose him.* My power, in this instance, may, probably, not be great, seeing that I am now about to be absent in the NORTH for a month, and seeing that at the time of the election *I must be at* MANCHESTER. But, my friends, I shall most likely be able to find time, long before the election, to see every man of you, and to beseech you, by the love which you bear your country and your children, not to give your votes to Mr. DENISON, unless he will pledge himself to do his utmost to cause an abolition of

the tithes in England, and the repeal of the church in Ireland.

My friends, it is nonsense for us to deceive ourselves, and as great nonsense for Mr. DENISON to deceive himself. We shall soon find that this horrible system of taxation, which has brought the labouring man down to live upon potatoes and salt, must be totally changed, and Mr. DENISON will soon find that it is not the old gabblings of Whig against Tory and Tory against Whig, that he is *now* about to be engaged in; but in the serious work of making a reformation that shall "pull "down the mighty from their seats, "and exalt the humble and weak."

I am your friend and countryman,
WM. COBBETT.

MR. LEECH'S ADDRESS.

To the Gentlemen who have signed a requisition to me to become a candidate for the western division of Surrey.

GENTLEMEN,—I am highly flattered and honoured by your requisition, calling upon me to become a candidate to represent the western division of this county in the ensuing Parliament.

I know myself sufficiently well, to discover, that your kind indulgence and partiality have led you to attribute to me a number of good qualities which I do not possess. I pretend to no greater merit than having honestly endeavoured to discharge the various duties of a country gentleman.

For the last 40 years I have uniformly exerted myself to promote the cause of Parliamentary reform, believing that the House of Commons according to the principle of our excellent constitution, ought to represent the people, and not merely the feelings and interests of a few rich and noble families.

A virtuous administration, aided by the almost unanimous exertions of an enlightened nation, having now happily effected a reform in Parliament calculated to promote the best interests of the state, it will be for the people themselves to evince their virtue and spirit by sending members to Parliament on whose honour and integrity they can with confidence rely.

I had sincerely hoped that some man would have been proposed by you better qualified than myself to fill the honourable and important post of one of your representatives, in conjunction with our excellent, kind, and much-respected friend Mr. Denison.

As it is your pleasure, however, to call upon me by a requisition numerously and respectably signed, and to accompany it by offers of unlimited confidence and support, I feel it my duty to obey your command, even at the sacrifice of the convenience and comfort of the retired and private station in which I have so long delighted.

I believe, gentlemen, it is hardly necessary at my period of life to make a profession of my political sentiments. It must be known to you all, that I have always supported civil and religious liberty, and condemned slavery in every shape, and that I am deeply interested as a considerable land proprietor and large farmer in the agricultural prosperity of the country.

Experience has taught me that the agriculturist is the best customer of the manufacturer, and that in the close union of these two great interests must consist the wealth and happiness of the nation; but I am practically convinced that whilst the heavy imposts and burdens continue, the land in this kingdom cannot be cultivated without a protecting duty on imported corn.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obliged and faithful servant,
JOHN LEECH.

Lea, August 18, 1832.

MR. WILLIAM EAGLE
AND THE ELECTION FOR NORWICH.

From the Norfolk Chronicle of the 11th August.

TO THE ELECTORS OF NORWICH.

Kensington, 22nd of August, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

FROM the very first I have said that if Mr. EAGLE were not in Parliament, it would reflect great discredit on the judgment of the people. His writings on the subject of that great matter, *the tithes,* have earned him the hatred of all the enemies of the people's happiness; his writings were, in the debate on the first REFORM BILL, cited by Lord LYNDHURST, and they were an argument with him for throwing out the bill, lest such a man as Mr. EAGLE should be in the Parliament. Mr EAGLE is the real author of the *rule for demanding pledges.* An extract from his work upon this subject, which was inserted in the *Register* of the 7th of July, attracted the attention of every reader throughout the country, and it was of such striking utility, that a gentleman in Berkshire requested me to cause a reprint of it, and to send him down *two thousand copies* (which I did)

to be circulated in Hampshire and Berkshire. A learned lawyer, an able writer, independent in circumstances, always a reformer from his boyhood, bent upon restoring the working-people to the state in which their forefathers lived, understanding the nature and extent of all the abuses, and knowing the legal way to go to work to put an end to them, Mr. EAGLE, of all the men that I know, is the most likely to produce great good in a reformed Parliament; and the city of NORWICH, which did itself the honour to be chiefly instrumental in passing the NORFOLK PETITION, will do itself still greater honour by the choosing of Mr. EAGLE. And *who is this* Mr. BELLENDEN KER? Who Mr. RICHARD GURNEY is we know very well; and we know that he has been in Parliament half a lifetime, without ever having been known to open his lips there. We never heard of him as the maker of an effort to take one ounce from our burdened backs; we know that he sat quietly at St. STEPHEN'S, while all the monstrous abuses went on; and what right have the people of NORWICH to expect, that he will do anything for them in future? He has wanted either the talent or the disposition to do them good; and what reason have they to believe, that he will have either the talent or the disposition to do them good in future?

Mr. KER is, I perceive, looked upon as a *nominee of* BROUGHAM, who is deputing his *scouts* to go about the country and to get into Parliament. To do Mr. KER justice, he is not a nominee of BROUGHAM, but of BURDETT! He is a nominee of the old "chaise-horse," who use to call upon us "to *tear the leaves out of the accursed Red-book*," and who is now amongst the first to stick new leaves into it. How do I know he is a nominee of BURDETT? I will tell you my reasons for being thoroughly convinced of it, and then the people of NORWICH will be able to judge for themselves. Forty or fifty years ago there was an old and well-known *attorney*, in BOND-STREET, who used to be called "LAWYER GAWLER," and who had a son, JOHN GAWLER, who was a close crony of BURDETT, for a great many years, who was his SECOND, in the duel with little PAULL, on Wimbledon-common, and was his *negotiator*, or *apology-maker*, when he *declined to fight* WHITBREAD. This Mr. BALLENDEN KER, who is a lawyer, I believe, is the son of that JOHN GAWLER. I remember him very well, twenty years ago, a very well-behaved, nice-looking, red-haired lad, who used to go very frequently to BURDETT. But, his name is KER and not GAWLER; and how comes that? Why, his father put in a claim to the DUKEDOM OF ROXBURGH, founded on some genealogy, which had been found out by somebody; and he carried on a suit to obtain the title and estates, which suit he finally lost; having a rival in Sir JAMES INNES, who got both title and estates, and who, though nearly, or quite, eighty years old at the time, had a son born to him after he became duke, which son is now the Duke of ROXBURGH. JOHN GAWLER, *preparatory* to becoming a duke, took the name of BALLENDEN KER, that name *sounding better* than GAWLER when prefixed to so lofty a title; and hence this young man is called "BALLENDEN KER" instead of GAWLER. KER was the name of the ancient family that had the dukedom of ROXBURGH, and JOHN GAWLER took it in the way of preparation for the coronet! Sir JAMES INNES took it too, and his son now bears it; but, the old buck, who was a Parliamentary reformer along with Major Cartwright, had the patience to wait for the name, *till he got the title and estate*.

My friends, you may have seen the name of HENRY GAWLER, in the *commissionership* for dividing the counties and fixing the boundaries of boroughs. This is a brother of JOHN GAWLER, who used to be called "Duke GAWLER," after his grace was beaten by Sir JAMES INNES. This same HENRY GAWLER is now crammed into BROUGHAM'S *poor-law commission*, along with SENIOR, TRAILL, COULSON, and the other "trusty and well-beloved" fellows, who are themselves receiving pretty good relief, as each of them will have twelve hundred pounds a year; and we shall see

what pretty stuff they will bring out at last. Nay, this BELLENDEN KER has already a SINECURE PLACE, under the name of "*Secretary to the Master of the Rolls.*" He has his hands already in your pockets; and I should not wonder if he now, if you elect him, were to be made perpetual counsel to a perpetual poor-law commission, and thus help to squander away heaps of money in order to find the means of pinching relief out of the poor! Verily, if a reformed Parliament do not sweep these things to the devil, it will very soon get swept to the devil itself.

But, now, *who brought* BELLENDEN KER *to* NORWICH? The *leaf-tearing* gentleman has nothing to do with anybody at NORWICH. Aye! but "DICK GURNEY" has; and he has for years been *the fox-hunting companion* and the *most close crony of* BURDETT; and this is as well known as that there is a church dedicated to St. PAUL in London. BELLENDEN KER, therefore, is the political creature of these two worthies. GURNEY means to have one seat for himself, and to give the other to KER, *to oblige his friend* BURDETT, whose *gratitude* and *generosity* being proverbial, is endeavouring in this manner to prove his grateful recollection of the services of JOHN GAWLER, by getting from the people of NORWICH a seat for his son! If the people of NORWICH be to be made use of as tools in this way, GURNEY is their boroughmonger; if they give their votes at the instigation of GURNEY, merely because he is banker, brewer, and has all sorts of pecuniary influence, they will be even more base and more corrupt than the voters of HONITON or ILCHESTER ever were, and they will be despicable fools into the bargain.

When the *seducer* is of high rank, of long family standing, of great name amongst the people; when he has great talent, and has brilliant qualities to varnish over his dishonourable conduct, there is some apology for the parties who yield to the *seduction*; but what apology would there be for the people of NORWICH, if they are to become tools, the mere bawling machines in the hands of two old battered things like DICK GURNEY and BURDETT, who are like one another in almost *everything*, and everything belonging to them contemptible, viewed in *any light* that you please to view them. To be tools in the hands of such creatures will make you the scorn of the country, instead of being, as you have been, its admiration. Here is this family of GAWLER going to fill half a leaf in that *Redbook* which BURDETT called "*accursed.*" You must see this very plainly: you must see, that your choosing of this DUKE GAWLER the second, will be a mere qualification for his being put into a post, to get a still greater parcel of your earnings to devour. This is what he wants a seat in Parliament for: if once he be appointed a commissioner, or a counsel, or anything else, he is *fastened upon us doubly for life*, unless we tear him off by force. Here is a whole brood of GAWLERS to be fastened upon us merely to gratify those too old battered fellows, GURNEY and BURDETT, and GURNEY is to make *you the instruments in doing the job!* I am not to be made to believe that you will do so base a thing, until I see you do it. It will be contrary to the character of your city and of your county; and, therefore, I must see it before I believe it to be possible.

The excuse of some for supporting this nominee of GURNEY and BURDETT, is, that he was "*first in the field.*" First in the field! What weight can that have with any man of sense? Did he tell you who and what he was! Did he tell you that he was the son of DUKE GAWLER? Did he tell you that he came down in consequence of a scheme hatched by GURNEY and BURDETT? Did he tell you that his uncle was a Whig poor-law-commissioner? Did he tell you that he had a SINECURE PLACE? Did he, in short, let you know who he was; and did DICK GURNEY tell you who he was? Did GURNEY introduce him to you? What does GURNEY say about him? Will GURNEY promise you that he shall not have another place within six months after you have elected him, and that he

shall not be pocketing our money with both hands, while he sits in your seat? And, is a man like this to be put in competition with Mr. EAGLE, born and bred up upon the estate which is now his own, in the county adjoining your county, and distinguished and admired as he is for his labours in producing a Parliamentary reform, and particularly a reform in the church? Mr. EAGLE has, at this moment, a requisition numerously and most respectably signed from the great town of BOLTON, in Lancashire: he received one from NORWICH first: he attended to it, as it was his duty to do, and, I trust, that you will not only choose him, but that you will decide upon it quickly. As to Mr. GURNEY, I can tell him one thing; that is this: that if he do the country the great injury to marr, by his corrupt influence, those hopes which millions of us entertain from the election of Mr. EAGLE, *I myself will inflict upon him suitable punishment.*

But, after all, the main thing is not *who is the candidate*, but what the candidate *will pledge himself to do*. Mr. EAGLE pledges himself to make or support motions for the abolition of tithes; for the repeal of malt, hop, and soap taxes; for the abolition of the assessed taxes; for the abolition of the Corn Bill; for the abolition of all unmerited pensions and all sinecures; and for the repeal of the Septennial Act. Will GURNEY and BELLENDEN KER give these pledges? They will give none of them; they will give not one of them. If they would, the carcases of both of them are not worth the little finger of Mr. EAGLE, in point of ability to serve the people. But neither of them will give the pledges, and I must *see* it before I can believe that the people of NORWICH are so besotted or so base as to reject Mr. EAGLE, for the purpose of taking either of these men. I do hope, therefore, that every one in the *county of Norfolk*, capable of aiding and assisting in this cause, will hasten to the support of Mr. EAGLE. If ever they mean to get free from the inexorable grasp of the church, Mr. EAGLE is the man for them to choose. He has been a long time engaged in combating the monstrous encroachments of the church; he understands these matters far better than any other man in the whole kingdom. I repeat that it would be a disgrace to England, if Mr. EAGLE were not in the first reformed Parliament; and I trust to the good sense and public spirit of those who agreed to the NORFOLK petition, to spare the country that disgrace.

For the present I dismiss this subject with inserting below, from the *Norfolk Chronicle*, the account of which I have spoken above. I beg my readers all over the country, to attend to Mr. EAGLE's speech; and I recommend to "DICK GURNEY" to *withdraw*, either Duke Gawler the second, or *himself*, as soon as possible; for, if RICHARD persevere in this attempt to foist BURDETT's *nominee* upon the people of NORWICH, I take upon me to say, that he must die pretty quickly, if he do not live to *repent bitterly* of the exploit. In the hope that you will do your duty in this important crisis,

I remain,
your faithful friend
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

ARRIVAL OF MR. EAGLE.

A fifth candidate for the representation of Norwich (in the person of WM. EAGLE, Esq.) made his public *entrée* into this city on Tuesday evening last. This gentleman's intended arrival, by the Telegraph coach, had been announced in hand-bills in the course of the day, and about six o'clock a barouche and four, containing the candidate's principal supporters Mr. Burrows and other friends, with colours of white, red, and blue, mounted, accompanied by a band of music, and a number of electors, proceeded through the city to meet the coach, and on their return about eight o'clock Mr. Eagle addressed from the vehicle the multitude who had by that time assembled in the market-place, but with the plaudits of his friends and the still louder groans and hisses of his opponents, not a single sentence of his speech could be heard, and after several attempts to obtain a hearing, he was obliged to desist. The procession then moved forward to the house of Mr. Burrows, in Magdalen-street, there Mr. Eagle again addressed the electors, but with little better success, scarcely a word could be heard, and the new candidate retired to wait a more favourable opportunity to expound and enforce his politics and principles.

WEDNESDAY.—At seven o'clock, a very large concourse of persons had assembled opposite to the Bowling-green inn. Soon after Mr. Eagle drove up, accompanied by Mr. G. C. Burrows and other friends. No platform having been erected from whence the candidates could address the multitude, Mr. Burrows went to procure an open barouche for the purpose. Previous to its arrival Mr. S. Francis, from the window of the inn, said a few words to the electors, observing that they should hear every one patiently, but, added Mr. F., remember Mr. Ker was first on the ground, and we are bound to support him. (This was received with cheers, hisses, and cries of "No.")

As soon as the barouche drove up to the door, Mr. Eagle, Mr. Burrows, Rev. S. Jones, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Greeves, and others, got into it, and hooting and huzzas followed.

Mr. GREEVES first addressed the crowd assembled. Brother radical reformers, he said, if ever there was a period in which you ought to be proud, that moment is now arrived. Mr. Eagle is come amongst you in spite of the taunts of the Whigs and the deceptive tricks of the Tories, to plead your cause, and that your wishes may be represented in a reformed Parliament; but that it should be an effectual instrument for the benefit of the people, you must send persons there instructed to make it so. The question with you now is whether you will be subject to a Whig committee or support men pledged to measures which you approve—if you do not support him you deserve the slavery to which you have been subjected. This is not a question of Whig or Tory—we detest both—we of the middle classes introduce a man who will support measures for the benefit of us. I know your anxiety to hear Mr. Eagle—the variety of topics he will explain cannot be done in one evening—if you do not get all this evening, to-morrow he will repeat it; do not be misled—mind every word he says—it will strike at that source of corruption of which you have so long complained—the question is whether you are determined to take the cause into your own hands, or be governed by factions that never have done you any good is your lives—of what do you complain of, a state of starvation—of a state of taxation from a corrupt Parliament, and that system of corruption which Whigs and Tories have upheld. I now beg to introduce to you a gentleman of independent principles, well known in the literary world, and who needs no eulogium from me. (This speech was accompanied by cheers and hootings.)

Mr. EAGLE then got upon the seat of the carriage, and on his presenting himself to the meeting, he was received with a strong mixture of hisses, hootings, and cheers: as soon as silence had been obtained, he proceeded as follows:—Gentlemen, electors, and inhabitants of Norwich, before I proceed to state the object of my visit here to address you, allow me to congratulate you on the splendid display of popular feeling evinced yesterday upon my entrance into this city. I congratulate you upon them as the best results in favour of true reform. There is another subject I also wish to allude to; in walking through the streets of your city I have been several times addressed as the poor man's friend, I do not pretend to deserve it, for it is the highest compliment that can be paid to an Englishman, and one that he might indeed desire to be inscribed upon his tomb. Mr. Greeves has said that he is neither Whig nor Tory. I hate and detest both factions, and if I was asked my opinion of the two, I should designate them in strong but perhaps coarse terms. The Tory I look upon as a highwayman, and the Whig a pickpocket. (Laughter, cheers, and hootings.) You may conclude, from this short explanation, that I am neither Whig nor Tory. I do not come either with a letter of recommendation from the Minister of the day; nor am I the candidate of any committee; I am the candidate of the people. I have been called forth by the middling or working classes, (loud cries of "No, no," "Yes, yes,") and the fruits of the Reform Bill must proceed from those quarters. A charge has been made against me, that I and my friends are attempting to divide the party: the question is, whether it is I or whether it is not Mr. Ker that is dividing the party. Who was first in the field? not who first came down by the coach. If Mr. Ker came down by the Day, and I came by the Phenomena, and I beat Mr. Ker, or Mr. Ker beat me, that would not decide our claims. No. But I say that I have been in the field from the eleventh of last month, when the meeting was held at the Pantheon. (Hooting and cheers.) Gentlemen, it has been said that I was not the person intended at that meeting; but it must be evident to every one who has read the proceedings of that meeting in the *Norwich Mercury*, that I am the person intended. The gentleman who proposed me read extracts from my works, which I am proud to say are known throughout the whole kingdom. It appears a poor pretence to hang upon the accidental mistake of the initials of my christian name; I was clearly marked out by the description of my writings. If a man, called upon by that meeting, is said not to be in the field, who can be said to be so? Before I could send my answer, Mr. Ker came down to Norwich; it was given out previously that Mr. Robberds was in communication with a gentleman, but neither Mr. Ker nor any one else was named. But that is not the only point. For at the meeting at the Pantheon not only was I the person, but resolutions were also passed relative to pledges; what become of those pledges if I were out of the way. Were no such pledges required? Can I believe that? I would rather believe that than the citizens of Norwich are so fickle, so little firm of purpose, as that, because before an answer from me, arrived, another gentleman had stepped in, they will accept him on

the ground of priority. I am told Mr. Ker has made a canvass; a successful canvass, it is said, and that many electors have pledged themselves to him. I am very curious to know on what principle Mr. Ker calls upon them for pledges, when he refrains to pledge himself to the electors. I do not impute anything to Mr. Ker, although I understand he has commented very freely on my political sentiments. He told many of the electors, I am given to understand, that the measures taken on my behalf were mere humbug. I will say that the promises made to Mr. Ker are not binding, either in honour or conscience. (Hisses and hurra.) Do you mean to say that I am to hold to my engagement under any circumstances. Suppose you had promised me your votes, and in the meantime I was to take a sinecure place, would not that absolve you? (Cheers.) If I possess any peculiar sagacity, mighty changes will take place ere the election—great changes I foretell will take place in the sentiments of the people of Norwich. I come here an invited candidate, I have been dragged from my privacy, and I cannot suppose that it was the intention of those who proposed me at the Pantheon, to make use of my name to trifle with me; it has been said that I may return by return of coach, but those who say so have no right to trifle with the feelings of any man. Mr. Eagle then proceeded to allude to the pledge system, of which he might be said to be the author—some one in this city had said he swallowed pledges too hastily and too eagerly, he was not the man to swallow pledges himself only, but had recommended that candidates should be compelled to swallow them; unless electors did exact pledges from candidates at the next election, he would undertake to say that the next Parliament would not only not be better, but that it would be worse and more unpopular than any boroughmongering Parliament that ever met within the walls of St. Stephen's. (A voice—"I shall give you a plumper"—hisses and hurras.) It was said that the man who pledges himself was a slave, but no man need pledge himself; no man was obliged to be a candidate; he was ready to give the pledges because they were in accordance with his principles. If a gentleman said he did not come here to receive his opinions from the persons of whom he asked support, what did he come here at all for, he'd better go back—he is to be your servant—to be your delegate to represent your feelings, your wishes, and your opinions, and not his own. (Cheers and hootings.) Did they think it would have no weight with the aristocracy to have a man go backed by the opinion of the people of Norwich, to carry into execution measures to restore happiness to the country; the Lords must give way to a House of Commons delegated by the people, if not, the Lords themselves would be swept away, not merely the Lords bishops, for they would be swept away at any rate. The reform act had placed power in the hands of the people; it gave them the power to restore every class to their just and legitimate rights. Mr. Eagle referred to the distressed state of the country, and observed he was old enough to have heard the distress attributed to various causes—at one time it was the transition from war to peace; at another time there was too much corn for the mouths; then there were too many mouths for the corn; then 'twas the poor-laws; then poor men's wives bred too fast; there was over population, people must emigrate; his expedients were not of this kind, his statement of the cause of distress was comprised in two words, excessive taxation—this opinion of his had been placed on record as far back as 1823; his principles, therefore, could not be said to have been lately taken up. Taxation took money from those that worked and gave it to those who did not (cheers,) but not only of the load of taxation did he complain, but of the manner of its disposal—it went to pamper in luxury a proud and rapacious aristocracy. "Am I, (said Mr. Eagle,) likely to have been brought by the Tories to make use of these words." Mr. Eagle went on to say that he would pledge himself to do away with the standing army—there ought to be no barracks in this country; but instead of being abolished they were increasing, for two new ones were ordered to be built near London. He pledged himself also to support a tax on machinery, also to abolish tithes, not the extinction of tithes as Mr. Stanley now explained it, but the total and entire abolition of tithes. His next pledge was to repeal the septennial Parliament and return to triennial Parliaments, in order that the people might have more checks upon their representatives. He also pledged himself to support the repeal of the malt, soap, and excise duties. There was only one more point on which he need make any observations, but it was one of great importance and had excited a strong feeling in the city of Norwich. He alluded to that clause of the reform act which deprived freemen of their franchise if they had received parochial relief. He knew there had been a similar law before, but in this city, from a just and laudable feeling, it had not been acted upon. But the reform act put an end to the means of making that arrangement, for it prevented votes being registered of persons who had received parochial relief, and votes not being registered could not be tendered at the poll. He was sorry for it. He pledged himself if he was returned to endeavour to get that wicked clause repealed. (Cheers.) Mr. Eagle concluded by thanking the meeting most cordially for their patience and kindness. To-morrow evening, added Mr. E., I shall again address you. I must now bid you good night. God bless you all.

Rev. Mr. JONES, of Brininghham, near Holt, next addressed the multitude. He came to the meeting, he said, without the intention of speaking, but it was difficult to see a gentleman of Mr. Eagle's repute standing in the proud situation in which he did, without com-

gratulating the electors of Norwich on the occasion. It was not surprising that a man of Mr. Eagle's principles, of Mr. Eagle's knowledge of the law, should be selected, he would not say by the aristocracy—by the opulent—but by those who formed the most numerous part of the citizens of Norwich. Mr. Eagle came to Norwich, and he appealed to the good sense of those who had been too much despised. Mr. Eagle should have his vote as he had pledged himself before 10,000 persons to exert himself for the total abolition of the worst system in the world, a system derogatory to mankind—he meant that of tithes. If they were not blind and lost to their own interests they should return Mr. Eagle. He congratulated them upon having selected a man pledged for the abolition of tithes, because, and he would have them mark his reason, as rational men God had constituted them free agents. He addressed them not merely as politicians, he addressed them as a meeting of professed Christians—as professing Christians, and as men constituted free and accountable agents he then spoke to them; if they condescended to persevere in paying tithes, they sacrificed their free agency—if they condescended any longer to pay tithes, they sacrificed their liberty. He spoke the words of inspiration—"Render to Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and to God the things that be God's."—If any in that assembly, and he was gratified to see so large a meeting, if any person could prove that it was compatible with religion to pay tithes, he would say he knew nothing of the Christian religion. If you condescend to pay tithes you give up your liberty and condescend to be brutalized. He would have them weigh these words in their hearts, and might God give them understanding in all things. The Rev. Gentleman's speech was frequently interrupted with cheers and hisses.

Mr. G. C. Burrows next addressed the meeting, and observed that he had been assailed with all sorts of bad words. He had been termed a humbug—it was said he was bought by the Tories—some said he was a madman, one gentleman offered to send him a strait-jacket, and to drive him to a lunatic asylum; he would appeal to the meeting whether his conduct was that of a madman, on the contrary was it not straight-forward and just. Some said he was bought by the Tories, if that was the case, they must have bought him before the meeting at the Pantheon; there was no gentleman at that time in opposition to Stormont and Scarlett, who must have bought him to oppose themselves. Mr. Eagle was the gentleman named at that meeting, he was pointed out by his writings. Mr. Eagle was the poor man's friend; he had introduced him to their notice, and was determined to persevere if the people would lend him their help, and set at defiance a self-constituted committee. Mr. Burrows stated that Mr. Eagle would address them again from the same place at seven o'clock the next evening.

WHIG-LIBERTY OF THE PRESS!

Return of the number of persons who have been committed by the magistrates for selling unstamped publications, from 10th and 12th of December, 1831; stating the names of the persons committed, and the periods for which committed: also, the number now actually in prison for each offence; distinguishing those committed by the magistrates of the metropolis and the several Police-offices, and those in other parts of the country.

It appears from the return, which was moved for by Mr. Hume, that there have been *one hundred and thirty-one* committals in about seven months. The number up to December, in last year, was *seventy-seven;* thus making in the whole TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHT, excluding those who have been committed from the Town-hall, Southwark, from which place no return was made. The length of the imprisonment of these victims of Whig "*liberality*" varied from one week to *six months.* The following is the number of committals from each office, according to this return. City of London, *ten:* Bow-street, *thirteen:* Hatton-garden, *twenty-seven:* Marlborough-street, *twenty-four:* Maryboone, *nine:* Queen-square, *five:* Union-hall, *thirty-seven:* Lambeth-street, *three.* Those *now* in prison in other parts of the country, *three.*

Why, here is a tolerable *battalion!* Let the reader bear in mind, that these prosecutions have taken place under the SIX ACTS; and that the Whigs, being out of place at the time, most furiously opposed these acts, as being *tyrannical to the last degree.* They have been nearly two years in place; they have *not repealed these acts;* but they have put them in force to a degree of rigour that the Tories never attempted. They have actually filled the jails with their victims. If a reformed Parliament do not take this power out of their hands, I shall pray its speedy destruction. I shall say, that it is infinitely worse than the boroughmonger Parliament.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR SOMERVILLE.

I HAVE received from Mr. MOODY, of LOUTH, 1*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.*; from Mr. GEORGE BERGER, of DEAL, 1*l.* 10*s.*; and from Mr. PETER DUTHOIT, from the villages of WINGHAM and EASTRY in Kent, 2*l.* 1*s.* In the whole I have received about twelve pounds, which is to be paid by me to the proprietor of the *Dispatch* newspaper for the use of Mr. SOMERVILLE. I understand that he is now discharged; and, if it suit him at any time, I should be very glad to see him and shake him by the hand, and thank him for the verh great good which he has done, that being, I trust, only a small beginning of the good which he is destined to do. He is now out of the reach of the lash, at any rate. An address from him to his former comrades, circulated, as it would be, throughout the kingdom, might be attended with most beneficial consequences.

MR. O'CONNELL.

THERE is a number of working men in London, who have formed the design of raising amongst themselves, money sufficient to *purchase a piece of plate to be presented to* Mr. O'CONNELL, as the "true friend of the oppressed." Every one must approve of this, unless he be a tax or tithe-eater. If the people will not uphold those who risk everything for their sakes, where are to be found men of talent to defend the people? I have been requested by these working men, to aid their undertaking by inserting their rules, and by giving a lecture in some place they shall appoint, both of which I shall do, regarding it as my duty to assist, in every way that I can, in upholding Mr. O'CONNELL in those great exertions which he is now making to relieve our fellow-subjects in Ireland from the heavy and galling yoke under which they are now groaning. Their rules are as follows:—

RULES.

1st. The committee of the friends of liberty and admirers of patriotism, will meet at the Coach and Horses, Cross-street, Hatton-Garden, to receive subscriptions collected at the various meetings, or a receipt from the person in whose hands the money is deposited, in order to present Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M. P. with a piece of plate, as a mark of their esteem and admiration of his indefatigable labours in the cause of his suffering country, and as a trifling tribute of gratitude for his powerful, persevering, and universal protection of the rights and liberties of the British empire at large.

2d. It is resolved for the better government and security of the monies that are now, and may be, from time to time, collected for the purpose above-mentioned, that no sum or sums, however trivial, shall be drawn or paid from the said funds without the consent of the committee, and then only to be paid by their order on the Treasurer.

3d. It is resolved, for the better furthering the purpose for which we were appointed, that as many of the committee as can make it convenient, shall meet every Wednesday evening at Mr. Magee's, the said Coach and Horses, Cross-street, Hatton-garden, to communicate any information they may possess, or to suggest anything that may further the cause they have so deeply at heart.

4th. It is resolved that five of the committee shall form a quorum, for the general transaction of business: but that no money transaction shall be taken into consideration, unless thirteen of the committee shall be present; and for such purposes the whole of the committee shall be summoned.

5th. It is resolved that no person be admitted as a member of the committee that have not been proposed and approved of at a public meeting of this society.

6th. It is resolved that Mr. Daniel Hogan be printer to the O'Connell committee.

Carried unanimously by the committee-men attending the first general summoning of the said members to adopt the rules.

R. CHIPPERFIELD,
RICHARD LUKINS,
JOHN COFFEY,
JAMES HOGAN,
MICHAEL RUSSELL,
J. MAGEE,
THOMAS SIMPSON,
THOMAS MAHONEY,
DANIEL HOGAN,
MATT. DELANY.

Approved by the Rev. Mr. Magee.

J. MAGEE.

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BROUGHAM'S BOOK-WORK.

THE booksellers are crying out murder against this spreader of "USEFUL KNOWLEDGE." They complain that he is taking away all their business; that he is at the head of a monopoly for publishing books; that he *pirates upon them*. They have inserted their remonstrance with him in the newspapers, *as an advertisement*. When they send it to me, and pay me two guineas for it, I will insert it too. BROUGHAM will not pirate UPON ME, I warrant him. It is a very dirty affair. I can bring proof of his books having been circulated through the Post-office by OFFICE FRANKS! It is a pretty job, to be sure; but as the quarrel is between friends, I decline to interfere in it. If let alone, they will inflict suitable punishment on each other; but it is very clear, that, in a short time, BROUGHAM and I shall have the only two book-shops in London.

DENNIS COLLINS.

THIS man has been tried for high-treason, and condemned. That he will be pardoned is clear. I have not time now to write upon this subject; but it is as pretty an affair, taking it altogether, and looking at the acts of the Government towards other persons, as any that I have witnessed in the course of my life. If CARRINGTON did say that which is imputed to him in the report of the trial, the Political Unions in general, and that of BIRMINGHAM in particular, ought to deal with him immediately.

TO FARMERS AND GARDENERS.

LORD VERNON, who has raised some very fine crops of my corn, has invented a *hoe* for moving the ground between the plants, of which *hoe* I am here about to insert a description, which he has been so good as to send to me. His Lordship, like myself, acknowledges that though he had read, like Lord BACON, numerous volumes on agriculture and gardening, he never knew anything at all about the matter, until he read "TULL'S HUSBANDRY;" which work has been republished by me in two successive editions. By the reading of this work, his Lordship discovered, that *shallow* hoeing was hardly any tillage at all; and yet there wanted some very narrow thing to go between the *corn-plants*. This led him to invent the *tillage-hoe*, of one of which he was so good as to make me a present, which has served as a model for the making of others, of which I have sent one into HEREFORDSHIRE, for the purpose of hoeing a field of corn, or rather three fields of corn in that county. The *hoe* is called, and ought to be called, "Lord VERNON'S *tillage-hoe*;" and a specimen of it may be seen at CHARLWOOD'S, *Tavistock-row, Covent-garden*. I have tried this *hoe* most amply, have found it answer all the purposes ascribed to it, and I strongly recommend it to the attention of all farmers and gardeners. It is better than any horse-hoe, and the working it is done a great deal cheaper. My Lord VERNON tells me that he has a magnificent crop of barley, after barley last year, and no manure; the soil an ordinary gravelly loam; and that he attributes the goodness of the crop entirely to two *hand*-hoeings which it has had with this hoe. Whoever tries such an experiment will always find it to answer; but the reluctance of farmers to pay labourers' wages, operates here, as in so many other cases; they seem to grudge nothing but that which is given to the labouring-man. They grudge neither corn, nor hay, nor harness, nor implements; but that which is given to the labouring man, nineteen-twentieths of them look upon as so much thrown away. I here insert the description of this hoe.

"The common flat hoes, whether "square or triangular, do little more "than SCRAPE the ground, cutting "weeds in half, leaving the roots in the "ground to grow again, and giving no "REAL CULTIVATION to the soil, but "which the tillage-hoe effectually does. "The iron part of this hoe should weigh "about a pound and a half, with a se-"micircular neck, hammered four-"square, the spike part five inches long,

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" by one and three quarters wide at the " widest part, and narrowed from thence " to the point; the face next the hand, " to be flat; the back to be ridged " along the middle to full half an inch " thick where the widest part is, and ta- " pering from thence to the sides and " point. The point to be set nearly " at a right angle to the handle; the " spike part of the hoe to be of good " steel and well tempered, and it must " be made strong enough to bear being " struck down five or six inches into " hard or stony ground. The handle " may be of white deal, exactly fitted " into the socket, and secured by a " screw or rivet which may easily be " taken out, as the hoe will occasion- " ally want sharpening or fresh steel- " ing; and which cannot be done with- " out taking off the handle. The han- " dle should gradually increase in thick- " ness all the way from the socket to " the end, so as to be a full inch and " half in diameter at the end. This " shape is very material, as it adds so " much to the ease and power of using " the hoe. In working between rows " of plants of any width where the " ground is at all hard, and not in a " state of fine cultivation, the best mode " of using this hoe is to walk backward " and work forward, setting on near " your feet, a full pace or so, and work- " ing from you until all the soil which " you can reach has been stirred over, " then moving backward a pace, work " up the part first hoed, and join the " two parts together; breaking and " levelling with the side of the hoe; " and this is the easiest way as well as " the best, because nearly all the strik- " ing down, and drawing towards you, " is done into loose soil. Between nar- " row rows, and where the land is finely " cultivated, the hoe may be drawn " through it backwards: by either of " these modes you avoid treading upon " the soil which has been worked. The " sides of the hoe may be used for flat " hoeing or earthing up, and the iron part " by itself may be used as a hand hoe. " In the hands of a good labourer, ac- " customed to the use of it, the expedi- " tion with which land may be brought " into a state of cultivation, will exceed " belief. Hand hoes even to a very " small size, made upon this principle, " will be found very useful for cleaning " young quickset-hedges, as well as for " a variety of other purposes."

TO PEEL'S-BILL PEEL.

Bolt-Court, 21st of Aug., 1832.

PEELY,

IF you be not a greater fool, even than I take you to be; if you be not one of nature's fools, you must, at this time, have a sort of "fearful looking " forward towards that which is to " come." In the meanwhile, to amuse you a little, I will let you see what the *Englishmen in the United States of America* say and think of *you and me*. I take the following article from the London *Weekly Dispatch* of the 20th instant, and, for your comfort, I will tell you that I met with this weekly paper everywhere in Hampshire, Sussex, and Surrey, where the fame and the sale of it have been deservedly increased by its having so nobly, and from motives so pure, taken up and maintained the cause of *the soldier* SOMERVILLE. The following article has, I perceive, been published in all the New York papers, and, of course, it has travelled throughout the whole of North America, and also throughout the West Indies. Take it then, PEEL, chew the cud upon it, and hug yourself in the possession of your wealth. You had the "*manliness*" to say, in a place where I could not answer you, "that you commended the *manly* " conduct of the Attorney-General in " prosecuting me." It is probable that I shall be in a place where I can answer you, if you should think it prudent to come there. Till then make yourself as comfortable as you can in reflecting, that *ministerial responsibility*, after having so long been a mere empty sound, may at last have something like *substance* in it.

WM. COBBETT.

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PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING OF ENGLISHMEN, IRISHMEN, AND SCOTCHMEN, AT NEW YORK, IN AMERICA, ON THE 4TH OF JULY LAST.

1st. Resolved, That we have been driven from our native soil by an ignorant and tyrannical aristocracy, and a still more ignorant priesthood, yet we are still lovers of our country, and feel the most anxious solicitude for its welfare.

2d. That for the expression of these our sentiments, no day can be better selected than the anniversary of the American independence.

3d. That we congratulate our countrymen at home on the noble stand which they have made; not doubting that a thorough reform will be effected by their virtue and patriotism, and that under such a reform no member will be sent to Parliament who will not enforce the necessity of a cheap Government.

The following address to the men of England, of Ireland, and of Scotland, was passed.

Fellow-Countrymen—Can we who have been scourged, plundered, and otherwise oppressed, by the rapacious and bloody boroughmongers; scourged, plundered, and oppressed by them to such a degree, that at last, in order to escape from their iron gripe, it became necessary for us to flee from our kindred, our friends, our beloved country, and everything dear to our hearts; can we, who have sought and found an asylum in this land of freemen, where there are none to make us afraid; where we (some of us at least) have been for years laughing at the folly, madness, stupidity, and imbecility, alike of Whigs and Tories; can we, on this glorious day, on this great jubilee, amid the joyous shouts of millions of freemen, who at this moment rend the air from Maine to Missouri with exultation, in commemoration of that event which, fifty-six years ago, relieved them from the galling yoke of English boroughmongers; can we, think you, so far belie our nature, as to affect not to have some sympathy with you, in your reverses and in your triumphs, while struggling with our country's foes! and shall we, or can we, having hearts to feel, remain cold and quiescent as oysters, merely because we have nothing to fear as to the security of our own persons and our own property? No, no! countrymen, we cannot be thus cold or thus quiescent, until our hearts cease to beat or our memories become extinct. On this glorious day, struggling to forget our and your sufferings, we give our hearts to joy, and speak to you only in terms of congratulation and of commendation. We congratulate you, then, on the result of that unanimity, promptitude, and decision in action, displayed by you, in driving your open foes from the councils of the King, and in bringing his Majesty so far to a sense of his duty to his loyal subjects as to perceive that you were really in earnest in your just and most righteous demands. Here, we have in you, a sure pledge of your success; here, in you, we have another proof, "that for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it." On you we build all our hopes, and assuredly we build upon a rock. You give us to know that your supremacy is supreme: in this we behold so much of wisdom, of patriotism, and virtue, that we know not how to express that gratitude, admiration, and honour that we feel to be your due. In 1819, when the "*thing*" passed "that *nice young man's bill*," *(Peel's Bill,)* Mr. Cobbett justly observed, that "*the tiger has now drawn his own teeth!*" but it was for you to draw his talons, and to break his spine. This you have done, and now the monster is prostrate, and dies beneath your feet. The reform is yours. To urge you to proceed, would be to suppose you capable of relaxing in your determination to reap the fruit of your past toil, under that cheap Government that we are sure you have resolved to have; we, therefore, merely suggest, that in order to reap that fruit, it will only be necessary firmly and unanimously to demand of those new members whom you will send to the House of Commons, that they proceed forthwith to adopt such measures as may be necessary to give effect to the following fourteen well-known propositions:

1. To put an end to all pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances, half-pay and all other emoluments now paid out of the taxes, except for such public services as, upon a very scrupulous examination, shall be found to merit them; and to reduce all salaries to the American standard.

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2. To discharge the standing army, except such part of the ordnance and artillery as may be necessary to maintain the arsenals at the sea-ports in a state of readiness for war; and to abolish the military academies, and dispose of all barracks and other property now applied to military uses.

3. To make the counties, each according to its whole of members of Parliament, maintain and equip a body of militia, horse as well as foot and artillery, at the county expense, and to have these bodies, as they are in America, mustered at stated periods; so that, at any time, a hundred thousand efficient men may be ready to come into the field, if the defence of the kingdom require it.

4. To abolish tithes of every description; to leave to the clergy the churches, the churchyards, the parsonage houses, and *ancient* glebes; and, for the rest, leave them to the voluntary contributions of the people.

5. To take all the rest of the property, commonly called church property; all the houses lands, manors, tolls, rents, and real property of every kind, now possessed by bishops, chapters, and other ecclesiastical bodies, and all the misapplied property of corporate bodies of every sort; and also all the property called crown-lands, or crown estates, including that of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster; and sell them all, and apply the proceeds to the discharge of the debt which the late Parliaments contracted with the fundholders.

6. To cease, during the first six months, to pay interest on the fourth part of the debt; second six months, to cease to pay interes on another fourth; and so on for the other two-fourths; so that no more interest, on any part of the debt, would be paid after the end of two years.

7. To divide the proceeds of all the property mentioned in paragraph No. 5. and also in paragraph No. 2. in due proportion, on principles of equity, amongst the owners of what is called stock, or in other words, the *fundholders*, or persons who lent their money to those who borrowed it in virtue of acts of the late Parliaments, and to give to the fundholders, out of the taxes, nothing beyond these proceeds.

8. To make an equitable adjustment with respect to the pecuniary contracts between man and man, and thereby rectify, as far as practicable, the wrongs and ruin inflicted on thousands upon thousands of virtuous families by the arbitrary changes made by acts of the late Parliaments, in the value of the money of the country.

9. To abolish all *internal taxes* (except on the land) whether direct or indirect, including stamp-taxes of every description; and to impose such postage charge for letters, as to defray the *real expenses* of an economical and yet efficient post-office establishment, and no more; so that the postage would be merely a *payment* for the conveyance of letters, and not a tax.

10. To lay just as much custom-house-duty on importations as shall be found conducive to the benefit of the navigation, commerce, and manufactures of the kingdom, viewed as a whole, and not to lay on one penny more.

11. To make effectual provision in every department for the maintenance of a powerful navy; to give such pay and such an allotment of prize-money to seamen as to render impressment wholly unnecessary; to abolish the odious innovation of *naval academies*, and reopen the door of promotion to skill and valour, whether found in the heirs of nobles, or in the sons of the loom or of the plough; to abolish all military orders, and to place the navy next in honour to the throne itself.

12. To make a legal, a fixed, and a generous allowance to the King, and through him, to all the branches and members of his family; to leave to him the unshackled freedom of appointing all his servants, whether of his household or of his public ministry; to leave to him the full control over his palaces, gardens, and parks, as land-owners have over their estates; to take care that he be not worried with intrigues to purloin from him that which the people give him for his own enjoyment; so that he may be, in all respects, what the chief of a free people ought to be, his name held in the highest honour, and his person held sacred, as the great guardian of the people's rights.

13. To make an accurate valuation of all the houses, lands, mines, and other real property, in each county in the whole kingdom; to impose a tax upon that property, to be paid quarterly, and in every county on the same day, and in such manner as to cost in the collection, or rather payment, not more than *four hundred* pounds a-year in one county: to make the rate and amount of this vary with the wants of the state, always taking care to be amply provided with means in case of war, when war shall be demanded by the safety, the interest, or the honour of the kingdom.

14. To cause the Protestant hierarchy to be legally repealed and abolished in Ireland; and to cause the Parliament of the whole kingdom to hold its sessions, and the King to hold his court in Ireland once in every three years, and to cause the same to take place in the city of York once in every three years, and also in the city of Salisbury once in every three years.

These propositions carried, you have a *cheaper Government* than that under which we have at present the happiness to live; these propositions carried, and our country is again that happy and "merry old England" which she was; these propositions carried, and our country will gather around her her scattered children, who are now roaming over the world friendless and broken-hearted; these propositions carried, and our

country is again a shield to the oppressed and a rod of vengeance to the oppressor.

Thus, then, my MANCHESTER propositions have travelled pretty far! I thank these Englishmen of New York for this kind and public-spirited address, which is written with great ability, and contains sentiments which do honour to our country. These Englishmen, in the midst of shouts of victory over the boroughmonger Parliament fifty-six years ago, did not forget the country of their birth, and they took this opportunity of exulting at our triumph over this same boroughmonger Parliament. As I said, years ago, in addressing myself to the boroughmonger crew, that they would assuredly be pulled down and destroyed, and that the day of their destruction would be celebrated by the four corners of the earth. This prophecy is now pretty nearly fulfilled, and it will be quite fulfilled if the new Parliament have in it only a tolerable portion of pledged members.

MR. O'CONNELL'S LETTER ON THE APPROACHING ELECTIONS.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

Derrynane Abbey, August 10, 1832.

Is there then no native arm
Whose veins the Irish blood doth warm?
Is there no heart in the trampled land,
To spurn the usurper's vile command?
Can the wronged realm no arms supply
But the abject tear, and the silent sigh?

BELOVED FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—I cannot describe in adequate language, the pride as well as pleasure I feel at having been solicited to come forward as a candidate for your representation. It is an honest pride, I trust: it is a natural pleasure, I know. But, you will, I am sure, recollect that I now represent my native county—that my loved friends and neighbours, the companions of my infancy—the friends of my manhood—the solace of my more mature years, are so indulgent as to be satisfied with my parliamentary exertions. They know that my talents are moderate, but they believe that my intentions are honest, and they are convinced that I cannot be intimidated or seduced by force or by bribery, from perseveringly endeavouring to ameliorate the social state of my long-oppressed, but beloved native land.

Oh! It is the loveliest land
On the face of the earth.

Entertaining this kind of confidence in me, I appeal to yourselves how could it be possible for me to desert those who behave to me with the indulgence and kindness of my present constituents. You will, I think, on reflection, admit, that it is not possible for me to desert Kerry until Kerry shall desert me—and if, in my native county, I am hereafter deemed unworthy of a seat in Parliament, that will be to me an intelligible hint to retire into private life—a hint which it will be my duty to obey, as if it were a command. As long as I remain in Parliament, I desire to remain Member for Kerry.

I do hope and trust, that this plain statement will suffice as my excuse to decline any solicitation from any other quarter, however high or stimulating to legitimate ambition; and surely no place can hold out more inducement to the most glorious ambition than Limerick. Its historic recollections—its modern exertions—its ancient glory—its more recent utility—the bloody struggles of former days—the more peaceable triumphs of our own times—all these and many other entwining traits, dear to memory and sacred to country, all surround Limerick with a kind of halo, that renders it impossible to speak of her without respect, or to think of her without affection.

And yet—and yet there is another and more heart-binding claim which Limerick has on the vital impulses of nationality. It is not merely that her women were, as they are, to a proverb, lovely and virtuous, or that her men drained their dearest veins, as if they contained only ditch water, whenever the cause of Ireland called for a sacrifice. No; it is not any of these endearing and ennobling recollections, not all of them put together. No; there is another and a higher reputation attached to Limerick. It is this—Limerick exhibited the chivalrous good faith and high honour of the soul of Ireland; Limerick exhibited the base treachery, the depraved violation of good faith, the falsehood, the depravity, the utter vileness of our English rulers. The Angleseas and Stanleys of former days showed themselves in their native colours, and committed one of the most atrocious crimes that ever stained the annals of any nation in which confidence was so unjustly placed; or inflicted misery on any people, who had the folly to confide in a generosity and truth which were often boasted of, but never exhibited in practice.

Yes, Limerick is the glory of Ireland, and the shame and disgrace of the English Government. I should, indeed, be insensible to ancient renown and modern patriotism, unless I were proud of being the representative of Limerick, were I at liberty to make the experiment of canvassing its electors.

But, men of Limerick, what are you now to do? Are you to become the sport of mere jobbers? Are you to honour with your choice men who may talk of Ireland, but think only of themselves? Let me return your kindness by the candour and zeal of my advice and the honesty of my counsels.

Men of Limerick, another crisis has arrived in your history. The men of Limerick of all former times were found equal to the important period in which they were called on to act a conspicuous part. Is it possible that the present generation can be unworthy of their fathers, or that they will "shame their sires" by their conduct? I do not suspect it: I do not believe it. On the contrary, I place my most unlimited confidence in their spirit, their integrity, their patriotism; and I proceed to offer my advice to men of undaunted spirit—to men of unquestionable integrity—to men of undeviating and ardent patriotism.

Men of Limerick, attend to my advice: men of Limerick, "fearless, frank, and free," set an example to the rest of Ireland by your selection of good honest Irish anti-tithe and genuine repeal representatives.

My humble and earnest advice to you is—

First—Keep yourselves for the present totally disengaged. Promise nobody, bind yourselves to nobody, until you see all those who desire your suffrage, and until you are able to select from the entire number the proper persons. I press on you most earnestly to keep yourselves disengaged for the present. I venture to repeat this advice most earnestly and most anxiously—keep yourselves totally disengaged until the time of the election approaches, and that you are able to review all the candidates, and see which are best for Ireland.

Second—I make but one exception to this advice. Pardon me for the suggestion; but I cannot avoid saying there is one man who, if he were to offer himself, I should not hesitate to press on your immediate adoption—I mean Mr. Wm. Roche. He was always, in the worst of times, zealous, manly, and true; he is emphatically what should be called a true man. I am a witness to the whole tenor of his unobtrusive but always ready determination and perseverance in the cause of both civil and religious liberty. He never was absent from his post; and never filled the post without doing honour to himself and good to his country. Men of Limerick, Ireland owes him a debt of deep gratitude, and it would be indeed another proud day in your annals, that in which you sent to Parliament that honest, most intelligent, high-minded and true gentleman. If he declares himself a candidate, all Limerick will, I trust, declare for him without hesitation or delay.

Third—My next advice to you relates to lords. From an honest man to two lords is a rapid transition. And, first, there is I understand, an attempt to get up a party for Lord Limerick! Lord Limerick's party!!! My stomach sickens at the idea. I never knew any man who so little deserved to have a party. In the entire peerage, I defy any body to point out one single lord who has so small a claim on popular attention or regard. I will not dwell upon him, because I take it to be utterly impossible that the electors of Limerick could be so degraded as to adopt any party founding his claims on any conexion with Lord Limerick. Faugh!!!

Fourth—The other lord, and he has something of a party, is Lord Gort; he, too, must be rejected. He is, however, I candidly acknowledge, much superior to Lord Limerick. Besides, he not only voted against, but actually offered to fight against, the desolating Union, which has struck down Ireland from her rank amongst the nations. I also trust he will soon become a repealer. Yet this party must be rejected. They violently, virulently, and audaciously opposed the rights of your citizens, the religious liberties of your countrymen, and, lastly, they were partisans of the base oligarchy which has so long usurped and abused the representation of the people.

Fifth—There is another party amongst you which must be equally rejected, unless, indeed, they will now amalgamate with their fellow-citizens, and become part and parcel of the popular electors—I mean that which has been called the tail of the Gort party—a party which, in the decline of the Vereker interest, have, like false allies in the defeat, taken to themselves as much of the spoil of their principals as they possibly could—men who were fed and fattened—raised from low grades in society to wealth and civic dignity by the Verekers, and who deserted those Verekers as soon as it was their interest to do so. It is said that the crawling worm turns its tail in anger on the foot that crushes its body: but this tail is a crawler of another description, and has turned on the hand that exalted and fostered it. Let there be no compromise with the "tail of the Verekers." The ranks of the free electors are open to them if they please; but, as a party, let them be put down without hesitation.

Sixth—I have heard the name of my friend, Mr. Matthew Barrington, mentioned as a candidate on the popular or democratic interest. He is the son of a respectable fellow-citizen, is certainly a man of integrity, and, I am bound to add, the only placeman I ever knew who did his duty to his employers without acrimony, party spirit, or virulence. He is, I own it, a most excellent public officer. I never knew a better—I believe I never knew so good. But then he is a public officer. He receives large—very large emoluments from the Government for the time being; and however meritorious his services may be, any Government against which he voted would be able, in an hour, to deprive him of his place, and thus inflict on him a great pecuniary loss. You cannot, therefore, think of electing him. I should be sorry to canvass against him; but as long as he holds his present office, he is, in my judgment, decidedly disqualified.

I will not name others who are said to be candidates, but who have not as yet declared themselves. Men of Limerick, avoid jobbers. That is my most earnest advice—avoid jobbers. Let there be no premature promise. You may have the Prince of jobbers amongst you yet.

Who, then, are you to elect? I know not their names; but this I know, and therefore confidently anticipate, that you will require distinct pledges from your candidates, and will reject those who refuse to give the pledges.

The first pledge will be the voting for the total extinction of tithes and church-rates, so that no man shall in future be compelled to pay one shilling for the support of any religious persuasion to which he does not belong.

The second pledge will be to vote for such alteration in the grand jury laws as may give popular control over the levying and expenditure of public moneys.

The third pledge will be to vote for a reform in the appointment of justices of the peace, so as to make them eligible by the people, and not nominated by any public officer of the Government. Believe me that this is one of the most important topics to the peace, tranquillity, and ease of the people. It is a usurpation which has given this nomination to the Chancellor.

The fourth pledge will, I trust, be to vote for an address to the Crown to remove Lord Anglesea, Stanley, and Blackburn, from office in Ireland. It is my most solemn conviction that nothing useful to the country, or conciliatory to the interests or feelings of the Irish people, can be done while those individuals remain in office.

As to Lord Anglesea, I refer you to a report of an incredible dialogue between him and a deputation of the honest men of Cork. If you can believe that such a dialogue took place outside of a lunatic asylum, you will, I am sure, not hesitate to insist on his removal from this unfortunate country.

As to Stanley, I believe there is one point on which all parties are perfectly agreed, namely —that no man was ever so unsuited to this country. One and all, we agree to throw Stanley overboard. Indeed, he returns our ill-will by the most sovereign contempt for us all.

As to Blackburn, I refer you to two things; first, the recent dispersion of meetings convened to petition Parliament; and secondly, the refusal at his instance (as the newspapers report) of the right of peremptory challenge to a man accused of felony. Besides, he ought never to have been appointed to the situation of Attorney-General by Earl Grey's Government.

The fifth pledge is the most important of all—it is to vote for the repeal of the Union.

The time is come when no man should presume to canvass the free electors of Ireland on any other ground save as a repealer. It is impossible for this country to prosper without a local legislature. The Union creates, augments, accumulates the greatest possible evil to Ireland—namely, absenteeism. The Union presupposes that the Irish people are unable, that is, too stupid or too vicious, to govern themselves. It is an insult upon us. It is an insult on the common sense of every human being as well as on the people of Ireland in particular, because it is not possible to deny that any man's affairs can be so well taken care of by others as by himself; and what is true of individuals generally must be true of a nation, for a nation is nothing but the aggregate of individuals. Men of Limerick, the Irish nation is competent to take charge of its own affairs; it is, I trust, willing to do so, and I know it is able to obtain charge of its own affairs the moment it determines to attain that desirable object. Let it, however, always be borne in mind, that it was by dissension we were weakened and our national rights spoliated. Let us always remember that it is by unanimity alone that we can regain our national independence.

The distinction of sects or persuasions should no longer be known in politics. Judge of men in the political world by their conduct, not by their creeds. Let the Catholic conciliate the Protestant—let the Protestant be reconciled to the Catholic. Mere cause of quarrel is over as far as relates to temporal affairs, and the affairs of eternity can only be neglected or nursed by rancour, hatred, or enmity—"the greatest of all is charity." Let, then, the Catholic, the Protestant, the Dissenter, be combined in one common bond of Christian charity, and the legislative Union will cease in one hour. How bountiful is our ever-adorable God to Ireland! All that is requisite is, that we should become real Christians by loving one another. The moment we put on this genuine mark of real Christianity, that very moment the greatest possible political blessing can be realised, and our domestic Parliament, truly and effectually nationalized, will give protection to Irish manufactures, encouragement to Irish commerce, and prosperity to the Irish agricultural interests.

The repeal of the Union should henceforth be our first, last, and our almost only thought, I know the British Parliament well, and I know you cannot find information or capability there of serving Ireland. The repeal of the Union now is our watchword—our national cry.

I conclude as I began, by begging of you to keep your votes disengaged. Before the election comes on, I intend to have the honour of paying you a visit. My honest and excellent friend, Tom Steele, will, I am quite sure, accompany me. There never lived a more disinterested, fearless, and chivalrous person. If he and I possess any influence, the electors of Limerick will give us the gratification of discarding lordlings, jobbers, aristocrats, and traffickers in politics, and return to Parliament no others than men of sterling patriotism, and of Irish nationality.

All Ireland now looks to Limerick. Ireland never yet looked to Limerick and was disap-

pointed. Limerick will again shine out the great glory of Ireland.

I have the honour to be, beloved fellow-countrymen,

Your faithful and devoted servant,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

RIGHT OF VOTING.

THE following very able article, which I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 22nd of August, should be read by every man in the country. It shows, that the Reform Bill, as it now stands, never can be carried into effect; and that any attempt to carry it into effect will make the whole country a scene of confusion. I beg all my readers to attend to it; and then they will see pretty clearly what we have to expect. Again, I say, that an attempt to execute this bill *as it now stands*, will plunge the whole country into confusion.

WM. COBBETT.

The following article would have appeared some days ago, but was delayed on account of the difficulty of procuring accurate accounts from three of the parishes:—

SCOT-AND-LOT BOROUGHS.

Notorious as the House of Commons has long been for the strange things it has done, few are either more strange or curious than the debate or conversation which took place on the evening before the prorogation of Parliament respecting the scot-and-lot boroughs.

"Mr. THOMAS DUNCOMBE said that the noble Lord, on a former occasion, stated that any scot-and-lot voter who had paid his rates up to the day of registration would be entitled to vote. I wish to ask him whether he meant the rates due to 5th of April, or the rates due to the day of the registration?

"Lord ALTHORP—I really think that these questions would be more fairly addressed to a lawyer than to me; but I apprehend that the law formerly was, that *all rates must be paid by scot-and-lot voters up to the day of election; and all that is done by the present bill is to put the day of registration* vice *the day of election.* (Hear, hear.) Therefore, where a voter claims under the old law, all rates must be paid up to the day of registration; and this would have been the case, if we had adopted the proposition of giving all scot-and-lot voters throughout the kingdom, the elective franchise.

"Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—Then I am able to state that not one elector in the parish of St. George, Westminster, will be entitled to vote. (Hear, hear. They have paid their rates up to the 25th of March; but if required to pay them up to the day of registration, not one will be able to do that; indeed, I believe that it is already too late now to take such a step. I had an opportunity this morning of ascertaining that not one of the 5,144 rate-payers in St. George's has qualified according to the opinion just delivered by the noble Lord; while, on the other hand, 4,180 of them have paid their rates up to Lady-day last. And now the simple question is—Can they vote?

"Lord ALTHORP—I omitted just now to state what I have already frequently stated, that those only are disqualified who refuse to pay when the demand is made on them. That is the old law of scot-and-lot voting; and that is equally applicable under the present act. Besides, if they have all paid up to Lady-day, such as occupy 10*l.* houses will be able to vote on that claim.

"Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—No, no.

"Mr. WILKS—The noble Lord does not appear to be aware that subsequent rates have been made.

"Mr. DUNCOMBE—I understand that only twenty-two out of the whole parish have paid the last rate.

"Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE begged to remind his noble Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) that nobody could escape from want of being applied to by the tax-gatherers. When that person gave in his return, it was always accompanied by an affidavit that the demand had been made.

"Lord ALTHORP was surprised that his right hon. Friend, who had so long represented a scot-and-lot borough, should not know that payment of the assessed taxes had nothing *at all to do with the old scot-and-lot boroughs.*

"Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE admitted, that it was only the new constituency who were bound to pay the assessed taxes.

"Sir G. WARRENDER thought it very clear that the country was in a very unlearned state with respect to the provisions of the Reform Act, and its workings; and, from the contradictory opinions he had heard from lawyers in that House, it was not likely, even if they were present, they could throw much light upon the subject.

"Sir EDWARD SUGDEN thought a great many restrictions had been introduced into the bill which might have been avoided, and which gave great trouble, and threw difficulties in the way of electors, without any benefit. *He had opposed the restriction to the payment of taxes,* and it might be recollected that he had also opposed the clause making the payment of rent a qualification; and had not that clause been removed at his suggestion, he believed it would have given universal dissatisfaction. The hon. Gentleman then referred to the additional difficulties thrown in the way of the electors for boroughs, as compared with the county constituency, and objected to the fee of a shilling paid by the former for registration.

"Mr. HUME objected now, as he had always done, to the payment of rates and taxes as a

qualification. His hon. Friend (Mr. Warburton) had presented a petition on this subject, numerously signed, in which the bribery likely to ensue from these clauses was very clearly pointed out. He noticed the evils which were likely to result, and said he was sure the bill never would give satisfaction until the qualification by payment of rates and *taxes was repealed.*

"Lord ALTHORP reminded Mr. Hume that payment of rates and taxes was the old common law qualification for voting.

"Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE thought it really important that Mr. Duncombe's question should be clearly answered. He should be very glad to hear from Lord Althorp whether the 4,000 inhabitant householders of St. George, who had paid their rates to the 25th of March were or were not entitled to vote under the act. It appeared that they had taken legal opinions on the subject, and it seemed, unless they had paid to the 5th of April, they were not entitled to vote. Now it was impossible they should have paid up to the 5th of April; and if they were disfranchised, it was, to say the least, a very hard case. However, it was better that those persons should know distinctly whether they were disfranchised or not. (Hear.)

"Sir EDWARD SUGDEN said, it must be left to the dispensers of the law to decide what the law was.

"Some other objections were taken to parts of the act; when

"Lord ALTHORP said, the legal meaning of the act must depend on the legal meaning of the words employed in it; upon which

"Mr. WARBURTON said, the only way by which doubts could be cleared was, by putting unfortunate candidates to the trouble and expense of coming before the House with election petitions.

"Sir G. WARRENDER said the act was a good act for the lawyers, and for no one else. The *only* result of the measure would be a rich harvest for the lawyers.

"The ATTORNEY-GENERAL declined answering any questions respecting the act, unless they were laid before him in black and white. He did not believe in the existence of the difficulties which were anticipated. The scot-and-lot right of voting remained the same as before, *except* that the day of registration was substituted for the day of election.

"Mr. HUME said the House was bound to make the act intelligible—it was not so at present. When such different opinions were given by the law authorities, surely it was advisable to ascertain what the real state of the law was.

"Mr. D. W. HARVEY said, it would be necessary to have returns of the deficiency of payment of rates, not in a few places, but universally throughout the country. If these returns should show that the constituency was so narrowed as to destroy the effect of the Reform Act, then he should say that a remedy ought to be applied by another session of this Parliament. But if it should turn out, as he was sure it would, that the deficiency had occurred but in few places, he thought it would be inexpedient to have another session."

If after this display of want of accurate knowledge respecting the act, amongst those who were bound to understand it thoroughly —whose business it was to make it clear and distinct to the public—who had every means which men could possess to acquire information—and who, with all these advantages, and eighteen months' attention to business, were so utterly ignorant of it, surely anybody else may be excused for not at once understanding so complicated, absurd, and incongruous a specimen of bad legislation.

Lord ALTHORP has all along been the spokesman for the whole administration, law officers and all, and his expositions of the act, however various, have never been impugned by any one of his coadjutors. We are, therefore, left to infer that they, as well as he, have entertained the same notions at the same times. By this the last exposition, Lord Althorp comes to the following conclusions:—

1. That the rates must be demanded.

2. That the act merely changes the day of election to the 1st of August, before which all rates must be paid.

3. That, therefore, the act leaves the scot-and-lot electors just where they were.

4. That scot-and-lot voters may poll as 10*l.* householders.

And first, then, as to the demand for rates. Every one of the Members should have been as well able to have decided the question as Lord Althorp, especially they who sat for scot-and-lot boroughs, and still more especially Sir John Hobhouse, who has for the twelve last years sat for the most populous and in all respects most important of all these boroughs, yet neither he nor any one else seemed at all to understand it. Thus, then, we have it at the dictum of the House that rates must be demanded and refused, or be neglected to be paid, to disable a scot-and-lot elector from voting; and a dry stick of a lawyer in the *Chronicle* of the 18th instant gravely tells us, "there can be no doubt that the voter was (is) not disqualified by the non-payment of rates which have not been demanded of him; this is the doctrine to be found in all treatises on election law, and has been too long sanctioned to be shaken by any *idle* suggestions of doubt." So, that settles the matter. This is, to be sure, very lawyer-like but very unlike the common sense of the matter, and very unlike the practice in scot-and-lot boroughs. When an elector has come to the poll, and been objected to because he had not paid all the rates due on the first day of the election, questions of demand were hardly ever raised or disputed. If the rates were not paid, his vote was rejected, simply because he had not paid. If, however, the elector were to bring an action against the returning officer for rejecting his vote, he might, and he probably would, be allowed by the judge to enter

into the question of demand of payment, and if demand was not proved, he might, perhaps, obtain a verdict; but he might not, as it would greatly depend upon the dictum of the judge; but to have this chance, he must go through "the fire and brimstone of the law;" he must have the delay, vexation, and exposure of a law-suit, with the chance of a non-suit or a verdict against him; and who that was not a good deal rich and a little bit crazy would ever bring such an action? It puts one in mind of a man who, after being ruined by a long-pending chancery-suit, complained to the barrister who had conducted his suit, and was coolly answered, that he had obtained a decree in his favour; and was asked what more he wanted? "Why," said the client, "I would have money; instead of which, I am ruined by paying costs." "Oh!" said the barrister, "we never contemplate costs." So it is with the dry stick of the Temple—"You may have your action; but I never contemplate costs." His lawyer-like notions can carry him no farther. Individuals can never in this way preserve their rights; neither is it certain that any number of such actions, if people were foolish enough to bring them, would preserve their rights. An antidote to all such causes may indeed be found in the observation of Lord Tenterden, in the trial "Cullen v. Morris," High Bailiff of Westminster, when his Lordship, in summing up, most truly said, "Nor, indeed, is it of any consequence what we decide as to the right of voting; for, after all, that is to be settled by the House of Commons."

Leaving this law or practice of law courts, and committees of the House of Commons, which are not remedies, let us come to the *rationale* of the matter. The Reform Act does not require that any demand should be made, neither does it permit the revising barrister to ask any such question of the overseer for the purpose of correcting his lists, nor is there any proper way in which it can be ascertained. If even the voter whose name has been omitted should demand that his name be put upon the list, and should allege that he was not called upon for the rate, how is the barrister to ascertain the fact otherwise than by the testimony of the overseer; and then he must determine what, in his opinion, constitutes a demand. If he should think himself bound to go thus far, which some might, and some might not, he at once opens a door by his decision to a petition against the return of the member; for, as Lord Tenterden said, the House will decide as to the right of voting, and special care has been taken in the act to reserve this power. By sec. 60, it is provided, that upon petitions to the House of Commons of an undue election, "certain persons shall be at liberty to impeach the correctness of the register, by proving, that in consequence of the decision of the barrister, the name of any person who voted at such election was improperly inserted or retained, or the name of any person who tendered his vote at such election was improperly omitted from such register." It may then be safely asserted, that no overseer, however able and well disposed he may be, can make out a list which shall not be obnoxious to a petition against the return of the member or members; nor can anything in the power of the barrister cure this inherent evil, which the act has inflicted on every city and borough in the kingdom. Again, is the barrister to question the overseer as to the correctness of the list in this particular? The answer is, No; it gives him no such power; he can only do so on an appeal from the man whose name has been omitted, or the impeachment of the list in respect to any one whose name had been placed there, on whom no demand had been made; conditions impossible to be complied with to any great extent in any place, and beyond endurance absurd and unjust if they could be complied with; for surely no one will say that an elector should be deprived of his vote by the want of recollection, or the mistake of the overseer, who in any considerable collection must fail to recollect, and must make other mistakes, unless he made accurate memorandums of the name and date of every one he called upon, and made what in law and what, in the opinion of a committee of the House of Commons, would constitute a demand; and no overseer can do all this. But if demand for payment of rates is to decide who are, and who are not to vote, the overseer has it in his power to affranchise or disfranchise whom he pleases, and to return whom he pleases to Parliament. He has only to make a demand so as to avoid receiving the rates from the party he wishes to disfranchise, and to omit altogether to make any demand on those whom he wishes to affranchise, and the consequence is certain. If this be law, and if a committee of the House still sanction such a proceeding, the best way will be to put an end to all voting in boroughs, and at once invest the churchwardens with the power of electing the members. There have been times—and these, too, at no very distant periods—when the churchwardens in Westminster, would willingly have availed themselves of this power to prevent the return of the reforming candidates; just as at Abingdon, the magistrates and overseers have taken advantage of the Reform Act to disfranchise the reformers, secure the return of a Tory candidate, and openly laugh at the people they have so basely tricked out of their franchise. It is then absurd to talk of demand of rates being at all necessary in scot-and-lot boroughs.

The act requires the overseers to put on their lists such and such only as would "have been enabled to vote on the last day of July had that been the day of election," and by the custom as well as by the law, so far as there is any law on the subject, every elector who on the 31st day of July had not paid the rate due at Midsummer-day, or on the 5th of July, according to the custom or law of the parish, was disqualified to vote, and no overseer

can therefore put any such elector's name on his list without a manifest breach of the law.

In some parishes the law in this respect is clearly understood, that no man's name will be put upon the overseer's list unless he had paid all poor-rates due, on or before the 31st of July. In other parishes, other views have been taken, and other rules adopted; some propose to make up lists of all voters who are not six months in arrears—others propose to include all who may pay their rates to the day on which the register must be made, so that here again are fruitful and frightful sources of litigation, petition, vexation, and ruin: never, surely, was there so bad an example of bad legislation as this.

Lord Althorp's second position is, that the act merely changes the day of election to the 1st of August, before which all rates must be paid; his third is an assertion that the scot-and-lot voters are left just where they were, and this, with the exception of Mr. Duncombe, seems to have been acceded to by the House.

Neither Lord Althorp nor any one else in the House appears to have had any previous knowledge of the way in which the rights of electors in scot-and-lot boroughs were exercised, and consequently no apprehension of the way in which they would be affected by the act. Lord Althorp said the questions put to him should have been put to a lawyer; why this should be so, does not, however, appear, any more than why Mr. Duncombe should have put his question, or Sir John Hobhouse have been desirous of any explanation; persons out of doors might be excused for asking questions, but every man in the House should have been equally competent to answer all such questions, every one quite as well as the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Attorney-General.

Mr. Duncombe asked, "How the scot-and-lot voters stood under the bill with respect to the payment of rates?" To this the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, "That according to the old law they were *bound to pay their rates up to the day of election.* They would now have to pay their rates to the 31st July, which was considered the day of election." This is correct, but it does not follow that it is of little or no consequence to the elector whether the day for payment of rates was the day of the election, or the 31st July; and in any other place, and amongst other persons, such an inference would seem very staange indeed. This fiction of the 31st July being the day of election, is in keeping with most of the other legal and Parliamentary fictions, and, like them, dreadfully mischievous. By the custom at least any voter who should pay all rates due before the day on which the next election commenced, whether in December, 1832, or in July, 1833, would be entitled to vote at the election. By the new law he would not be entitled to vote in December, 1832, nor at any time before the 31st July, 1833, even if he had paid all rates due at these periods, and yet had not paid the Midsummer rate due in 1832, before the 31st July, 1832; for the name of no one can be placed in the FIRST list of registration under the act, unless he had paid all rates due on or before the 31st day of July, 1832; and if his name is not on this list, he cannot vote until a new list shall have been made on the 31st July, 1833.

The condition of the electors is then not the same, but is materially and injuriously changed. Yet, Lord Althorp coolly remarks, that all the difference is in the day on which the rates were to be paid; the noble Lord did not see that this change, so important in his view of the matter, would disfranchise, at the least, two-thirds of all electors in scot-and-lot boroughs.

Startled at the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Duncombe said, then the 5,144 rate-payers of St. George were disfranchised; and subsequently, he added, that having made the inquiry, he found that 22 only had paid the last rate.

Much pains have been taken to ascertain the state of the several parishes which compose the city and liberty of Westminster, and the result will be seen in the following table:—

Parishes.	1. Number of RatePayers.	2. Number who voted in 1818.	3. Number qualified to vote July 31.
St. George	5144	2211	22
St. James	2784	2066	180
St. Martin	2218	1748	1500
St. Clement&c	1975	1289	320
St. Ann	1322	901	490
St. Margaret	1900	896	271
St. John	1796	659	153
St. Paul, &c.	549	447	10
	17788	10217	2946

NOTE.—The above table is compiled thus—
Column No. 1. From Returns made to Parliament.
2. From the Poll-books of 1818.
3. From Parish Officers, Vestrymen, and Returns to Parliament.

In three of the parishes the numbers may not be quite correct, but they are certainly upon the whole larger than the actual numbers on the overseers' books.

In St. Martin's, the old mode of making rates was departed from, and a very low rate being made due at no particular day, a very large number of persons have paid it.

Thus it appears that the number of persons who voted in 1818 was 10,217, out of 17,788 rate-payers, or thereabouts, and that the number now eligible to vote is 2,946.

If, then, out of 17,788 rated, 10,217 voted, and the rule hold—and there seems no reason to suppose it will not—only 1,700 will vote out of 2,946, who on the 31st July were eligible.

But to be liable to no imputation of error, say 2,000 will vote, and then no less than 8,217 will be disfranchised, taking the number who polled in 1818, and 15,788 less than the whole number assessed to the poor-rate.

Such, then, is the state of the borough of Westminster, and such similar, though probably much worse, will be the state of all the scot-and-lot boroughs; and the question again intrudes—can there be an election whilst matters remain thus, to say nothing of the difficulties in the counties, in old boroughs, where the right of voting is more complicated than in scot-and-lot boroughs, and in all the new boroughs?

4. Lord Althorp is of opinion that persons who may be disfranchised in scot-and-lot boroughs, may vote as 10*l.* householders. This seemed like news to the House, but not a lawyer opened his mouth on the subject. True it is, that all who were there were bound to have been as well informed on the subject as the Attorney-General; but then Mr. Attorney knew that the people, as Sir G. Warrender said, were very unlearned on the subject, and it was hardly fair towards them in Mr. Attorney to withhold his opinion, though he had no case before him and no fee in his pocket. It was intended to make all borough voters 10*l.* voters; but now that the act has passed, the intention goes for nothing—the words are everything; or, as Lord Althorp said, "the legal meaning of the bill must depend on the legal meaning of the words employed in it. Whether voters, disfranchised in scot-and-lot boroughs, can vote as 10*l.* householders, is a question affirmed and denied by learned gentlemen, and can alone be settled in a committee of the House of Commons." Here, then, again, is a fearful dilemma, from which there can be no escape—to a committee the matter must go, if no alteration be made in the act.

Mr. Warburton seems to have been the only one who saw the consequences of the act in the certainty that it would produce almost numberless petitions against returns—so various are the causes created by the act, that no honesty, no ingenuity, can avoid its snares, nor can any arrangement carry into effect its enactments, so as either to prevent petitions being presented, or, if presented, to enable any one to show that they are "frivolous and vexatious."

The Attorney-General unhandsomely, and in respect to the people out of doors, unjustly shirked the whole of the questions. He was afraid to venture on the complicated absurdities of the act; yet, as a crown lawyer, he of all men should have understood them, and should have been ready to expound them; much better would it have been for the people, and much more creditable to himself, to have at once acknowledged the necessity there is of a revisal of the act, than by a mean subterfuge to leave the mischief to work its own cure how it may. Miserable, indeed, is such legislation—wretched, indeed, the condition of persons subjected to the operation of an act of Parliament which the Attorney-General dare not venture to expound in the House of Commons.

Sir Edward Sugden, whose legal knowledge no one will impugn, whose studied, vehement, incessant opposition to the bill was remarkable, condemned the difficulties which had been unnecessarily crowded into the bill, and especially the "restrictions compelling the payment of rates and taxes." This is, indeed, the greatest of all the numerous evils the act inflicts upon the people; yet the pertinacity with which Ministers cling to these restrictions is equally remarkable and reprehensible; they still cling to the restriction, and say they cannot consent to repeal the clause making payment of rates and taxes necessary. Let us hope, however, that the voice of the people will be so fully and clearly expressed, as to induce our masters to change their minds, consent to a revival of the act, and remove all the evils it has either created or confirmed, and make the bill what they promised, and the people expected it should be, a real, substantial, and extensive benefit.

COTTAGE FARMING.

The following letter is so full of useful matter, and of benevolent sentiments, that I am sure my readers will excuse the length of it. W. C.

Sir,—For thirty years I have been anxious to render labourers happy, and was with Lord Winchilsea and others in a society for that purpose. It struck me, the most powerful mode of doing this was to demonstrate that it is the *most profitable*. By your valuable work, "Cottage Economy," it may probably be proved, that cottage tenants are far more profitable to landlords, than large farmers. It formerly required two acres of good grass to keep one cow; even then cottagers were glad to pay a much higher rent than farmers. It was therefore more profitable, as also more humane, to let them rent land, than for them to come on the parish. But, sir, you have shown, that one quarter of an acre may supply food enough for a moderate-sized cow. I may therefore presume, that one acre of good land (for which from farmers, tithe free, I only receive 1*l.* 15*s.* per acre) might keep three large cows, as you recommend Swede turnip, one ton

of which is said not to yield half the nutriment of a ton of mangel wurzel, which latter, too, is said to yield a larger crop, if the plants be a proper distance, as two feet apart. One good cow must be worth at least 10. yearly. Fresh butter here averages 15*d.* per pound through the year. But supposing only 9*d.* per pound with the calf, and the milk for the family, and butter-milk, &c., for pigs, a good cow must be worth from 12*l.* to 15*l.* yearly. But, taking it only at 10*l.*, and in the usual calculation of thirds, two-thirds for the tenant, and one-third for rent, there would be 10*l.* per acre. If the system were general, and butter to sell only for 4*d.* per pound, the cottager could pay 4*l.* per acre as rent. It may be objected, that if each cottager had several cows, it would take up too much of his time. But, if there were a larger number of cottagers, they would have time enough for themselves, and for farmers; if there were five times more cottagers, it would be to the advantage of the landlord, if the cottager pay higher rent than farmers. Might not the cottager's land *partly* be ploughed and harrowed, and then *finished* by the spade and rake? Plough work may be hired at a cheap rate; and if two acres were for cows, this might be useful, he could then make cheese, and Stilton cheese might pay as well as butter; one man could not with the spade work two acres. But with the aid of the plough, it might perhaps be done. I shall feel obliged for your opinion on this. It is a grand national desideratum to ascertain, what is the maximum proper to be done, for the wealth and the happiness of cottagers. I presume the minimum may be fairly assumed to be one acre of good ground, or at least half an acre. Salt is valuable, if judiciously used to mix with food, and for manure. The late excellent Sir Thomas Bernard, about twenty years past, got the duties repealed, and salt is now very cheap. Mr. Curwen found that one stone of chaff when steamed and mixed with salt, might be given, and it saved him three stone of turnips; besides improving condition, and preventing diseases, it is one of the best preventives of rot in sheep; for beasts, 4 ounces per day; and for sheep, about 2 or 3 ounces per week. As salt now costs only about 5*l.* per ton, instead of 30 or 40*l.* per ton, as formerly, the cost is now most trifling. It improves the milk, and prevents even turnips giving a bad flavour. Mangel wurzel appears to me a valuable root. The late Mr. Phillips, of Vauxhall, is said to have grown, in leaves and roots, above 150 tons from one acre of rich ground. I use the leaves boiled at table, and they resemble spinach. They may probably then be boiled with but little water, and given with the liquor and some salt to cattle, and if the plants be watered, six or eight cuttings of leaves may be had. I presume too, if the roots were boiled and given with the liquor, lukewarm, with salt, they might be 40 or 50 per cent. more nutritious as it is found; that oats thus treated are about one-third, it is said, more nutritious. Mangel wurzel, too, is said to make excellent beer; excellent wines are made from roots, as from carrots and parsnips. I have tasted *Madeira* made from such by an opulent tradesman, and therefore good beer by adding hops, may probably be made; and after the liquor is drawn, the roots may be given with salt for food. As malt is costly, the substitute of rye, which is sweet, without malting, might be tried; if first steamed, and then lightly roasted, like coffee, and mixed with a little treacle, I have found it, on a small trial, make most excellent *brown stout*. I intended to buy Needham's machine, but my maltster smiled, and said, it would only make what the farmers call "kill-devil," who sometimes make inferior beer thus by slow *boiling*. The strength of malt is best obtained by *infusion*. I make beer by boiling the water in a copper, which I then place with the malt in a mashing-tub, and thence, after having boiled the hops with the liquor, into the casks. This seems the cheapest and easiest mode. For bread, in a former scarcity, I ate for some months mixed bread, one of wheat, two of barley, and one of oat flour, and preferred it to the whitest baker's bread. I believe, too, it is easier

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of digestion. I am sorry to hear farmers do not grow Indian-corn in this southern county, and fear that northern farmers are less likely. Macpherson, at Bath grew grapes, peaches, &c. without fuel; and grapes have been grown in Scotland on his plan, weighing ten pounds and upwards per bunch. He had large glass cases, above five feet high. Still he must have had some strong compost to furnish HEAT; and I presume, with such aid, as by good hot lime and salt, mixed with manure, it might thrive. You do not mention carrots. The great Flanders carrot, in good soil, might yield seventy or eighty tons per acre, and being of superior saccharine quality, might be of value. You mention goats; might it not answer to introduce a superior breed from Portugal or some other southern country? Goat's milk mixed with cow's milk might improve cheese. I am trying to get some prime wheat for seed from Africa, and mean to try it, tied up in tufts. As lettuce is improved by tying up, it may improve the straw. If calves could be sooner weaned by hay tea, enriched by a little meal and linseed, with a little milk and salt, it may be useful, as leaving the cow sooner for milk. The French stove, similar, I believe to the American stove, which is open in front, and gives more comfortable heat, with less fuel, must be useful. If, in short, six or eight cows may be kept, where one is kept on grass, labourers may be raised from paupers to be opulent yeomen; landlords may receive higher rental, and the country be benefited, by maintaining a vastly greater number of the most valuable members of the community. I would suggest, might not the industrious labourers of the numerous parishes be advised to forward petitions to you, to be presented to Parliament? This important matter would then command public attention and fair discussion. This appears a fair temperate argument. Originally the labourers had the use of common land without rent. It was for the public benefit that commons were inclosed, to introduce improved culture. But if the labourers were deprived thus of their property, surely they had a right, they were entitled to some fair compensation or equivalent. The landlords, by instruction in improved culture, and by allowing the labourers to rent a few acres, would have bestowed an equivalent, and both would, as well as the public, have derived greater benefit. Allegiance and protection are reciprocal duties. Surely, then, industrious labourers may claim from the legislature to ordain that they shall, by enactment, be allowed to rent at *least* land enough for garden, and to maintain *one* cow, on condition of good conduct, &c. This, it may be shown can be done, without interfering with the labour to be performed by them for farmers. Landlords generally, it may be hoped, only require to have the matter clearly explained to them, and will be disposed to extend a proper parental attention to their labourers, when it is shown to be highly to their own interest, and may adopt a gradual scale of tenure, from one acre to five or more acres, as an encouragement to good conduct. It may be said, how can the labourers find money for cows, &c.? It may be answered, many opulent merchants have commenced on credit; and labourers readily find means, when allowed, to rent land. But even supposing it were requisite, a company like the insurance companies, might easily be formed; and even if 5 per cent. were charged as interest for loans, and 5 or 10 per cent. as insurance, forming a total of 10 or 15 per cent., even this would be beneficial to the labourers, who might, too, be required to find two bondsmen, as further security; and this would form an excellent investment. The labourers, too, might be required to subscribe to a fund, combining the advantage of benefit societies, and of savings-banks. If, sir, you can accomplish such glorious reform in agriculture, you would more nobly earn the title of *Liberator* than Mr. O'Connell; and the labourers could as easily afford to subscribe each their guinea to evince their gratitude, as the starving Irish peasants could subscribe their penny.

I remain, sir,

Your well-wisher, &c.

A SUSSEX GENTLEMAN.

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P. S. A slight improvement has commenced, in allowing labourers to rent land for gardens; but this is not sufficient to grow potatoes, &c. An industrious labourer ought at least to have one cow and pigs. Thus, by comparison, it is not enough to allow a working horse to have *hay*; he should have a fair allowance of oats and beans.

It may be objected, that it would not be profitable to landlords to have numerous cottages, and that the rent paid for land by labourers will not pay the interest of the money for building cottages, suppose a cottage to cost even 100*l*. If the labourer rent four or five acres, he can not only pay higher rent than the farmer, but also from the surplus more than the interest of the money, 100*l*., for the building. In comparing the cottager with the farmer. The farmer, if he pay 2*l*. per acre, expects a good house and buildings, which cost some hundreds. If the cottager pay 4*l*. or 5*l*. per acre, he will not only pay equal rent with the farmer for the land at 2*l*. per acre, but the surplus will pay handsome interest, while the farmer does not pay any interest for his buildings. The farmers are the rural monopolising, grinding aristocracy. It is the interest of landlords to protect and encourage the labourers; and in politics it is the interest of the crown to support the people and to curb the aristocracy. It may further be stated in petitions, it will *be to the interest of the landlords* to encourage the labourers, as they may by producing increased value, through a more enlightened system of culture, set an example to the farmers who now despise them, and put the farmers to their mettle. The tables may now be turned; it will be a fair punishment to the tyrant farmers for the landlords to reproach them for not producing as much per acre as the labourers. The farmer cannot be expected, from the *nature of the case*, to do as much in the twelve hours as the labourer, who works *for himself* besides the extra hours and the extra work of the labourer's wife and children on his land. Thus it is clearly the interest of the landlord to encourage the labourers. Even the courtierly Earl Chesterfield's maxim was, "Take care of the pence, "the pounds will take care of themselves." The farmers will be excited to the utmost by the example of the improved culture of the labourers. The farmers, from virulent envy, may combine to refuse to plough the cottager's land; but the landlord might remedy this evil by keeping a small team; or the cottagers might subscribe. I see, too, that Mr. G. V. Palmer, an engineer at Worcester, has taken a patent for steam-machines for cutting canals, which is infinitely more heavy labour than ploughing. Draining and ploughing, &c., may probably be done by steam at one-fourth or less than the cost of horses. For severe heavy work, as *trench* ploughing, steam may be particularly useful. Another great advantage of cottage culture may be this. It may answer in dry seasons to *water* the ground freely when the seeds are first sown, by a case placed in a cart, with a tube and rose (like a watering-pot), something on the plan of the watering carts for roads. The cottager may do this from his pump, for a few acres, when it might not be so convenient to the farmer on a large scale. Thus, the cottager might gain an important advantage somewhat similar to that gained by the important process of *irrigation*. For green crops, as for mangel wurzel, and particularly for lucerne, it might be most valuable, as lucerne might thus yield twice or thrice the produce, and of more succulent and sweeter quality for milch cows. The cottager, too, would have another advantage in the facility of pursuing the valuable process of *dibbling* his seed by the aid of his wife and children, and for frequently hoeing and stirring the soil. The reform in agriculture of an enlightened and liberal system of cottage economy is a consummation devoutly to be wished for. Further, though perhaps comparatively trivial, yet as an argument which might interest landlords, cottagers, when kindly encouraged, would not be driven by want to poaching, but, on the contrary, might form a volunteer corps of preservers of game

for a kind landlord. The mode of *petitions*, if only from five or six labourers from a parish, if temperately expressed, and keeping clear of any air of political *agitation* or menace, might be the most powerful mode, when presented in Parliament, for exciting the public attention, and, it may be hoped, might succeed, like the petitions, in obtaining Parliamentary Reform. The reform which will provide to industrious cottagers the means of obtaining bread and meat and of acquiring property will be far more valuable and palatable to them than if they had obtained votes, and will be a far superior and more enlightened system than that of the old times of popery, when the poor were fed by charity from the monasteries. The quickest mode to obtain very *numerous* petitions, to make the table *groan* under their load, might be to employ an active intelligent agent to go to the various parishes to assist in preparing and collecting petitions, "short and sweet," that an act be passed to grant the humble claims of the labourers, that they may *rent land*, with the reasons for it, and the advantages briefly and clearly expressed. I, for one, would gladly subscribe my mite to defray the trifling expense of journey, &c. for such an agent, on so laudable a mission. Our Saviour came to proclaim "Glad tidings to the poor." "Come to me," he said, "ye that labour and are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

The members who advocate the cause of the labourers and present the petitions, might fairly contend that the poor ought to be vastly relieved from taxation, and that we men of property ought more fairly to bear the burden, on a scale increasing upwards in all taxes, like the tax on houses and male servants. But if this be not done, it strengthens the claim of the labourers, at least to be allowed to rent land, and thus to get bread and meat.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

BEWSHER, W. N., George-st., Brighton, brewer.
CROSS, W., Peartree-hill, Beckingham, Nottinghamshire, merchant.
DOYLE, J., High Holborn, glass-cutter.
GARDNER, J., Redditch, Worcestershire, needle-maker.
HAYWARD, J., Camberwell, merchant.
HEATH, J., Gosport, linen-draper.
HENDERSON, J., Hanover-sq., tavern-keeper.
KIRBY, J., Leeds, currier.
MARCH, T., Austin-friars, merchant.
MITCHELL, G., Halifax, card-maker.
PARTRIDGE, T., Birmingham, maltster.
SEWELL, B., and W. Garrod, Hackney, drapers.
SHIPMAN, G., Guilford-st., Russell-square, apothecary.
STAFF, W., Strand, merchant.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

NICHOLS, W. and G., Upper Thames-street, coal-merchants.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

RIDSDALE, J., Springfield, Yorkshire, stuff-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

FOURDRINIER, H., J., and E. N., Hanley, Staffordshire, paper-manufacturers.
GOOD, J., Bunhill-row, Old-street, worsted-braid-maker.
LINE, W., Edward-street, White Conduit-fields, builder.
MITCHELL, J., Godalming, Surrey, butcher.
MONCAS, J., Liverpool, watch-manufacturer.
SPARROW, E., Wolverhampton, factor.
STEAD, J., King-st., Clerkenwell, colour-manufacturer.
TOLLEY, W. sen., Birmingham, music-seller.
TOWNLEY, W. R., Cateaton-street, and Saddleworth, Yorkshire, wool-dealer.
TRIX, F., Fareham, Hants, cheese-factor.
WOODBRIDGE, W., Acton-st., Battle-bridge, plumber, & High-st., St. Giles's, beer-retailer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

KNOX, A., Albany-lane, Edinburgh, glazier.
PEEBLES & Thomson, Glasgow, merchants.
ROBERTSON, G., Canongate, and Bristol-street, Edinburgh, grocer.

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LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, AUG. 20.—We had a large arrival of new wheat this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, but principally from the former county, the quality of which was exceedingly fine, which, with the continuance of favourable weather for securing the remainder of the crops, occasioned almost a stagnation in the trade, as but few millers would purchase even at a reduction of from 6*s.* to 8*s.* per qr., in consequence of which a pretty large quantity remained on hand at the close of the market. Old wheat was nearly unsaleable, at a decline of 4*s.* per qr. on the first samples. All other descriptions have only a nominal value, there being no demand for them.

No new barley has as yet appeared for sale, but the little old that appeared obtained 36*s.* for fine fresh parcels.

Several samples of new white peas from Kent met a ready sale at 40*s.*

The oat trade was extremely dull at the quotations of last Monday.

Beans were 2*s.* per qr. lower, and difficult to get off at that abatement.

The rapid decline in the price of wheat has had its effect on that of flour, which has been reduced to-day 5*s.* per sack. The highest quotation for the best town-made households being fixed at 55*s.* per sack.

Wheat	60s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	28s. to 30s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
——— Boilers	38s. to —s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
——— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to —s.
——— Feed	21s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack	—s. to —s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	42s. to 48s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	50s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	—s. to —s.
——— Cork	80s. to 82s.
——— Limerick	80s. to 82s.
——— Waterford	78s. to 80s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	64s. to 78s.
——— Gloucester, Double	64s. to 68s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
——— Edam	46s. to 56s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 76s.

SMITHFIELD.—Aug. 20.

This day's supply of beasts, sheep, lambs, and calves, was good, both as to numbers and quality; of porkers but limited. Prime small beef, mutton, and lamb, sold, with some degree of briskness, at an advance of 2*d.*, prime small veal 4*d.*, per stone; but with the larger and inferior kinds, as also pork, the trade was very dull, at barely Friday's quotations. About two-fifths of the beasts were Durham and Lincolnshire oxen, steers, and heifers—mostly of the two former; about one-fifth Irish do., chiefly fattened in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the London marshes; and the remaining two-fifths about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Runts, mostly from our western, midland, and northern districts; with a few Scots, from Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, &c., and lusty Town's-end cows. About two-thirds of the sheep were Downs and Leicester half-breds; the remainder chiefly Kents, old Leicesters, and old Lincolns, with a few of sundry other breeds, but scarcely any horned ones: the lambs about equal numbers of Downs and Downish half-breds, with a few of sundry other breeds.

Beasts, 2,625; sheep and lambs, 24,930; calves, 210; pigs, 190.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Aug. 24.

The arrivals this week are moderate, but the market is very dull, at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	84⅛	84¼	83½	83½	83½	83½

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

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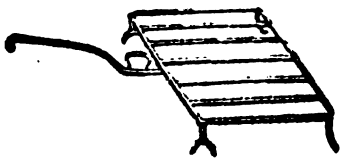
COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 77.—No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.



Birmingham, 29th August, 1832.

I AM unable to do that which I intended, namely, give an account of the discussion, at this place, between Mr. ATTWOOD and myself. We met at four o'clock yesterday, before an audience consisting of upwards of thirteen hundred gentlemen; but Mr. ATTWOOD having occupied the time until *half-past eight o'clock*, it was found impossible to proceed with an audience so exhausted. That which is to be printed in the *Register* this week must go from Birmingham *to-night*, or else there will not be time to print it; so that I am compelled to postpone any attempt at giving an account of this transaction in this present *Register*, which I must make up of other matter as well as I can.

Amongst the matter that I have to insert is, an address to me, delivered to me this morning from the NON-ELECTORS of Birmingham. I insert it with great pride. The manner of presenting it was the most interesting that can be imagined; and the young man who presented it, prefaced it with a speech which would have done honour to any man living. If I can, I shall obtain a report of this speech, to insert at the bottom of this address. If I cannot obtain it now, I shall do it hereafter if I can. To look at the person and demeanour of these young men, to hear their language, to estimate their sentiments, fill one with indignation at the thought of their being deemed unworthy to exercise the right of voting at elections! However, while we feel indignation at this, we are consoled by the thought, that the exclusion *cannot last long*. It will be impossible to shut out from their share of political power, millions of men possessed of so much sense, so much talent, and who go to work in a manner so prudent.

To this address I add the *public declaration* of the committee appointed by the *non-electors*; of every word of which I most cordially approve. I trust that these non-electors will steadily pursue their purpose, as expressed in the two last paragraphs of their very sensible declaration. I shall be ready at all times to lend these non-electors my assistance in any way that I possibly can.

ADDRESS.

An address from the committee of the Birmingham Non-Electors, to that fearless champion of *real* reform, Wm. Cobbett.

RESPECTED SIR,—We eagerly embrace the opportunity which your presence in Birmingham affords us, of presenting to you this expression of our heart-felt thanks for the great services you have so long continued to render to us and to our country, by your powerful and unflinching advocacy of the rights of the productive classes.

We have long beheld with admiration those gigantic efforts (unparalleled in the annals of history) by which you have so unceasingly endeavoured to impart useful knowledge and permanent felicity to our long-oppressed and misguided class; and we are well assured, that, if the public men, who for a few past years have professed patriotism, had performed their duty but half as well, instead of now offering you our empty thanks as slaves for your endeavours at our emancipation, we should have been able, as freemen, to tender you our votes for a seat in Parliament. At once the zealous advocate of *personal* equally with *national* reform, the promoter of *private* as well as *public* economy, we

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have beheld you with feelings of delight through a long political career, struggling (almost alone) against the tide of error and corruption, and stemming the destructive course of oppression against difficulties which the strongest among ordinary minds would shudder to contemplate; against obstacles sufficient to darken the most patriotic mind with despair.

Opposed by the whole of a corrupt press; a mark for the persecution and hatred of both Whig and Tory Governments; fettered by acts passed evidently with reference to you, and with the intention of restricting your political power; calumniated and held up to execration by men whose *professions* have made them popular, and even at times deserted by the people themselves; yet, in the face of all this array of enmity, we have found you still daring to exalt the refulgent shield of truth, exposing deception and treachery in their most high and secret abodes, and pointing out the blemishes of each idol a deluded people have lifted to adoration; and, to crown all, singly effecting a late and glorious triumph over the deep-plotted tyranny of a Ministry *then* popular, but *now* justly suspected.

We need no other proof of your great discernment than is furnished by the repeated verification of your political predictions. We ask no further proof of your sincerity in our cause, than the fact, that whilst politicians of far inferior talent and birth have by their apostacy attained lucrative honours and princely endowments, that all the distinction and reward *your* unequalled services have obtained, has been that which is the end and aim of the true patriot's labour, viz., the confidence and approbation of those to whom those services have been rendered; amongst which number *we* beg leave to be classed, earnestly requesting you to accept our heart-felt thanks for such arduous and philanthropic labours on our behalf, joined with our most sincere wishes for your long life, and our ardent hopes that those powers so long devoted to our cause may speedily be exerted *in the senate.*

In conclusion, Sir, we request that, if they meet with your acceptance and approbation, you will be pleased to make public in one of your works as well this address as the accompanying declaration, that the world may see that the young men of Birmingham are not the last to profit by the exhortations of their great political teacher, nor the *last* to express to him their deep-felt gratitude.

(Signed on behalf of the Committee),

J. SKILLICORN, Chairman.

Committee-Rooms, Woodcock-street, August 27, 1832.

DECLARATION

Of the Committee appointed by the Non-Electors of Birmingham, to watch over and protect their interests.

FELLOW-TOWNSMEN!—We feel it to be a duty we owe equally to you and to ourselves, that we should, in a concise and unequivocal manner, make known to you the principles we advocate, and the ends we seek.

Belonging to the working classes, we feel, in common with all that numerous, useful, but deeply-injured body, the greatest possible disappointment at the provisions of the reform bills; which, professing equally to divide the *elective right* between property and numbers, do, in our opinion, exclude the bulk of both; inasmuch, as we, the source of all property, and the greatest in point of number, are, by those bills, denied the exercise of our elective rights—rights which we claim, not only on principle, but also on the ground of national expediency; and without which, we cannot feel any security for our liberty, happiness, or even existence under any administration.

The rights we claim, and which no liberal government can consistently withhold, are as follow:—

1. Universal suffrage, or, universal exemption from taxation.

2. Vote by ballot, but only in conjunction with the preceding right.

3. Annual parliaments.

4. The repeal of all acts fixing a property qualification for members of parliament.

We are also of opinion, that the immediate repeal of all acts imposing the following taxes, is indispensably requisite for the peace and happiness of all classes of society: viz.

All taxes or duties preventing the attainment of political knowledge.

All acts by which one man is compelled to support the religious tenets of another.

All restrictions on the free importation of corn; and also the tax on malt.

And, the abolition of all government pensions and salaries, for which no national service has been, or is, performed.

But, being fully aware how large a portion of the country's revenue is required to support the present military power of these realms, we are of opinion, that by making a great reduction in their numbers, and a greater in the number and pay of their officers, that the difficulty might be greatly lessened.

These are our principles. These, in our opinion, are the fundamental points, to which alone we can look for the permanent restoration of happiness and tranquillity; by which alone we can hope to be lifted from our present degradation and misery.

These are the principles we look for in candidates for Parliament—principles, to which we expect them to be distinctly pledged: and although we, as non-electors, possess no direct vote, yet, feeling that we have been mainly instrumental in gaining that right for electors, we expect, both from their gratitude and their interest, that they should require the above pledges for us and for themselves, from any candidate who should solicit their suffrages.

Being assured, as well as by the testimony of the wisest and best legislators, of past and present times, as by our own long and mature reflection, that these principles are neither visionary nor revolutionary, we pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to devote all the energies our Creator has given, and all the time our occupations can spare, to their promotion. We are fully prepared to meet the difficulties and dangers which threaten us and our cause; and determined, that so long as the non-electors are true to themselves, we, through all circumstances, will be true to them; calmly but firmly maintaining the equal rights of all, and relinquishing our principles only with our lives.

We also disclaim any hostile feeling towards the Birmingham Political Union, to which association many of us belong; but knowing a majority of the council are now electors, and also that all the council are unfortunately pledged, as a body, not to agitate for any more extensive reform at present, we know that they would not, and feel that they cannot, consistently, advocate our cause, in that immediate and decisive manner, which the urgency of the subject demands.

Finally—As we seek no personal honours or distinctions, but such as true patriots can give or receive, should we be wanting in ability, or in any way unequal to our task, we are at any time prepared to surrender our places on the committee, to those whom the non-electors may deem more competent for the office—and as plain non-electors, to assist, by all means in our power, any committee that may be appointed; determined to suffer no little jealousies to interrupt, or weaken, our Union; and resolved—that when we cannot lead with honour, we will follow without disgrace.

(Signed)
By order of the Committee,
Timothy Massey,
Chairman.

Tuesday, August 14, 1832.

CHOLERA MORBUS.

I pretend not to be a doctor; but I have always been of opinion, that this disease is *nothing new* in England; that it has always prevailed in particular seasons; and that it has nothing in it at this time to cause extraordinary

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alarm. One ground of this opinion has been, that I have seen it so frequently prevalent in the United States of America, where I have seen people die in great numbers and very suddenly from this disease. I remember that, after a very long drought, there were in the State of DELAWARE, several large families of farming people wholly carried off, leaving not one alive. It was manifestly epidemic in that case; it was a very terrible disease; but there was *nothing new* in it. This disease has now been at New York for some time; and *when was it not there* in the summer or in the autumnal months? Some years less dangerously than in other years; but always there at this season of the year; and I have never known any one year in any part of America when it did not prevail in the summer and autumnal months to an extent that would have frightened the people of England. The following letter, which I take from the *New York Courier and Enquirer* of the 23d of June, is very well worthy of the attention of everybody in England at this time. It is very right that we should be at all times prudent as to our diet, and as to the cleanliness of our persons and our houses, and especially in seasons like the present; but it is by no means necessary that we should fill our minds with groundless alarm. There is seldom any very great good which has not some evil, greater or less, coming along with it. The sun and the other workings of the elements, which have given us this prodigious crop of corn, which have created swarms of poultry, which are making the limbs of the apple and pear-trees bend to the earth, and which are giving us, in these Southern counties, grapes pretty nearly equal in quantity, perhaps, to the average produce of a district of similar extent in France: the sun and the workings of these elements have an effect upon us, as well as upon the soil and the trees. We must *take the two together;* live as soberly as possible, abstain from excess of every kind, take all the precautions in our power, and leave the rest to HIM who has commanded the sun and the elements to produce all the effects which they are producing. I recommend to my readers a careful perusal of the following letter, which, I trust, will tend to tranquillise their minds, if they be uneasy on account of this disease.

CHOLERA.

To the Editors of the Courier and Enquirer.

Gentlemen: I perceive that you have partaken of the general alarm and consternation occasioned by the recent reports of the cholera morbus from Canada. Come, gentlemen, let us coolly, dispassionately, and deliberately examine the reports, the disease, and the remedy of and for this fearful cholera.

First, the reports. You will have learnt before this article is in print, that reports cannot be relied on, in cases where wonder or admiration are concerned.

Secondly, the disease. What is it? A malignant cholera morbus; and only differs from the same disease known as such by all medical writers, in its being *epidemical. Its mortality in proportion to the number attacked,* is no greater than it has ever been in this or in any other country. The number of cases and the liability to the attack, alter not the nature or the character of the disease itself. When this disease becomes epidemic or endemic, and at certain periods, like all other diseases, proves more mortal than at others, still it is not the more or less the malignant cholera; the same as scarlet fever is still the scarlet fever, though more malignant and fatal at one period than another, a fact but too familiar to our fellow-citizens of New York for the last two or three years.

It is, moreover, a fact well known, that our old-fashioned cholera morbus, when severe, is often fatal, and that under a severe attack, the patient dies within 24 hours, and not unfrequently in a very few hours. A moment's reflection will bring *these* recollections to the minds of many whose friends and acquaintances have died in this city. In short, the symptoms are the same, varying with trifling circumstances, and the

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effects are the same. This is my opinion, and I have formed it on a careful examination of all the accounts I have read of the history of the Asiatic cholera. Facts, or histories from which only the facts can be collected, on this subject, have been before the public for several years. The Asiatic cholera must be well known to many European physicians, and we are of course in possession of all the remarkable occurrences attending it. Its symptoms and cure have been commented on again and again, and we have all the history of its origin, duration, and progress, we have even in our own city a physician who has not only had the experience of several months in the observation and treatment of this disease at Smyrna, its fountain head, but has himself been an unfortunate subject of its influence. If, then, I thought there was anything remarkable, anything inconsistent with the legitimate treatment of *European* cholera, to this physician would I confidently appeal for a knowledge of those remarkable distinctions, and on his information would I confidently found my course of treatment. Yet in the face of such authority, of such means of information, of a knowledge of all precautionary and defensive measures adopted in other countries, together with the report of our national legislature—yes, I say, in the face of all these, our city authorities have been advised to send a *commission* to Canada where the disease has broken out, and where it is said that nearly nine out of ten die; and for what? To ascertain the police? Nonsense. New York, an old, experienced city, where epidemics have prevailed frequently, to send a commission to Canada for police instructions against infections or contagions is truly ridiculous. What then is the object of this commission?

The character of the disease and its remedy. Surely there has not been such remarkable success in the Canadian mode of practice to justify a hope of much enlightenment on that subject, but let that pass. The public fear must be soothed, and the panic is so universal in this city, that if a *yellow flag* were displayed from some conspicuous building as the sign of cholera, I would not answer for the screams and tortures that would be uttered and suffered by *sympathy* in less than twenty-four hours. I speak from experience in these matters, I have witnessed many epidemics and have witnessed the effects of popular excitement on such occasions.

And, gentlemen, this cholera is not such a wonderfully new discovery as some people persuade themselves to apprehend. It was known epidemically in London ages ago. Yes, this very cholera, with all its prominent symptoms, is described by Sydenham as an epidemic in London about the year 1676. He says, "At the close of summer the cholera morbus raged epidemically, and being rendered more severe by the extraordinary heat of the season, was accompanied by more violent and inveterate convulsions than I had hitherto observed. For not only the abdomen (which is usual in this case) but all the muscles of the body, and especially those of the arms and legs, were affected with terrible spasms, so that the patient would sometimes leap out of bed, and writhe himself all manner of ways, in order, if possible, to mitigate their violence." He makes no other difference in the treatment between this and the ordinary cholera, than the use of the same remedies *more powerfully applied.*

Sydenham was a wise man, *a false theorist*, but an excellent physician. He has here described the spasmodic cholera.

I now come to my 3d proposition —the

Remedy.—But before I enter distinctly on that part of my subject, I shall, for the better elucidation of the grounds of my opinion, notice the prominent symptoms which distinguish this disease in its mild and its aggravated or malignant state, and the strong analogy the latter state bears to the effects of poison from arsenic.

I shall have need to remark upon the treatment proposed and recommended by the "Edinburgh Board of Health."

I shall take the definition from their celebrated and learned Doctor Cullen, who confessedly in his description of diseases, may be considered the best authority. He describes its symptoms truly; and that is all I ask for my present purpose.

In this disease a vomiting and purging concurring together, or frequently alternating with one another, are the chief symptoms.—The matter ejected both upwards and downwards appears manifestly to consist chiefly of bile.

From this circumstance, I conclude that the disease depends upon an increased secretion of bile, and its copious effusion into the alimentary canal; and, as in this it irritates and excites the motions above-mentioned, I infer, that the bile thus effused in larger quantity is at the same time also of a more acrid quality. This appears likewise from the violent and very painful gripings that attend the disease, and which we can impute only to the violent spasmodic contractions of the intestines that take place here. The spasms are commonly communicated to the abdominal muscles, and very frequently to those of the extremities.

In the manner now described the disease frequently proceeds with great violence, till the strength of the patient is greatly, and often suddenly, weakened; while a coldness of the extremities, cold sweats and faintings come on, an end is put to one patient's life, sometimes in the course of one day.

Now, I contend that the cholera above described is the same with that which has lately appeared in Great Britain, and now said to be imported through emigrants from that country into Canada, and from them threatening our own cities, with this, and *this only* difference, that the latter is of a *more malignant character*. That the remedial treatment ought to be radically the same, differing only with the intensity of the symptoms, and by increasing in power in proportion to the violence of the disease.

Here, then, we have a disease whose symptoms not only, but whose effects prove to a moral certainty the existence of a highly deleterious and morbid secretion in the first passages of the alimentary canal; that this morbid matter is of an acrid and bilious nature, producing a painful, griping, and spasmodic action in the intestines, and in proportion to its intensity, calls into sympathetic action, the muscles of the abdomen and of the extremities. This secretion is sometimes so acrid, and of so poisonous a nature, that its effects on the system bear a strong analogy to the effects of arsenic. Physicians have often mistaken the symptoms of poison by arsenic for cholera morbus; and I distinctly recollect, that in the first case of poison by arsenic to which I was called, unsuspicious of the cause, I thought it a case of cholera, and I sat by the bed side several minutes before the suspicion of poison entered my mind.

It was this strong analogy in the respective symptoms of cholera and mineral poison that undoubtedly excited the suspicions and jealousies of the people of Paris that their waters and liquors had been poisoned with arsenic.

The interest of the subject will, I hope, be an excuse for this long preface to my concluding position. Now, then, for the remedy.

First, remove as speedily as possible the offensive matter from the stomach and intestines, in the manner that nature indicates by her perhaps too feeble efforts, VOMITING and PURGING.

Secondly, allay the spasmodic affection by anodynes.

It is evident that while the morbid or poisonous matter remains in the bowels, causing the most intolerable, tormenting, and excruciating pains, eating and corroding, as it were, the parts in contact. I say it is evident, that under such circumstances the patient must die, unless this matter is ejected, either by the spontaneous efforts of nature, or by active artificial means.

How then shall we proceed? Pursue nature and common sense, and administer vomits and purgatives! Or shall we adopt the more SCIENTIFIC course, recommended by the "Edinburgh Board of Health!" Gracious heaven!! "opium and camphor!!" and that in cholera morbus, while the poor patient

is writhing in agony from the noxious poison that is constantly gnawing his vitals—"*opium and camphor!*" For what? to lock up, pen up, to retain by force, and against the efforts of nature, the villanous poison in the system.

I would ask, what physician could be so mad, so *scientifically* mad, as to use the most active remedies to *retain* the offending secretions where nature and common sense indicate the propriety of encouraging their most speedy evacuation? Yet such is the tendency and such the effect of opium and camphor, and carminative draughts. The fatality said to have occurred at Quebec, where almost every case proved fatal, would induce one to believe that the Edinburgh recommendations had been adopted to the very letter.

For my part, I do not believe that this disease would be half so fatal if left to its own natural efforts, as it is under such unnatural and ill-judged treatment. And I do further think, that a proper mode of treatment, under the views taken of it by all respectable writers for ages past, with the addition of a more bold practice on the established principles of its cure, would disarm it of its terrors, and subject it to the power of remedies. This disease has for the last fifteen years raged in Asia as an epidemic. Its mortality in that country of plagues is not to be wondered at; but in an European or an American climate, it ought to be, and I believe can be, rendered comparatively mild and innoxious.

In the spotted fever, or cold plague, as it is called, which prevailed in Vermont, New Hampshire, &c. in 1811, and the subsequent amelioration of the same fatal disease as it appeared in this state during the winter of 1812-13, in the character of an epidemic bilious malignant fever, manifesting many of the symptoms attributed to the prevailing cholera—I recollect a similar panic prevailed among the physicians, as now—and, because a hideous disease appeared in a new form, it therefore was thought to require a new, or unheard-of, treatment. At that period, too, we had the advisers and that the advocates of opium, camphor, wine, brandy, and all the family of stimulants. Bleeding was recommended by some—sweating by others. Under this mode of treating, the disease proved fatal in three to six cases out of ten, where medical aid could be procured; but in those parts of the country, particularly in the western part of the state where the population was too scattered to enable the sick to obtain medical aid, the mortality was not half so great. I had this letter from an intelligent farmer, and a member of the legislature from Ontario or Niagara county. But where a more rational mode of treatment was adopted — where, instead of opium, camphor, and other stimulants, to stop nausea, vomiting, violent pains in the head, chests and extremities, torpid action of the vessels of the skin, coldness of the extremities, &c.,—the attention of the physicians was directed to emptying the first passages by vomiting and cathartics, that dreadful epidemic lost its terrors, and became as manageable as a common fever.

How far, or whether any impression favourable to the stimulating or *quieting* plan of the "Edinburgh Board of Health," has been made upon our physicians, I cannot say. Judging from the character of those with whom I am acquainted, I doubt, nay disbelieve any concurrence in any such doctrines. Many of our physicians have had some experience in epidemics, and they will bear testimony in favour of my views. They cannot think that because measles and scarlet fever have been for the last year more mortally epidemic, that therefore they should pursue an opposite course of treatment from that adopted by them in former or more mild stages of those diseases.

I then recommend as the best and most effectual remedy for malignant cholera, when, or in whatever shape it appear, that immediate resort be had to such medium as will *cleanse the stomach and bowels*, and after such evacuation, to allay the pains and spasms by small and oft-repeated doses of laudanum, say ten drops every ten minutes till the patient is composed. Camphor and

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peppermint are both obnoxious to a diseased or irritable stomach, and have fashion only for their support in any complaints. Cholera morbus generally terminates in a few hours. After a free evacuation of the contents of the stomach and intestines in the first hours of attack, all danger is past.

These are my views and opinions of the Canadian cholera, or whatever title you choose to give it. The remedy is simple, and consists in removing the immediate cause and calming the distressing consequences by suitable anodynes. I hope my fellow-citizens may never have an opportunity to test the truth or fallacy of my doctrines, which, as far as *opinion* goes, is but the same with that of many of my predecessors; but if they should *necessarily* become a matter of consideration, I shall feel a consciousness that I have done my duty in laying before the public an opinion formed on the result of many years' experience in my profession. I shall at least have the consolation to know that I have made this communication from motives of

HUMANITY.

"CHURCH IN DANGER."

Assault on his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

CANTERBURY, AUGUST 8.—Last night, about seven o'clock, his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury arrived here, to hold a primary visitation of the diocese. It had been previously arranged by the corporation to receive him in the usual way at the Guildhall, where a sumptuous dessert was arranged. It had been feared, in consequence of the Archbishop's vote against the Reform Bill, that some manifestation of opinion might be made by the populace; accordingly strong barricades were erected in front of the Guildhall, and *a large number of special constables were sworn*, to act in case of necessity. All passed off, however, without any exhibition of feeling, until within a few minutes of *his Grace's* arrival, when a sailor, in a state of inebriation, but perfectly quiet and harmless in his demeanour, accompanied by two loose girls, steered up the High-street. The moment he was observed by *Alderman Cowtan*, an order was given to a constable to apprehend him, being a person *likely to commit* an act of outrage. The populace, to the amount of some thousands, interfered, requiring to know what the man *had done*; but, instead of being answered by Ald. Cowtan, he charged them immediately, in *the King's name*, to assist in apprehending the unoffending individual. The crowd were not disposed to allow him to remain in custody under such a trumpery pretext, and took him away, inveighing against the corporation for *spending the public money upon an Archbishop, when there were so many deserving poor in absolute want.* From this moment the mob became excited, and heaped all manner of abuse upon those who endeavoured to promote harmony. No sooner had the carriage of the Archbishop appeared in sight, than the most deafening noises rent the air; and when *his Grace* arrived at the Guild-hall, the groans and hisses were tremendous. The *venerable man* seemed quite *unnerved;* he *shook violently*, and made the best of his way into the building, the doors of which were instantly closed. After he had partaken of the dessert and *drunk the health of the ladies*, the carriage was immediately ordered to be prepared. His Grace stepped in evidently much alarmed. The hisses and groans were now renewed, and missiles of every description hurled at the vehicle—*hats, caps, pieces of brickbat, cabbage-stalks*, indeed every thing the *ruffians* could collect. Unluckily the postilions, being unacquainted with the city, directed the coach towards St. Margaret's instead of Mercery-lane; the mob had therefore more time to gather weapons, and again furiously assailed the carriage. When *his Grace* entered the precincts of the cathedral the large gates were instantly closed. Several hundred persons had previously gained admission, and ranged themselves within the walls of the deanery, where hisses and groans prevailed over every other feeling. Austen, foreman of the church, collared a young man named Quested (and was instantly knocked down by a spectater) who had taken no part in the proceedings.

It is said *his Grace* will not consecrate the church of St. Mary, Northgate, to-morrow, the opinion of the inhabitants being known to be violently opposed to *his Grace's* sentiments: but that, the moment the visitation is over, he will leave the residence of the dean for Mersham Hatch, the seat of *Sir Edward Knatchbull.*

Persons of every description concur, that but for the officious interference of Alderman Cowtan, the city would not have been disturbed from its propriety.—The utmost regret is expressed by all the *respectable* inhabitants at this outrageous assault; and I am pleased to say *not a reformer* was present assisting, except to restore order. *His Grace* received no injury, although I understand one of his carriage windows was broken.

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NEW AND DECIDED.

Church-Rates abolished at Birmingham.

BIRMINGHAM VESTRY MEETING.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

(*Concluded from No. 7, col.* 445. *Vol.* 77.)

The Rev. T. M. M'Donnell protested against the principle laid down by Mr. Edmonds. If, upon a former occasion, the parish had allowed that which was unnecessary, it did not follow that they might not now remedy the error which they had committed. (Hear, hear.) He considered the whole of the old estimates ought to be read to the meeting.

Mr. M'Michael then commenced reading the estimates for St. Peter's. When he came to the item, "washing surplices, 2*l.* 10*s.*," there was a loud burst of disapprobation. In the midst of the confusion which ensued,

Mr. Pare rose, and congratulated the parishioners that they were not so much imposed upon as others in a neighbouring parish. In the parish to which he alluded, the parson was not only washed, but he was combed at the parish expense. (Cheers and laughter.)

On Mr. M'Michael concluding the reading of the estimates allowed for St. Peter's, he commenced those of St. Martin's.

Mr. Thomas Hadley called upon the churchwardens to explain a charge of 25*l.* for beadles. He wished to know whether it was for three or four beadles. (Hear, hear.) The beadles told him they only received 18*l.*

Mr. Weston said it was for three beadles; but on his becoming churchwarden, he found it was the custom to present the beadles with a guinea each, by way of gift. He was determined not to pay that out of his own pocket, because he considered his service a sufficient sacrifice, and had, therefore, placed it to the account of the parish. That gift of the beadles was, consequently, included in the present charge. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Pare said, that it appeared by the estimates read, that many items charged exceeded the sums allowed, although other items were less. Desirous as he was that no money should be paid which the parishioners were not by law compelled to pay, he should move that all sums exceeding the estimates for gas, beadles, and incidentals, should be disallowed. (Cheers.)

Mr. Weston said, it was of no consequence to him what items the parishioners chose to disallow. He had endeavoured to do his best for the parish. Certain amounts had been allowed him, and in the aggregate he was within the estimate; if, therefore, the vestry chose to cut off any items they might think proper, he should seek the protection of the law. He was determined, as the law was on his side, and he had used his best exertions for the parish, and not exceeded the limits of expense which they had defined, that he would not be the sufferer. (Loud cries of hear, hear, and hisses.)

The Rev. T. M. M'Donnell begged to observe, that the question—and a very material question—put by Mr. T. Hadley, from the side gallery, had not yet been satisfactorily answered. Mr. Hadley asserted that three beadles told him they only received six pounds each, making a total of eighteen pounds, when the charge was twenty-five pounds. (Hear, hear.) He called upon Mr. Weston to explain.

Mr. Weston said the vestry had appointed an auditing committee to examine the accounts, by whom they had been passed. Mr. M'Donnell might seek information from them. (Hisses.)

Mr. Salt said, the auditing committee were certainly best competent to answer such interrogatories, and he begged that the names of the gentlemen who formed that committee might be read over.

Mr. Arnold (the vestry clerk) accordingly read the names.

Mr. Salt called upon Mr. Edmonds, the last name upon the list, to explain the item alluded to by Mr. M'Donnell. (Hear.)

Mr. Edmonds, before he answered Mr. Salt's inquiry, begged first to allude to an observation which had fallen from Mr. Weston. A certain item had been read over, which proved exceedingly unsatisfactory to the ratepayers. The consequence was, that a rev. gentleman required an explanation, when the churchwarden turned round, and in a manner, he admitted, as little offensive, as possible, but with great explicitness, that he did not care whether or not the parish approved of his expenditure, he had the law on his side, and would compel them to reimburse him. With regard to the question which had been put to him by Mr. Salt, he had to say, that at the latter end of last week, when the audit committee was called together, he was compelled to go to London, from whence he did not return until Monday morning. He consequently was unable to attend the meeting, and had had no opportunity of investigating the accounts then brought forward. There was, however, a gentleman present who would be able to give them every information, because, he believed, he was the only person who had had anything to do in the audit of the accounts. The gentleman to whom he alluded was Mr. Winfield, and he begged to refer the meeting to him for information.

Mr. Winfield made no explanation.

Mr. Russell said he should certainly second Mr. Pare's resolution. He had applied to Mr. Weston, for the purpose of examining his accounts, and had been refused their inspection. Though not a member of the audit committee, he conceived that the appointment of such a committee did not abrogate the law of the land, but that, as a parishioner, he had a

right at any time to inspect the churchwardens' accounts. (Cheers.)

Mr. EDMONDS thought there were two facts which justified inquiry. First—that the accounts brought forward were unaccompanied by vouchers; and secondly—Mr. Russell had been refused access to the accounts. He should support Mr. Pare's motion.

The Rev. T. M. M'DONNELL disapproved of the narrow view of the question taken by the previous speakers. Why did they merely confine their attention to the allowance of certain excesses of expenditure, and not insist upon an examination into the whole of the accounts of the churchwardens. (Cheers.) A question had been put by Mr. Hadley, affecting the character of the warden, which, he regretted to say, had not yet been explained. It appeared that three beadles were employed at St. Martin's Church, at the rate of 6*l.* per annum each. This sum they declared they only received, and yet the charge made was 25*l.* He required a satisfactory answer to that question (cheers,)—and for that purpose he was disposed to propose, as an amendment, the appointment of a committee to examine generally into the accounts of the late churchwardens. (Cheers.)

Mr. WESTON said, after the trouble he had taken in explaining his accounts, and their submission to a committee of their own appointment, he did not expect that he should be called to go into minute details. It was true that he did refuse to show Mr. Russell his accounts, and he would tell them why. An audit committee was appointed for the examination of his accounts, and of which Mr. Russell was not a member. Did they mean to say, that a churchwarden was to be called upon at any hour of the day to exhibit his accounts to any rate-payer who might call upon him? Such, whatever his inclination to oblige his parishioners, and his desire to have his official transactions open to the day, would not suit the convenience of any man in business (Hear, hear.) But he had another reason for refusing Mr. Russell. That person wanted merely to get hold of detached parts of his accounts, for the purpose of publishing them in his penny publication, and thus making a penny by them. (Hisses.) If any one had a right to the first publication of the accounts, it was he who took upon himself all the responsibility of their correctness. He had no motive to conceal them, except that he would not subject himself to the factious annoyance of any man. (Cheers.)

Mr. B. HADLEY thought the meeting ought not to separate without inquiring into the conduct of the audit committee. How was it that they had not attended to their duties? It appeared they had only met once, and that not until the eve of the vestry meeting. Unless they were able satisfactorily to explain their conduct, he should move a vote of censure upon that body. (Hear.)

Mr. EDMONDS begged to say, the accounts were not presented to the audit committee until last Friday: and he could easily believe that others, like himself, from imperative engagements, might be absent on the first summons. He could not, however, but express his surprise that a churchwarden should refuse the inspection of his books by a person so justly respected as Mr. Russell—a gentleman whom Mr. Weston had himself selected as his sidesman.

Mr. WESTON—Yes, and whom I afterwards discharged. (Great confusion.)

Mr. EDMONDS—The discharge of Mr. Russell but aggravated the offence. That step on the part of Mr. Weston was not only illiberal but impolitic; for if his accounts could not meet the keen eye of his friend Mr. Russell, they were not entitled to much confidence. (Hear.)

Mr. B. HADLEY thought Mr. Edmonds's observations unnecessary. The vestry had appointed a committee to investigate the warden's accounts. He wished the report of that committee to be produced. The committee was, in fact, the responsible party.

The Rev. T. M. M'DONNELL again complained that the unfortunate question put by Mr. Thomas Hadley, as to the money charged but not paid to the beadles, had not been answered. He was not quite sure that the committee was not censurable; for, in his opinion, they had the power from day to day of examining and checking the churchwardens' accounts. The rev. gentleman concluded by moving the appointment of a committee to examine Mr. Weston's accounts.

Mr. W. PHIPSON suggested the propriety of referring them back to the audit committee.

Mr. HADLEY supported this proposition.

Mr. M'DONNELL ultimately consented to the accounts being referred to the audit committee, Mr. Haynes, Mr. Giles, Mr. Jennings, Mr. T. Hadley, and Mr. Russell being added to the number.

This motion was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. PARE then rose to bring forward resolutions deprecating the payment of rates for the support of an established church.

The RECTOR refused to listen to the subject; and said, if the subject was persevered in, out of deference to the meeting he would leave the chair.

This announcement was received with loud cheers, and after an angry discussion, the Rector left the church, and the chair was reluctantly taken by the Rev. S. F. Morgan. A vote of thanks was voted to the Rector for his conduct in the chair, and the business of the meeting was then resumed.

Mr. PARE then rose and said, that as it seemed to be the wish of the meeting, he should proceed to move his two resolutions, and if, as he expected, they were adopted by the vestry, he should then move the adoption of a petition to Parliament, founded upon them. (Cheers.) He was about to discharge what he considered to be a most important duty; and if, in doing so, he should make use of some strong expressions, he trusted they

might be taken, as they were intended, to apply to the system, and not to individuals. A great change had taken place in men's minds —they were now disposed to judge for themselves, and they began to call things by their proper names. He considered robbery and oppression, under any circumstances, immoral and hateful, but it was doubly so when it was practised under the garb of religion. (Hear.) The poet had truly said,

> "*One* murder makes a villain,
> *Millions* an hero."

So he (Mr. Pare) said, the wretched man who stole a few paltry pounds, to stay, probably, the gnawings of hunger, was tried, condemned, and led to an ignominious scaffold; whilst the haughty and pampered preacherof humility and abstinence, who contrived, under the sanction of unjust laws, to steal thousands to pamper his vices, was frequently promoted to the magisterial bench; and, if he rendered himself sufficiently obnoxious to the people by his unjust and arbitrary decisions on political matters which might come before him, he stood in the high way of preferment to a bishopric, and then he became a legislator. (Applause.) He hoped to see the time, when theologians would have no nation's plunder to fight for to brighten their zeal—no brutal force at command to give weight to their arguments, or exact their plunder; and then their disputes would be as harmless, if not as innocently interesting, as the famed Arabian stories of the thousand and one nights. (Cheers.) Under such a system as that—a system in which no man's property would be taken from him without his full consent, if the clergy, like doctors, or philosophers, or mechanics, had anything to offer, worth exchanging for the products of labour, they would receive a full equivalent; but he fancied that many of them must mend their wares to make their trade flourishing. (Laughter.) If it were said, as it frequently was, that no religion, neither that of Mahomet, Confucius, nor of Jesus, could be supported without the forced abstraction of wealth, he replied, that no religion ought to exist on such terms. (Loud cheers.) But the experience of mankind had proved the utter falsehood of the hypocritical pretence that religion could not exist without robbery. Not only had experience proved that systems of religion could exist without robbery, but it also proved that they had increased and flourished, as during centuries in Ireland and Greece, in spite of the forced abstractions of their own resources from their professors, to enrich a rival and a hated priesthood, or to feed the force that enchained them. (Hear.) Did British policy support, by forced contributions, the Hindoo priests of the East, or the Feliche system of the negroes of the West Indies? It was monstrous to suppose so; and therefore no rational person could for a moment doubt that the interests of true religion could in any way suffer, if the present Established Church rested on the voluntary contributions of those who approved its doctrines and its discipline. (Loud cheers.) To apply himself, however, more particularly to the subject for which they were that day convened, and to show them, in a few words, the palpable injustice of collecting these church-rates from dissenters, and others who never frequent the church, or receive the slightest benefit from its clergy, he would relate to them an anecdote, which he met with a few days ago, in one of the cheap weekly periodicals:—

"Lately, at a small town in Hampshire, the collector of church-rates called upon a Dissenter, who never went to church, for the amount of a rate, when the following colloquy took place:—

Dis. For what is the money which you are now collecting, under the name of a church-rate, expended?

Col. Part of it defrays the expense of cleaning the church.

Dis. But I never dirty the church—what becomes of the rest of the money?

Col. Another part goes for the repairing of the church.

Dis. But I never damage the church. In what is the rest of the rate expended?

Col. The wine drank at the sacrament is paid for out of it.

Dis. But I never drank a drop of sacramental wine in the church in my life. Do these items that you here name then take the whole of the rate?

Col. No; the remainder is expended in paying persons for killing sparrows, which would rob the corn-fields, gardens, and orchards in the parish.

Dis. So, then, you kill the sparrows because they are robbers? Now you are come to demand money from me, without any equivalent having been received, which is, in plain round English, robbery. Suppose that I were to kill you, how should you like it?

Col. Not much; but it is the law which demands the rate.

Dis. The law, indeed! Why, this makes it ten times worse than ever; for the law, which should protect me from all robbers, has turned robber itself!" (Loud laughter and cheering.)

The collector could, of course, say no more; and all he (Mr. P.) would then say was, that the sooner so arbitrary and intolerant a law was abolished the better; and in order to assist in that object, he would now move the two following resolutions:—

"1. That every religious association ought to depend on the voluntary contributions of its members for its support; that it is unjust in principle, vexatious and oppressive in practice, and moreover utterly repugnant to the genius of Christianity, to tax men for the support of a system of religion they do not approve.

"2. That what is called the established church of England, is partly supported by the forced contributions of men who dissent either from its doctrine or discipline, and that,

therefore (for the reasons given in the foregoing resolution), this meeting feels it incumbent upon it to resist, by every legal and peaceful means, so outrageous a violation of every principle of religion and justice."

The reading of the resolutions were followed by loud cheering.

Mr. G. EDMONDS said he had great pleasure in seconding the resolutions. (Cheers.) The question before the meeting involved a great principle of justice, which was violated in an eminent degree, when any one system of religion allied itself to the state, and assumed the tyrannical right to tax the members of every other religious sect for its support. (Hear.) The rev. Gentleman in the chair had said, that he believed religion would not exist were it not for the present mode of supporting it—that is, without the forced abstraction of wealth. He (Mr. Edmonds) would mention one simple fact, however, to show the fallacy of such reasoning. By a parliamentary document, published by order of the House of Commons in 1818, it appeared that the number of chapels, meeting-houses, and other places of worship belonging to the various sects of dissenters, amounted, in 1,281 parishes, to 3,438, whilst the churches and chapels belonging to the establishment in the same 1,881 parishes, amounted to only 2,533. Now, if all these places of worship belonging to the dissenters, which exceeded those of the establishment in the proportion of nearly three to two, could be supported by the voluntary contributions of their various congregations, why, he would ask, could not the established church support itself in the same way? He had no objection to the religion of the established church, provided it was supported by its own members. The present mode of support, he conceived, injured even the establishment itself; he confidently asked whether the clergy were likely to make proselytes under such a system? Mr. Edmonds then proceeded to state some of the abuses of the establishment, such as the unequal distribution of its wealth, &c. Even the clergy themselves were now admitting that there must be some very extensive reforms. He would most heartily second the resolutions.

The Rev. S. F. MORGAN contended that human nature was such that men would never call for religion if left to themselves, and therefore it was the first duty of a Christian Government to provide it for the mass of the people.

The Rev. T. M. M'DONNELL replied to Mr. Morgan in a long speech, for which we regret we have not room. In the middle of it, Mr. Morgan was obliged to leave the chair to attend some professional duties. Mr. Weston then took it, but refused to put the two resolutions, upon which Mr. Edmonds took the chair and put them to the meeting, when they were carried almost unanimously, only four or five hands being held up against them.

Mr. PARE then moved the adoption of the following petition, which was seconded and carried unanimously, and a committee appointed to get it signed and forwarded to Mr. Hume for presentation:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitant Rate-payers of the town of Birmingham, agreed to in Vestry Meeting assembled this 7th day of August, 1832,

"Showeth,

"1. That your petitioners have been long oppressed with the heavy payment of sums levied as church-rates, to defray the expenses attendant on the performance of divine worship in the churches and chapels belonging to the established religion, which payment, as your petitioners are mostly dissenters, they consider unjust.

"2. That the injustice of this forced payment is the more manifest from the fact, that such of your petitioners as are Catholics or dissenters, contribute, as far as their means will allow, to defray the expenses attendant on the erection of places of worship for themselves; maintain their own clergy; and provide for the education of the youth belonging to their own congregations.

"3. That it appears to your petitioners, that great national evils result from the present mode of providing for the performance of church service; for your petitioners perceive by an inspection of public papers, published by order of your honourable House in the year 1818, that the chapels, meeting-houses, and other places of worship belonging to the various sects of dissenters, amounted, in 1,881 parishes, to 3,438, whilst the churches and chapels belonging to the established church in the same 1,881 parishes, only amounted to 2,533; that from these and other means of information, your petitioners have reason to believe, that the persons attached to the various sects of dissenters, considerably exceed in number the persons connected with the established church; and your petitioners therefore conceive that the usefulness of a most numerous body of men—a body distinguished for their zeal and activity—and their means of supplying the moral and religious wants of their own flocks, is improperly lessened by their being compelled to contribute to the support of the established church.

"4. That your petitioners know, that the most liberal members of the church of England consider the present mode of providing for the church expenses to be most unjust in itself, and most injurious in its effects on the established religion.

"5. That your petitioners conceive that it is the paramount duty of Government to promote harmony amongst all classes of its subjects; but your petitioners have found, by sad experience, that the unjust law they complain of has produced great irritation in the minds of the people of Birmingham, and other parts

of the country; and that its evident tendency is to promote disunion, discord, and disorder.

"6. That it appears to your petitioners, from the best information they can collect, that the wealth of the Church of England amounts to upwards of eight millions per annum, only a small part of which is employed in the service of religion; and your petitioners, considering that this vast wealth adds to the injustice of the exaction of church-rates, and that their payment causes great discontent in the minds of the people, do earnestly pray your honourable House to pass a law to relieve your petitioners, and others placed in a similar situation, from the compulsory payment of church-rates, and to provide for the proper performance of Divine worship by some means more in accordance with the first principles of justice and religion.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

Mr. Salt then applied to the vestry for a fourpenny rate, the granting of which, after some discussion, was postponed for one month, to allow time for a committee to examine the estimates. The meeting then broke up.

CURRENCY.

I am induced to insert here some extracts from "Paper against Gold," which bear particularly upon the subject that is to be discussed at Birmingham between me and the Attwood school; and I do it, hoping that my readers, and particularly the young ones, will read them over with attention, and so prepare themselves with knowledge of this subject before it comes to be discussed in "*another place*;" that place where it was one day, or rather one night, *set at rest for ever*, and since which time it has kept this country in a constant state of agitation. No Parliament, reformed or not reformed, can meet again without going into, and *doing* something in, this matter; the present Ministers are disinclined to meddle with it. They wriggle and twist and curl about at the mention of it, and slip out through their committees, and one subterfuge or another, and if they were ever so inclined to touch it they have not the knowledge necessary to guide them in dealing with it. Let *us*, therefore, be prepared, let us know *what the thing is* that is disturbing the nation from one end to the other, that ruins now one class, and now another; and that makes one set of men call for one remedy, another class for another remedy, and a third for no remedy at all. Let us *know what thing this is*, for, in that knowledge we shall find why all this disturbance, this uncertainty in affairs, and why all this jarring of opinions that prevails; we shall see the thing in its beginning, in its progress, and (being now up to the middle in its results), we shall have a clear conception of it. I therefore beg my young readers particularly to read the following extracts through with the greatest care.

"Nothing is more certain than death, and "nothing more uncertain than the time of "dying; yet we can always fix a period be- "yond which man cannot live, and within "some moment of which he will die. We are "enabled to do this, not by any spirit of pro- "phecy, but by observation of what has hap- "pened in all cases of human or animal ex- "istence. If, then, any other subject, such, "for instance, as a system of finance exhibits "in its progress, a series of symptoms indi- "cating decay, its final dissolution is certain, "and from those symptoms we may calculate "the period of that dissolution." — *Paine. Decline and Fall of the British System of Finance*, published in 1796.

We will now resume the subject of *depreciation*, and see whether the paper-money of England be, or be not, *actually depreciated*; and, if we find that it is, we will inquire whether it can be restored to its former value by any of the means, called *remedies*, that have been pointed out by any of those who are our rulers, or lawgivers.

To *depreciate* means *to lower in value*; and the word *depreciation* is used to signify that state, in which anything is, when it is *lowered*, or has *fallen*, from its former value. Hence the term *depreciation*, as applied to bank notes; and, when we thus apply it, accompanied with the affirmative of the proposition, we say, that bank notes have *fallen in value*, and, of course, that any given sum in such notes is *not worth so much as it formerly was*.

Much puzzling has, upon this subject, arisen from a very natural cause;

namely, that the note always retains its *nominal* value; that is to say, always goes by the *same name*; a *pound* note still is called a *pound* note, whether it be *worth* as much as it formerly was, or not. But, to this point we shall come more fully by-and-by, after we have spoken of the way in which a depreciation of money, or the lowering of the value of money, takes place.

Money, of whatever sort, is, like every thing else, lowered in its value in proportion as it becomes *abundant* or *plenty*. As I said upon a former occasion, when apples are *plenty* apples are *cheap*; and cheap means *low in price*. The use of money is to serve men as a sign of the amount of the value of things that pass from man to man in the way of purchase and sale. It is *plenty*, or *scarce*, in proportion as its quantity is great or small compared with the quantity of things purchased and sold in the community; and, whenever it becomes, from any cause, plenty, it *depreciates*, or sinks in value. Suppose, for instance, that there is a community of *ten men*, who make amongst them 100 purchases in a year, each purchase amounting to one pound. The community, in that case, would possess, we will suppose, ten pounds; and no more, because, the same money might, and naturally would, go backwards and forwards, and because, except under peculiar circumstances, men do not hoard. Now, suppose, that the money in possession of this community is doubled in quantity, without any other alteration taking place, the quantity of goods and chattels and the quantity of things, including services, purchased, and the number of purchases all continuing the same. Suppose this, and we are here speaking of money of *any sort*. No matter what sort. Suppose it be gold, and that its quantity is thus *doubled*. The consequence would be, of course, that at each of the hundred purchases, *double the sum would be given than was given before*; because, if this were not the case, part of the money must be kept idle, which, upon a *general scale*, can never be, there being no motive for it. Suppose that one of the hundred purchases was that of a horse. The purchase, which was made with one pound before the doubling of the quantity of money, would require two pounds after that doubling took place; and so on through the whole; and, in such a state of things people would say, that *prices had risen*, that commodities had *doubled in price*, that everything *was twice as dear* as it used to be. But, the fact would be, that *money* was become *plenty*, and, like everything else, *cheap* in proportion to its abundance. It would be, that money had *fallen* or had been depreciated, and not that things had *risen*; the *loaf*, for instance, having a *real* value in its utility in supporting man, and the money having only an *imaginary value*.

Prices in England have been *rising*, as it is commonly called, for hundreds of years; things have been getting *dearer* and *dearer*. The cause of which, until the bank-note system began, was the increase of gold and silver in Europe, in consequence of the discovery of South America and the subsequent working of the mines. But the increase of the quantity of gold and silver was slow. "Nature," as PAINE observes, "gives those materials out with a sparing hand;" they came, as they still come, in regular annual quantities from the mines; and that portion of them which found its way to this country, was obtained by the sale of things of real value, being the product of our soil or of our labour. Therefore, the quantity of money increased very slowly; it did increase and prices gradually rose, but the increase and the rise were so slow as not to be strikingly perceptible. During the average life of man the rise in prices was so small as hardly to attract anything like general attention. Curious men observed it, and some of them recorded the progress of prices; but, as there was no sensible difference in prices in the average life of man, the rise never became an object of general interest, as long as *gold* and *silver* were the only currency of the country.

But, when the *funding system* began, and paper became, in many cases, a substitute for gold and silver; when

the increase of the quantity of money in the country was no longer dependent upon the mines; when the check which nature had provided was removed; then money, or its substitute, paper, increased at a rate much greater than before, and prices took a *proportionate rise*, as they naturally would. The nature of the Funding System has been fully explained before; we have also seen how it would naturally cause the paper-money to go on increasing. We have seen, that the Government, as soon as it began to make loans, was compelled to establish a bank, or a something, in order *to get the means of paying the interest upon the loans*. The amount of the loans would naturally go on increasing in order to meet the rise in prices, and thus the increase of the paper would continue causing rise after rise in the prices, and the rise in the prices would continue causing addition upon addition to the quantity of the paper. This was the natural progress, and it was that which actually took place.

Still, however, the paper passed *in company* with the gold and silver. Money was more *plenty*; it was of *less value*; and, of course, any given quantity of it would purchase less bread, for instance, than formerly; but, still there was no difference in the *quality* of the two sorts of money; *metal* and *paper* both not only passed at the sums that they had usually passed at, but people liked the one just as well as the other; and it was a matter of *perfect indifference* to any man, whether he took a hundred guineas in gold, or one hundred and five pounds in paper. And, the reason of this indifference was, that the holder of a bank note could, at any moment, go to the Bank, and there demand and receive payment in guineas. This was the reason why the paper passed in society with the gold. But, it was impossible that this society should long continue after the paper increased to a very great amount, and especially after the notes became so low in nominal value as five pounds; for, then it was evident, that all the taxes would be paid in paper; that the Government would receive nothing but paper; that the Bank would get nothing but paper from the Government; that whatever gold went out of the Bank would never return to it; and, of course, that the Bank would, in a short time, be unable to pay its notes in gold, if called on for that purpose to any great extent.

A call of this sort was made upon it in 1797; and, as we have seen, and now feel, the Bank was unable to pay. Its creditors, that is to say, the holders of its notes, demanded their money; the Bank flew to the Minister Pitt for protection; the Minister, by an Order of Council, authorised the Bank to refuse to pay its creditors; the Bank did refuse; the Parliament passed an Act to shelter the Minister and the Bank Directors and all who had been guilty of this violation of law, and at the same time enacted, that, for the future, the Bank should not be compellable to pay its notes in gold or silver. After this the whole concern assumed a new face, and indeed a new nature. The holder of a bank note could no longer go and demand payment of it in guineas; it was impossible, therefore, that he should look upon 105*l.* in notes as quite equal in value to 100 guineas. Still, however, in consequence of the meetings and combinations of the rich, and of the enormous influence of the Government, to which may be added the dread in every man of being marked out as a Jacobin and Leveller; in consequence of all these, and of the necessity of having something to serve as money, the notes continued to circulate; and, as the alarm subsided, the guinea returned and circulated in company with them; but, not with that cordiality it used to do. It became much less frequent in its appearances in company with the notes; it held itself aloof: seemed to demand a preference; but not appearing to like to assume this superiority over an old and familiar associate, and yet unwilling to pass for so much less than its worth, it soon began to keep away altogether, retiring to the chests of the hoarders, or going upon its travels into foreign parts, until such time as it found

itself duly estimated in England, which would naturally be when people began to make openly a *distinction* between paper and coin.

That time arrived about two years ago; but, no sooner was the distinction thus made, and acted upon, than the Government began to prosecute the actors, and commenced, I believe, in the well-known case of DR YONGE, who, under laws passed about two hundred years before such things as bank notes were ever heard of, was convicted, about a year ago, of the crime of exchanging guineas for more than their nominal value in bank notes. DR YONGE moved for an *arrest of judgment*; the case has been since argued before the judges; and their decision thereon has recently been promulgated. Other persons have been prosecuted in the same way and upon the same ground, the effect of which naturally has been to deter people from openly purchasing and selling guineas, and also from tendering them generally in payment for more than their nominal value in paper. But, it is very notorious that the distinction is nevertheless made, and that, in payments, men do take gold at *its worth* in comparison with the paper. *Two prices* are not yet openly and generally made; but they exist partially, and the extent of them is daily increasing.

To this point, then, we are now arrived, and here we see proof, not of a depreciation of money of *all sorts*, arising merely from that general *plenty* of money spoken of above; but arising from the abundance, or plenty, of *paper*, that is to say, the great quantity of the paper compared with that of the coin. Hence we say, that the bank-notes have depreciated, or fallen in value; and, that there should be found any human being to assert the contrary, or to believe, or to affect to believe, the contrary, is something that, were not the fact before our eyes, no man could think possible: but, we live in times when wonder no longer seems to form a feeling of the mind.

This state of things it was easy to foresee; but the nation has been deluded by the specious argument of the *equal powers of gold and paper in purchases*. "Go to market," we have been told, "and see whether *the pound-note and a shilling* will not bring you as much meat or cloth as *a guinea*." This was conclusive with unreflecting minds, and it quieted, or assisted to quiet, all those who, though they were capable of discerning, dared not look the fearful truth in the face. I looked it in the face rather more than eight years ago, and strenuously laboured to prepare my countrymen for what has now come, and what is now coming to pass. Upon one occasion, this standing delusive argument was made use of in answer to me: whereupon I made the following remarks:—"The objection of my other correspondent has more plausibility. These are his words: '"I think the argument, that bank-paper is depreciated, drawn from the difference between the sterling and the current value of a dollar, if it prove anything, proves too much. That *guineas* are depreciated you will hardly insist; yet I would sturdily maintain, from your premises, that they are, since a guinea will not purchase so many dollars as it formerly would.'—Yes, but I do insist though, that guineas *are depreciated:* not in their intrinsic value, but in their value *as currency*, that is to say, in their power of purchasing commodities in this country. When there is a depreciating paper in any country, the current coin of that country depreciates in its powers along with the paper, because it has a fixed nominal value, and it can pass currently for no more than an equal nominal value in paper, until the paper is at an open discount. The metal is degraded by the society of the paper; but there comes a time when it will bear this degradation no longer; it then rises above its nominal value, or, in other words, the paper is at a discount."

This was published so long ago as the 14th April, 1804. "*There comes a time!*" Aye, and that time is now come. But, let me not be guilty of

robbery, and especially of the *dead*, and more especially of one whose writings, and upon this very subject too, as well as other subjects, I formerly, through ignorance, condemned. I allude to the writings of Paine, the abused, the reprobated, the anathematised, Tom Paine. In his work, from which I have taken the perspicuous and impressive passage that serves me as a *motto* to this letter, and the equal of which has seldom dropped from the pen of any man; in that work, Paine thus exposes the delusive argument of which I have just been speaking; "It is said "in England, that the value of paper "keeps *equal pace* with the value of "gold and silver. But the case is not "rightly stated: for the fact is, that "the paper has *pulled down* the value "of gold and silver to its own level. "Gold and silver will not purchase so "much of any purchaseable article at "this day (March, 1796) as they would "have purchased if no paper had ap-"peared, nor so much as they will in "any country of Europe where there is "no paper. How long this *hanging* "*together* of paper and money will "continue makes a new case; because "it daily exposes the system to sud-"den death, independent of the na-"*tural death* it would otherwise suffer." Here he lays down the principle; and, if, instead of reviling his writings, the Government of England had lent a patient ear to him, and taken a lesson from his superior understanding and experience, how different would have been our situation at this day! He proceeds thus; "I have just mentioned "that paper in England has *pulled* "*down* the value of gold and silver to "a level with itself; and that this *pull-*"*ing down* of gold and silver money "has created the appearance of paper "money *keeping up*. The same thing, "and the same mistake, took place in "America and in France, and continued "for a considerable time after the com-"mencement of their system of paper; "and the actual depreciation of money "was hidden under that mistake. It "was said in America, at that time, "that every thing was becoming *dear*; "but gold and silver could *then* buy "those articles no cheaper than paper "could; and therefore it was not called "*depreciation*. The idea of *dearness* "established itself for the idea of de-"preciation. The same was the case "in France. Though every thing rose "in price soon after *assignats* appeared, "yet those dear articles could be pur-"chased no cheaper with gold and sil-"ver, than with paper, and it was only "said that things were *dear*. The "same is *still the language in England.* "They call it *dearness*. But they will "soon find that it is *an actual depreci-*"*ation*, and that this depreciation is the "effect of the funding system; which "by crowding such a continually in-"creasing mass of paper into circula-"tion, *carries down the value of gold* "*and silver with it.* But gold and sil-"ver will, in the *long-run*, revolt against "depreciation, and *separate from the* "*value of paper*; for the progress of "all such systems appears to be, that "the paper will take the command in "the *beginning*, and gold and silver in "the *end*."

How well is this expressed, and how clearly the truth of it is now verified! Yes: we talk about *dearness*; we talk of *high prices*; we talk of things *rising in value*; but, the fact is, that the change has been in the *money*, and not in the articles bought and sold; the articles remain the same in value, but the money, from its abundance, has *fallen in value*. This has till of late been imperceptible to the mass of the people, who were convinced of the non-depreciation by the argument built on the circumstance of the guinea and the paper being upon an equal footing at market. They did not perceive, that the paper had *pulled down* the gold and silver along with it; they did not perceive that the coin was sliding by degrees out of the society of the paper; they did not perceive that, in time, the coin would disappear altogether; they did not perceive that an open contest would, at last, take place between the guineas and the paper, and that, if the *law* came to the assistance of the paper, the coin would *quit the country*. Now, however, they do perceive this; the

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facts have all now been established in a way that seems, at last, to have produced conviction even in the minds of this "*most thinking*" people; but, there is reason to fear, that this conviction will have come *too late*. How happy would it have been for this nation, if the opinions of Mr. PAINE, touching this subject, had produced, at the time, their wished-for effect! No man in England dared to publish his work. Any man who had published or sold it would have been punished as a *seditious libeller*. Yet, in my opinion, does that work; that little work, in the space of *twenty-five pages*, convey more useful knowledge upon this subject, and discover infinitely greater depth of thought and general powers of mind, than are to be found in all the pamphlets of the *threescore and two* financiers, who, in this country, have, since I came into this jail, favoured the world with their opinions upon the state of our money system. The writings of these people would make *twenty-five thick octavo volumes*; and in all of them there is not so much power of mind discovered as in PAINE'S *twenty-five pages*. Yet, no man would dare to publish this little work in England. By accident I possess a copy that I brought from America, but which I never read till after my return to England. In 1803, when there was much apprehension of invasion, and when great complaints were made of the *scarcity of change*, I began to read some books upon the subject; and, after reading several without coming to any thing like a clear notion of the real state of our currency, I took up the little essay of PAINE. Here I saw to the bottom at once. Here was no bubble, no mud to obstruct my view: the stream was clear and strong: I saw the whole matter in its true light, and neither pamphleteers nor speech-makers were, after that, able to raise even a momentary puzzle in my mind. PAINE not only told me what would come to pass, but showed me, gave me convincing reasons, *why it must come to pass;* and he convinced me, also, that it was my duty to endeavour to open the eyes of my countrymen to the truths which I myself had learnt from him; because his reasoning taught me, that the longer those truths remained hidden from their view, the more fatal must be their consequences. The occasion of this work of PAINE is worthy of notice. One of the motives of writing it was, as he says, at the close, to *retaliate* upon PITT, who, in speaking of the French republic, had said, that she was "*on the verge, nay even in the gulf of bankruptcy.*" PAINE said that England would soon be in a worse situation than France as to her finances; and in less than twelve months after he wrote his work, the Bank became unable to pay its notes in cash.

To return to the subject of *depreciation*, the fact has now been established in all sorts of ways. Gold coin has been, and is, sold at a premium: a guinea will sell for 27 shillings, and the other coins of the realm in the same proportion; many persons in London have written upon their shop-windows notifications that they will take the coin at a higher rate than the nominal value; in numerous cases a distinction is made in prices paid in coin and prices paid in paper. If these are not proofs of an *actual depression of the paper*, what, I should be glad to know, will ever be admitted as proof of that fact? Indeed, there is no longer any doubt remaining upon the subject; and therefore we will now proceed to take a view of the REMEDIES that have been proposed by our rulers and lawgivers, who, if they had followed the advice given in PAINE'S second part of the "*Rights of Man*," instead of prosecuting the author, would not, I am convinced, have had to lament the present state of our finances.

As to REMEDIES, gentlemen, I, in the first of this series of letters, stated to you, that the bullion committee had recommended to the House of Commons to pass a law to compel the Bank to pay their notes in gold and silver *at the end of two years*. This same proposition has been since made in the House; but the House have resolved that *no such measure is necessary*. Those who *opposed* the proposition said, that the Bank had not the gold, and could

not get it, and that, therefore, they could not pay in gold. This was a very sufficient reason: and I must confess that I was and am, as far as this goes, exactly of the opinion of these gentlemen. For to what end pass such a law, if the gold was not to be had? There were several sensible men belonging to the bullion committee, and the gentleman who brought the measure forward in the House, is looked upon as a person of good understanding. It therefore appeared astonishing to me that they should propose such a measure, seeing that I have never been able to discover any way whatever by which gold could possibly return to the Bank, and remain there in quantity sufficient to enable that company to pay their notes in gold upon demand. To resume payments in gold would, indeed, be a *complete remedy*; but to do this, in my opinion, and for many years past, has been utterly impossible. By what means are the Bank company to get the gold! We are told that *there is gold enough*, if the Bank company will but purchase it. What are they to give for it? Why *their paper*, to be sure; and as it would require 27 shillings in their paper to purchase a guinea, this would be a most charming way of obtaining the means of paying off the paper with guineas. Let us take an instance. Suppose the Bank company, by way of preparing for cash payments, to be purchasing all the guineas they can find, and, in such case, they would, of course, apply to our old friend Mrs. Dr Yonge, to whom, by-the-by, I here present my congratulations on the late decision of the judges in favour of her husband; the Bank company would, I say, naturally apply to this good lady, who, it being now decided that the old biting law does not forbid the buying and selling of bank notes and guineas, would drive with them as good a bargain as she could. Suppose them to buy 100 guineas of her at the present price, 27 shillings each, they would, of course, give her for them 135 pounds in their notes. And thus they must go on with other people. Having, at last, got a good lot of guineas together, they begin paying their notes in guineas. It is pretty evident that the vast increase of paper occasioned by the purchase of the guineas would have caused a new and great depreciation of the paper, and that, therefore, the moment the Bank was open to demands in coin, people would crowd to it in all directions. I can fancy the eager crowd now before me pressing in from every quarter and corner; and, amongst the very foremost and most eager, I think I see our friend Mrs. Dr Yonge. "What do *you* do here, madam?" I think I hear a dejected director say, "What do "*you* do here, *you* who *sold* us guineas "but the other day!" "Aye, Sir," says the lady, "and for these very gui- "neas I am come again, and mean to "take them away too with 105 pounds "of the 135 that you gave me for "them."

Need I say any more upon this subject? Is it not something monstrous to suppose, that it would be possible for the Bank company to *buy* gold in quantity sufficient to be able to pay their notes in it? "Well," say others, "but the Bank may *lessen the quantity* "*of its paper by narrowing its dis-* "*counts*." To be sure they might; and the only consequence of that would be, that *the taxes would not be paid*, and, of course, that the soldiers, the judges, and all other persons paid by the public, would have to go without pay. The *discounts* make a part of the system; and, if it be put a stop to, that is neither more nor less than one of the ways of totally destroying the system. To *lessen* the quantity of the paper is, therefore, impossible without producing ruin amongst all persons in trade and agriculture, and without disabling the country to pay the taxes, at their present nominal amount.

But, suppose all other difficulties were got over, did these gentlemen of the bullion committee ever reflect upon the consequences of *raising* the value of money to what it was before the bank stoppage? If money were, by any means, to be restored to the value it bore in the year 1796, the interest of the national debt never could be paid

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by the people; that interest was now 30,000,000*l.* a year; and, if the value of money were brought back to the standard of 1796, this interest would instantly swell to about 40,000,000*l.* of money at the present value. All the grants, pensions, fixed emoluments, pay of soldiers, judges, chancellors, clerks, commissioners, and the rest, would be raised, in point of real amount, in the same proportion; so that, it would be utterly impossible for taxes to such an amount to be raised. And, if it were possible, it would be frequently unjust; for, observe, all the money (making nearly one half of the national debt) that has been borrowed since the Bank company stopped paying in gold and silver; all the money borrowed since that time; all the loans made in the name of the public since that time; all the money lent to the public, as it is called, has been lent in *depreciated paper*; and, that which has been so lent this year, has, if guineas are at 27 shillings, been lent in paper *27 shillings of which are worth no more than a guinea*. And, are the people to be called upon to pay interest upon this money in a currency of which *21 shillings are worth a guinea*? This would be so abominably unjust, that I wonder how any man like Mr. HORNER ever came to think of it. He expressly stated that the paper was now worth only 15*s.* 10*d.* in the pound; of course he must have known, that this was the sort of thing of which the loans, for some years past, consisted; and yet, he would have had a law passed, the effect of which would have been to make the people pay interest for this money at the rate of *twenty shillings in the pound*. This is what never could have been submitted to: not because the people would have *resisted*; that is not what I mean; but, it is what could not have been carried into effect, and for the same reason that the man could not have two skins from the carcass of the same cat. If the quantity of the bank paper were diminished, its value would rise; and, if its value rose, the value of the interest upon the national debt would rise also; therefore, to enable the people to continue to pay the interest upon the debt, the amount of the interest must be *lessened*, and what would that be but a *partial sponge*. So that turn and twist the thing whatever way you will, you still find it the same; you still find that the system must go on in all its parts, or be put a stop to altogether.

In most other cases, when men talk of a *remedy*, they advert to the *cause of the evil*. If I find that my health is injured by drinking brandy, the first thing I ought to do in order to recover my health, would naturally be to leave off drinking brandy. What a fool, what worse than an idiot, must that man be, who, feeling the fire burn his shins, still retains his seat. Yet, in this important national concern, never do you find any of our writers or legislators dwelling upon the *cause* of the evil of which they appear so anxious to get rid. They tell us, indeed, that the *depreciation* of the paper is occasioned by its *excessive quantity*; but here they stop; they never go back to the *cause* of that excessive quantity of paper; or, if they do, they only speak of the *interest of the Bank company*. If they did go back to the real cause, they would find it in the *increase of the national debt*, to pay the interests of which, commonly called dividends, has *required*, has rendered, *absolutely necessary*, the present quantity of paper. Indeed, one engenders the other. Every loan occasions a fresh batch of paper to pay the interest upon it; that fresh batch of paper causes a new depreciation and a new demand for paper again to make up in the quantity what has been lost in the quality. So that to talk of *lessening* the quantity of the paper, while the national debt *remains undiminished*, does really seem to me something too absurd to be attributed to any man of sense. What, then, must it be to talk of *lessening* the quantity of paper, while the national debt is *increasing* at an enormous rate, and while it is notorious that that debt has been nearly doubled in amount during the last fourteen years; aye; while it is notorious, that, during the last fourteen years, that debt has increased as much as the whole

amount of it was before; or in other words, that since 1796 as much money has been borrowed by the Government as was borrowed in the whole *hundred years* preceding? What must it be, then, to talk of *lessening* the quantity of the paper, while the national debt, which was, and is, *the cause of the paper*, keeps on in this manner *increasing*? One really would think that such a proposition could have originated only in Bedlam. In 1798, the next year after the stoppage, the amount of Bank-of-England notes in circulation was, 13,334,752*l.*; and the amount of the interest upon the national debt, in that year, was 17,750,402*l.* In 1809, the amount of the Bank-of-England notes in circulation was 21,249,980*l*; and the amount of the interest upon the national debt in that year was 30,093,447*l.* (exclusive of Irish loans). Now let this be tried by the rule-of-three, and you will see with what exactness the amount of the bank notes keeps pace with the amount of the interest upon the national debt, commonly called the *dividends*, which many poor creatures in the country look upon, or, rather, used to look upon, as something of a nature almost divine. Let us put this down a little more distinctly.

	£.
In 1798, the dividends amounted to	17,750,402
The Bank notes out in circulation	13,334,752
In 1809, the dividends amounted to	30,093,447
The Bank notes in circulation	21,249,980

Here we have the real cause visibly before us. What folly, what madness is it then, to talk of *lessening* the amount of the notes, while we are continually *augmenting* the amount of the dividends, which are the *cause* of the notes! Here we have before our eyes proof that the dividends (by the use of which word I mean to include all the annual charges upon the debt) and the bank notes have *gone on increasing for the last ten years*, and I had before shown that they had done so theretofore; and, with this fact before our eyes, we, the people of this "*most thinking* nation," hear some of our legislators propose to *lessen* the amount of the *paper*, while not a man of them seems to dream of lessening the amount of the *debt*. We hear them propose to narrow the stream, while they say not a word about narrowing the spring from whence it flows. They heve seen, or *you*, at least, have seen, gentlemen, that the bank-paper arose out of the national debt; you have seen that the Bank was created in a short time after the debt began; you have seen the increase of the paper keep an exact pace with the increase of the debt; and, is it not then, to war against facts, against a century of experience, against the nature of things, to propose to narrow the issues of the paper without previously narrowing the bounds of the debt and its dividends? If the authors of this proposition had read the work of Paine, they would never have offered such a proposition. *Read* this work they may, but they have not duly considered its arguments, or they have shut their eyes against the clear conviction that it is calculated to produce. He pointed out in his Second Part of the Rights of Man, the means of saving England in the way of finance. That work was written in 1791. So early as that he foresaw and foretold what we have now before our eyes, and what we have daily to expect. He there pointed out the sure and certain means of effectually putting a stop to further increase of the debt, of ensuring a real diminution of it, and, at the same time, of doing ample justice to the fundholders. For this pamphlet he was prosecuted, and having gone out of the country, he was *outlawed*. A royal proclamation was issued principally for the purpose of suppressing this work, scores of pamphlets having been written in *answer* to him in vain. He was burnt in effigy in most parts of his native country; and his works were suppressed by the arm of the law. Well, our Government had its way; it followed its own counsel and rejected that of Paine; he was overcome by it, and driven from the country; those who endeavoured to cause his principles to have effect,

were punished or silenced, or both: and, *what is the result*? That result is now before us, and fast approaching us; and, in a short time, in all human probability, events will enable us to form a perfectly correct decision upon the respective merits and demerits of the then conflicting parties.

Now, gentlemen, if you have attentively read the letters, of which I now address to you the XXVth, you will have no doubt at all, that the cause of the influx of paper and of the consequent depreciation of all money first, and then of the paper itself alone, as compared to the money; you will have no doubt that the real cause of all this, is, the increase of the national debt; and, yet, in all the Parliamentary debates upon the subject, you have heard of scarcely any man who ventured to mention this cause. It was a thing too tender to touch. It was what we call a *sore place*; and, the old proverb about the galled horse applied too aptly. If the depreciation had been traced to the national debt, as Mr. HORNE TOOKE once traced it while he was in Parliament; for, *he* then foresaw and foretold what was now come to pass, and told the House, that, if they continued the then expenditure, the fundholder would not get, in a few years, a *quartern loaf* for the dividend upon a hundred pounds of stock; if the depreciation had thus been traced back to its real efficient cause, it would have awakened reflections of an unpleasant tendency; it would have set men to consider what was the cause of the increase of the debt; to look back and inquire whither the money was gone; for what purpose it had been borrowed; *who were the persons that had profited from that borrowing*; who, in short, it was that had swallowed all that money the interet of which the nation was paying, and had so long been paying. These reflections it was not the desire of either party to awaken; but they belong to the subject, they naturally present themselves to every one who looks only a little beneath the surface, and I venture to say, that in the end, they will become familiar to every man in the kingdom. If this *real cause* of the evil had been acknowledged, it would have saved a great deal of time; for, then, men would not have amused themselves with talking about such REMEDIES as that of Mr. HORNER; and all the talk about the *narrowing of discounts* and the *purchasing of gold* and the *improving of the exchange* would have been heard like the twice-told tale of an idiot. The short and the only question would have been this: *Can we by any means, diminish the amount of the dividends*? And if that question had been answered in the negative, there was no course, for those who wished to support the Pitt system to pursue, but that of letting things take their own course, and aid the paper with their *wishes*.

So much for the REMEDY of the bullion committee; but our attention is now called to another, founded on more imperious circumstances. I allude to the proposition of Earl STANHOPE, which was, on the 27th of June, brought forward in the shape of a bill, and which is in that shape, now actually before the House of Lords, where it has undergone a second reading. Compared with this proposition, all that has been said and done before is mere child's play. This bill brings the matter home to the public mind; it shows the most credulous that even those, on whose stoutness they rested their faith, begin to quiver. It cries a truce with all *pretensions*. It puts the sense and the sincerity of every disputant to the test. The Minister told us that he wished the debate on the bullion report to come on, that the matter might be *set at rest*. Set at *rest*! Mercy on us! Set at rest! And so said Old GEORGE ROSE too. But what did they mean by setting the matter at *rest*? Is it possible that they could imagine that this matter was to be set at rest; that this great question of paper-money; that this subject in which every human creature in the country is so deeply interested; is it possible that they thought this matter would be completely set at rest by a vote for their majority? No, no! This is one of the things that that House cannot do. They can do a great

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deal; they can do more than I dare to trust myself to describe; but they cannot set this matter at rest; nor have they, and all the branches of the Government united, the power to stay the progress of the paper-money only for one single hour. The Minister and his people have now seen what *rest* they ensured for the subject! I always said that the "first man of landed property "who openly made a distinction be- "tween paper and gold, would put the "whole system to its trumps, and com- "pel the bank notes to sue for the "power of the Government for their "protection." This has now been verified, and the remainder of my prediction, which I need not here repeat, is not far from its accomplishment.

The grounds of Lord Stanhope's proposition were stated by himself very explicitly in moving, the 2d instant, the second reading of his bill. He said, that he had long thought upon the subject, and had long entertained the opinion, that some legislative measure was necessary to preserve the bank-note system from total ruin; that a notice recently given by Lord King to his tenants, signifying that he would no longer receive his rents but in gold, or in a quantity of paper equivalent in powers of purchase to gold,* had convinced him that there was no time to be lost, and that the measure in contemplation ought to be adopted before the Parliament rose. He said that the Ministers having declared, that their only objection to the measure arose from an opinion, that they thought no measure of the kind necessary, being persuaded that nobody would be found to follow the example of Lord King, it was only necessary for him to show them that there were others to follow that example, in order to convince the Ministers, that the bill was entitled to their support. Having made these preliminary observations, he said that he had a bundle of instances of this sort, and he only wished that a great many other persons would declare their intentions at once, and then the House would proceed to prevent the evil. He then produced a number of letters, from which he read extracts. One person wrote, that his landlord had said, "What *one* landlord "can do, *all* can do; and if Lord King "succeed, I will do the same." Another letter related to a recent transaction in Hampshire, where a man bought an estate for 400*l.*, and paid down 100*l.* of the money, and afterwards laid out several hundreds of pounds upon the premises, and when the time of payment came, the seller insisted upon having payment in guineas, which the buyer could not obtain; the seller, however, would have it, or have his land back again, and the only consolation left to the buyer was an intimation from a friend of the seller, that he could inform him where he might obtain the guineas at 27 shillings each. Another letter stated that a lady, who was a landowner, had insisted upon her rent in gold, and that the tenant apprehended a seizure of his goods, and was ready to verify the facts if called on. Another informed him, on the part of an attorney, that the practice was become

* "By lease, dated 1802, you have con- "tracted to pay the annual rent of 47*l.* 5*s.* in "good and lawful money of Great Britain. In "consequence of the late great depreciation "of paper-money, I can no longer accept any "bank-notes, at their nominal value, in pay- "ment or satisfaction of an *old contract*. I "must therefore desire you to provide for the "payment of your rent in the legal gold coin "of the realm. At the same time, having no "other object than to secure payment of the "real instrinsic value of the sum stipulated "by agreement, and being desirous to avoid "giving you any unnecessary trouble, I shall "be willing to receive payment in either of "the manners following, according to your "option.—1st, By payment in guineas;—2nd, "If guineas cannot be procured, by a pay- "ment in Portugal gold coin, equal in weight "to the number of guineas requisite to dis- "charge the rent;—3rd, By a payment in "bank paper of a sum sufficient to purchase "(at the present market price) the weight of "standard gold requisite to discharge the "rent.—The alteration of the value of the "paper-money is estimated in this manner: "the price of gold in 1802, the year of your "agreement, was 4*l.* an ounce. The present "market price is 4*l.* 14*s.*, arising from the "diminished value of paper; in that propor- "tion an addition of 17*l.* 10*s.* per cent. in pa- "per-money will be required as the equiva- "lent, for the payment of rent in paper."

very common to sell guineas and then pay debts with paper.

These were the grounds, stated by Lord STANHOPE, of the measure that he proposed; and, upon his stating these grounds, the Ministers, who had, at the first reading, said that they did not see any necessity for the measure, or any measure of the kind, allowed that there was such necessity, and supported the second reading accordingly.

Now, gentlemen, before I offer you any observations upon this measure itself, or upon the conduct of Lord KING, whose notice to his tenants seems to have given rise to it, it may not be amiss for me to say, that, from all that has ever come to my knowledge, there is not a more disinterested man, or a truer friend to freedom and to his country, breathing, than Lord STANHOPE, whom I trace through the parliamentary proceedings of the last twenty years, always standing nobly forward in the cause of justice, liberty, and humanity, and, but too often standing forward *alone*. His protest against the Anti-Jacobin war, which began in 1793, and which has finally led to our present calamities, will live when we shall all be in our graves. He there pointed out all, yea *all*, that has now come to pass. That protest, every sentence of which is full of wisdom and of just sentiment, has these remarkable words: "Because "war with France is, at present, most "impolitic, *extremely dangerous to our "allies the Dutch*, hazardous with res- "pect to the internal peace and external "power of this country, and is likely "to be *highly injurious to our com- "merce*.....The war may, therefore, "prove to be a war against our com- "merce and manufactures, *against the "proprietors of the funds*, against *our "paper currency*, and *against every "description of property in this coun- "try*." How completely has all this been verified! Lord STANHOPE was abused: he was called a *jacobin* and a *leveller*, and *now* the nation is tasting the bitter fruit of the spirit that dictated that abuse. Every where was he to be found, in those horrible days, where liberty was assailed. Not an act, which he deemed injurious to the rights of Englishmen, escaped his strenuous opposition. In short, were I called upon to name the peer, whom I thought to have acted the best and truest part in those times, and for the whole course of the last twenty awful years, I should certainly name this very nobleman.

You will, therefore, gentlemen, believe that, if I dissent from the measure which he has now proposed, that dissent proceeds from my conviction, that the measure itself, is not calculated to produce that good, which I am certain its author wishes it to produce.

The detail of the bill I will not attempt to discuss. Its principles are what have struck me, and these I gather from its chief provisions, which are, that, in future, the gold coins shall not be tendered or taken for *more* than their nominal value, and that the bank paper shall not be tendered or taken for *less* than its nominal value. This is Lord STANHOPE's REMEDY; and this he appears to think will prevent the possibility of a further depreciation of the paper. We have seen the cause and the progress of that depreciation; we have seen how the paper *pulled down* the coin along with it, till the coin could no longer endure the society; we have seen the time and manner of their *separation*; but, Lord STANHOPE appears to think that, by the means of this bill, he shall be able not only to restore that harmony which formerly existed between them, but that he shall be able to chain them together for ever after; to bind them as it were in the bonds of marriage, and to render the ties indissoluble. If he do this, he will do what never was done before in the world; he will destroy all the settled maxims of political economy as far as they relate to finance; his achievement will be a triumph not only over the opinions and experience of mankind, but over the very nature of man, which incessantly impels him to seek his own interest, and, at the very least, to use all the means in his power to provide for his own preservation.

After having said this I shall naturally be supposed to be convinced that the

bill would be utterly inefficient for the purposes it contemplates. Indeed, such is my decided opinion, and the reasons for that opinion, I will now proceed to submit to you. A guinea is not to pass for more than 21*s*. There must be some *penalty* to prevent the passing of it for more. Lord STANHOPE will propose nothing *cruel*; but for argument's sake, let the penalty be death. What, then? Why need any one risk any penalty, as far as *ready-money* transaction goes? One of you goes to market with a pig for sale. "What do you ask for that pig, farmer?" Answer: "*Twenty-seven shillings.*" "I'll give you a guinea." "You shall have him." Where is the possibility, then, of enforcing such a law? The parties, in any case, have only to settle, before they deal, in what sort of currency payment shall be made, and then they will, of course, make the price accordingly. As to *debts*, indeed, whether book-debts, or debts arising from contract, in the payment of them, the gold and notes must, if this bill pass, be taken at their nominal value; that is to say, the paper must; for, as to gold, who will be fool enough to tender gold in payment at its *nominal amount*, when it is notorious that it will fetch a premium of six shillings upon the guinea? If the bill become a law, therefore, any tenant who has rent to pay, and who has guineas in his purse, will first go and purchase paper money with his guineas, and with the paper money, he will go and pay his rent. This rent, for instance, is 105*l*. a year, and he has a hundred guineas in his chest. But he will not be fool enough to carry these to his landlord. He will go and buy 105 pounds worth of paper money with *seventy-eight* of his guineas; and will then go and pay his rent, and will return home with 28 of his guineas still in his pocket. So that, as far as the bill will have effect, it appears to me that it will bear almost exclusively upon landlords.

I shall be told, perhaps, that, though guineas may *now* be bought and sold, in consequence of the decision of the judges, which, in the case of DE YONGE, has been promulgated since I began this letter,* yet, we are not to suppose, that the present bill will not *provide against such traffic* by making it penal to be concerned in it. But, as I have shown above, men may go on with all *ready-money* transactions, and, with perfect safety, make a *distinction* between paper and coin, which amounts to the same thing as *buying* and *selling* the coin or the paper. It will require but very little ingenuity to discover the means of so managing the matter that the landlord shall never see a shilling's worth of coin from the hands of the tenant.

But, suppose that the coin should not

* The following is the report of this DECISION, as given by the Chief Judge, Lord Ellenborough, in the Court of King's Bench, on the 3rd instant.—"The KING *against* DE YONGE.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH communicated the judgment of the court in this case, which along with another case, the King *v.* Wright, coming from the assizes for the county of Buckingham, had been reserved for the opinion of the 12 judges, on a point of law. Both causes had been fully and ably argued before the judges in the Court of Exchequer Chamber, and the argument had occupied a number of days. The question arising in the present case was, the defendant having been convicted of purchasing 52 guineas at the rate, in bank notes, of 22*s*. 6*d*. per guinea, whether, in so doing, he had been guilty of an offence punishable under the act of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. which prohibited the exchanging of coined gold for coined silver, or for gold and silver, the party giving or receiving more in value than the same was current for at the time? All the judges, except three, were present at the whole of these arguments, and at the last of them the whole of the judges were present. The court had no opportunity of knowing what was the opinion of the absent judges on that part of the case at the argument on which they were not present, but they had no reason to presume that they dissented from the opinion of the other judges who were present, all of whom concurred in opinion that the defendant in this case was not liable under the act of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. The judgment, therefore, fell to be *arrested*; and the judgment *was arrested accordingly*." Thus, then, this case is decided as I always said it *must* be, unless all semblance of *law* was banished from the land. Many people thought and said, that the conviction would be confirmed; but I never thought so for a moment. Oh, no! The judges knew a great deal better than to do that!

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be permitted to be bought and sold; does any one believe, that any law will prevent a private traffic in the article? And, if that could be done, is any one mad enough to suppose, that the guinea *will still circulate at par with the paper*? Pass this bill, or any bill, that shall prevent men from passing the guinea for more than its nominal worth, and the consequence will be, that a guinea *will never again be seen in circulation*. Those who have them will keep them in their chests, waiting an occasion to export them, or more patiently waiting till circumstances have produced the repeal of the law which has driven the guinea into the hoard. The cause that we see no guineas now in *common circulation*, is, as I said before, that they cannot obtain their fair value. They would have been openly sold long enough ago, had there not been an opinion, that the traffic was punishable by law. Now that obstacle is removed; but, in all likelihood, another will be erected by the present bill. In that case the guineas will *all* either be hoarded or sent out of the country, and paper must and will be made to supply their place. The dollars, the new things of three shillings and eighteen pence, now coming out from the Bank, will also be hoarded; and to notes for shillings and sixpences we must come, I am convinced, in the course of a year, if this bill pass; so that the bill, while it will be wholly inefficient for the purpose of arresting the progress of depreciation, will be efficient enough in producing a contrary effect.

The bill does not, the author of it says, make bank notes a *legal tender*. It does not do it in *words*, but it appears to me to endeavour to do it in *effect*; and that being once done, all the usual consequences of a *legal tender* must follow. It was easy to see that the system would come to this pitch; there is nothing in the state to which we are come, that ought to *surprise* any one; what has happened was to be expected, and was, indeed, long ago *foretold*; but, what might reasonably surprise one, is, to hear this measure represented by the Ministers as necessary to the *protection* of the *fundholder*! Can this be serious? Is it possible, that they can be serious when they say this? If they are, nothing that they can say or do, can ever be a subject of wonder. Men who are capable of believing that the Bill of Lord Stanhope will operate as a *protection to the fundholder*, are capable . . . . . but, really, I want words to answer my purpose. Imagination can frame nothing that such men are not capable of in the way of belief. That the paper would, at last, become a *legal tender* or *forced circulation*, it was easy to see. I did, indeed, for my own part, expect this state of the paper to be apparent long ago. The faith of this "*most thinking* people" I knew to be almost passing conception; but, still I did not think it adequate to the supporting of this paper-money for 14 years after the issuers had ceased to pay in cash, and after they were protected by law against the demands of their creditors. It was, however, certain, that the thing must come to this point at last; it was certain, that if the national debt and the taxes continued to increase, the time must come when landlords would see that they must either starve, or demand their rents in coin; and, whenever this time came, it was, as I have many times said, impossible to keep up the paper only for six months without making that paper a legal tender, which might eke out its existence, perhaps for a year or two, but which, in the end, must ensure its total destruction. I have several times been asked, what reason there was why landlords should not demand their rents in gold and silver; or in bank notes to the amount of the gold and silver; and, my answer has always been, that there was no reason at all against it *now*, but that there soon would be; for that the moment such demand was made, bank notes would be made a *legal tender*. This was natural, and, therefore, the Ministers are now doing just what I always expected they would do, whenever any landholder did what Lord King has now done; but, to hear them speak of it as a measure calculated to afford protection to the *fundholder*,

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is what I never could have expected. They will see what sort of *protection* it will give him; and he will *feel* it! What will be his fate I shall not pretend to say; but, I hope, there is *justice* enough yet in the country, *real* justice enough to prevent him from perishing, while there exist the means of such prevention. I trust, that his claims will meet with serious and patient consideration; that the question of *what is due* to him and *to whom he ought to look for payment* will be settled upon sound principles of equity. I am for giving real protection to the fundholder; but, to hear the Ministers say, that he is to meet with protection from a measure such as that now before Parliament, a measure that must inevitably accelerate the depreciation of the paper, is, surely, sufficient to fill one with surprise and dismay, if, at this day, and after all that we have seen, any thing ought to produce such an effect in our minds.

On the 2nd of July, a protest was entered in the House of Lords, against Lord Stanhope's Bill, which protest I here insert. "Dissentient,—Because "we think it the duty of this House to "mark, in the first instance, with the "most decided reprobation, a bill, which "in our judgment manifestly leads to "the introduction of laws, imposing "upon the country the *compulsory circulation of a Paper Currency*; a measure fraught with injustice, destructive "of all confidence in the legal security "of contracts, and, as invariable experience has shown, necessarily productive of the most fatal calamities:

Grenville,	Lansdowne,
Jersey,	King,
Essex,	Cowper,
Grey,	Lauderdale.

"For the reason assigned on the "other side, and because the repeal of "the law for suspending bank payments in cash is in my judgment *the "only measure which can cure the inconveniences already felt*, and avert the "yet greater calamities which are impending from the present state of the "circulation of the country. Vassall "Holland."

In the protest of the eight peers I heartily concur; but, I do not agree with Lord Holland in his addition to it, if his Lordship means to say, that it is *possible to resume cash payments at the Bank*. To pay the notes in gold upon demand, agreeably to the promise upon the face of the notes, is certainly the only cure for the inconveniences already felt and the calamities now impending; but, that it is utterly impossible to adopt this cure is, to my mind, not less certain. His Lordship proceeds upon the notion of Mr. Horner and the bullion committee, namely, that the cause of the depreciation consists in *an excessive issue of paper*, which is very true, if you compare the quantity of paper with that of the gold, or of the real transactions of purchase and sale, between man and man; but, which is not true, if you compare the quantity of paper, with the amount of *dividends payable on the national debt*, and I would beg leave to put, with sincere respect, this question to Lord Holland: "If cash payments were "restored, and money, as must be the "case, were restored to its former "value, *where* does your Lordship think "would be found the *means of paying "the dividends!*"

It is impossible! The thing never can go *back* without combustion; no, not an inch; nay, and it must keep *advancing*. This very measure, by hastening the depreciation, will cause a new addition, and still larger than former additions, to the natioaal debt, and of course to the dividends. Those additional dividends must be paid in an additional quantity of bank notes; and thus the system *must go on*, as Paine foretold, with an *accelerated velocity*, until it can no longer. Having this opinion so firmly fixed in my mind, I was quite surprised to see the Marquis of Lansdowne endeavour to *mend* the bill of Lord Stanhope by the introduction of a clause for *prohibiting the Bank company from augmenting the quantity of their paper after the passing of the bill*. This shows, that his Lordship has, what I deem to be, and which, I think, I have proved to be, a most

erroneous view of the real cause of the depreciation. If he thought with me, that the cause is in the increase of the national debt and of the dividends, he would have proposed no such amendment as this.

As to the conduct of Lord KING, nothing could be more fair or more laudable. He wished to take *no advantage* of his tenants; he only wanted a fulfilment of his contract with them; and, as the spirit of the contract was more favourable to them than the letter, he abandoned the letter, and only required them to hold to the spirit. To hear him, therefore, charged with *oppression*, and by .....! But, it is as well to keep ourselves cool. Let others chafe and foam. And, if the House of Lords do choose thus to determine, why, all that I can say about the matter, is, that they are the best judges whether they stand in need of their rents, and, if they do not, I really do not see much harm in their giving them to their tenants; and, this act will be the more generous as they are about to do it by a *law*, so that the tenants will keep the rents without having to give the landlords even *thanks* in return. That such will be amongst the effects of the bill, if it pass, there can be no doubt; and, as far as it operates in this way, a most popular bill it will be. It will act as a *distributor* of wealth; of money, lands nnd tenements; for, to suppose that, in many cases, the *tenants* will not soon become the *proprietors*, is to discover but very little *thought* on the subject; and that, I am sure, would be a shame in a body of HEREDITARY LEGISLATORS in the "*most thinking* nation in the world." What a change this will make! Happy is the man who is a *tenant!* Much better off is he than the man who tills his *own* land; because the former has given nothing at all for his, whereas the latter has paid, at some time or other, *purchase money* for what he possesses. The letting of *long leases* is out of fashion; but, in general, the lands of great proprietors are held upon lease, and these leases are not, upon an average, for less than *seven years* at the lowest. Some of these leases are nearly expired, of course, but others will naturally be but just commenced. So that the average time for which the land is now let, I shall take at *three years and a half*. All the Duke of Bedford's estates, for instance, are let, then, *for three years and a half yet to come*. Now, if the paper depreciates three or four times as fast as it has hitherto done, the tenants of the Duke of Bedford will have a brave time of it for these three years and a half. But if the bill, which is now before Parliament, should send down the paper to the state of the French assignats in 1794, *what will*, in *that case, be the situation of the Duke of Bedford*? There are many landlords who cannot *hold out* for three years and a half, and who therefore must sell, in whole or in part; but there will, indeed, be this convenience, that they will everywhere find a purchaser ready at hand in their tenant, and one, too, who will not only know the real value of the property, but who will have the money ready to pay for it. This is nothing in the way of a *joke*. I am in earnest; it is what I am convinced will take place, if the bill of Lord Stanhope pass into a law; but, as I said before, if the Lords like it, nobody else can possibly have a right to interfere. They may, surely, do what they please with their own property. All that I wish to stipulate for is, that we jacobins and levellers shall never be accused of this act of distributing the lands and houses of the rich amongst those who are not rich; that we shall not be accused of this great act of *pulling down* and *raising up*. Hume remarked, that the funding system, in *the space of* 500 *years*, would cause the posterity of those now in the coaches, and of those upon the boxes, to change places; but, if this bill of Lord STANHOPE pass, this change will be a thing of much quicker operation.

I shall be told, that *Lord King's example* would have operated even more quickly than this measure, in *destroying the paper*. Granted. It would, there is no doubt, have produced, in a very short time, that which must have

totally destroyed the paper system, root and branch, namely, TWO PRICES, against which, openly and generally adopted, no paper-money ever did, or ever can, stand for any length of time. That that *example* would have been generally, nay universally, followed, there can be no doubt at all, for no man voluntarily gives away his rents, or, rather, lets another withhold them from him. Some persons would have been a little shy at first; but, when they found that others did it, they would have got over their shyness, and the demand would have been universally made. Thus, then, the TWO PRICES would have been established; and the gold and silver, finding that they could pass current for their real worth, would have come forth from their hiding places, some, while the rest would have hastened back from abroad. "Surely!" say you: "why, then, are the Govern-"ment alarmed at the effect of Lord "King's example, if it would bring "back gold and silver into circulation?" Oh! there is good reason for their alarm; for, observe, THE TAXES WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PAID IN PAPER! When the tax-gatherer came to the door of one of you, for instance, you would, if you had only gold or silver in the house, beg him to call the next morning, or to sit down a bit, while you, with your gold, would go and purchase paper-money sufficient to pay him the amount of his demand! There needs no more to convince you that the Government has *good reason for alarm* at the prospect of seeing Lord King's example followed, as it assuredly would be, if there were no law to prevent it. In short, that example would annihilate the paper system in a year.

The next letter will close the series. In the meanwhile,

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your friend,
Wm. COBBETT.

Late Prison, Newgate, Friday, 5th July, 1811.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A FRIEND in the country asked me when I shall be at leisure to see him when he comes to town, and what house will suit me best. I have never any *leisure*. I am always at work or asleep. But I rise so early, and I waste so little time at meals, that, except sometimes on a Wednesday or a Thursday, I can see any body, at any time, upon any business whatever, and am always happy to give every one that applies to me the best advice, or most correct information, in my power. As to whether I am to be found at Kensington, or at Bolt-court, that is a matter of complete uncertainty; but at Bolt-court, information as to this matter may always be had. Sometimes gentlemen call here, find me here, but *engaged*, and then they go away, naturally disliking to wait in the shop. They should not do this, if they really want to see me; for there is just opposite a very nice coffee-house and tavern called the *Doctor Johnson*, kept in a very excellent manner, where there is lodging and every accommodation. I have now been an observer of the conduct of the persons in this house for more than a year, and I venture to recommend it to gentlemen who come from the country, and who wish to live a sober and orderly life while they are here. The court itself is a remarkably clean place. Opposite the entrance of it is the great coach-office called the Bolt-in-Tun. We are situated within a step of the Temple, and other Inns of the Courts, and at only about a quarter of an hour's walk from the Royal Exchange, and at five minutes' walk from the foot of Blackfriars-Bridge.

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From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 24, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

RANDALL, J., Esher, Surrey, corn-chandler.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

SMITH, W., Worcester, money-scrivener.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNS, T., Jermyn-street, St. James's, tailor.
BIRCH, C. L., Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, coach-maker.
BURTON, W., Codnor-park, Derbyshire, stone-bottle-manufacturer.
CROKER, E., Lombard-street, tobacconist.
HOSMER, E., Tunbridge Wells, Sussex, leather-seller.
MILLER, G., and R. Blackie, Liverpool, joiners.
PARNHAM, T., East Retford, Notts, grocer.
PEARSON, W., Lamb's Conduit-street, tailor.
PRESTON, T., Cambridge, victualler.
PRETTY, J., Walsall, Staffords., ironmonger.
RICHARD, L., Barby, Northamptonshire, maltster.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

FOURDRINIER, G. H., Brown-hills, Staffordshire, paper-merchant.
GADSDEN, R., Liverpool, bread-baker.
GUTHRIE, R., Cochran-terrace, Portland-town, tailor.
HODGES, W., George-street, Portland-place, painter.
LEDBEATER, J., and J. Barlow, Manchester, cabinet-makers.
NICHOLS, W. and G., Upper Thames-street, coal-merchants.
TAYLOR, J. H., Crayford, Kent, calico-printer.
TAYLOR, R., Tokenhouse-yard, merchant.
WHARTON, J. F., and S. E. Jones, St. Paul's-church-yard, coffee-house-keepers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

LIZARS, D., Edinburgh, printer.
M'LIMONT, R. and Co., Glasgow, merchants.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, AUG. 27.—Our market was abundantly supplied with new wheat this morning, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, which met heavy sale at an abatement of 4*s.* per qr. on picked samples, and from 4*s.* to 5*s.* on the general runs from the above counties; and nothing like a clearance could be made at those reductions. Old wheat was unsaleable, although offered on much lower terms.

A few samples of new barley appeared, which obtained from 34*s.* to 36*s.* according to quality.

New white peas having come more plentifully to hand, have sold 2*s.* per qr. cheaper than on this day se'nnight.

Old beans were a heavy sale at a decline of 1*s.* per qr.

Having a continuance of large arrivals of oats, chiefly from Ireland, the trade was exceeding dull, the demand being very limited; and to effect sale an abatement of 1*s.* per qr. was obliged to be submitted to.

Wheat	60s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	28s. to 30s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
——— Boilers	38s. to —s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
——— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
——— Feed	21s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	45s. to 46s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	50s. to 55s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	80s. to 82s.
——— Cork	80s. to 81s.
——— Limerick	80s. to 82s.
——— Waterford	76s. to 78s.
——— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	52s. to 78s.
——— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
——— Edam	40s. to 48s.
——— Gouda	40s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 76s.

SMITHFIELD.—Aug. 27.

This day's supply of beasts was rather great; of each kind of small stock rather limited. The trade was, throughout, particularly with prime meat, somewhat brisk, at but little, if any, variation from Friday's prices.

Full three-fourths of the beasts were about equal numbers of Lincolns, Durhams, Irish beasts, and Welsh runts,—the two former chiefly from Lincolnshire, the two latter from Nottingham, Northampton, and Leicestershire, and the London marshes; an eighth about equal numbers of Herefords—chiefly from Buckingham, Worcester, and Herefordshire—and Devons, mostly from our southern, western, and midland districts; the remainder, Town's-end cows, a few Scots, and homebreds from Norfolk, &c.; and sundry other breeds from various quarters. Full two-thirds of the sheep and lambs were about equal numbers

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of Downs and Leicester half-breds; about a sixth Kents and Kentish half-breds; both crosses with the South Downs' ram; and the remainder of sundry other polled breeds; there not being, we believe, a single entire pen of horned sheep or lambs in the market! The trade was much enlivened by many butchers—who had the means of paying for, and keeping them forward—purchasing an increased number of sheep and beasts, for the purpose of avoiding, as far as possible, next Monday, the confusion and inconvenience of St. Bartholomew Fair.

Beasts, 2,738; sheep and lambs, 23,100; calves, 180; pigs, 220.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Aug. 31.

The arrivals this week are small. The rain that has fallen this week has caused a demand for wheat, and the prices are from 1*s.* to 2*s.* higher than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	—	83⅜	83¼	83¼	83⅛	84

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book;

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Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

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This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3*s.* bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. James Paul Cobbett.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6*s.*

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

4. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* in bds.

5. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Greenhouses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6*s.*

6. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14*s.* bound in boards.

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11. THE LAW OF TURNPIKES. By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* boards.

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A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6*d.*

13. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

14. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17*s.*, and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

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15. ROMAN HISTORY, French and English, intended, not only as a History for Young People to read, but as a Book of Exercises to accompany my French Grammar. Two Volumes. Price 13*s.* in boards.

16. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5*s.*

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

Friday Night, 31. *August*, 1832.

THE *Register* has been delayed twelve hours, in the expectation of news from Birmingham; but none having arrived, it is now published without any account of the discussion between Mr. ATTWOOD and Mr. COBBETT.

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealers, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS, Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of men of business.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers and Newsmen throughout the Empire.

"The 'Mark-Lane Express,' a new paper devoted to the agricultural and commercial interests, as well as to general intelligence and politics. It is well printed, and apparently well conducted, and promises to be a useful newspaper to persons in trade."—*Edinburgh Chronicle.*

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FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, of Black or Blue	5	5	0
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LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

This day is published, by Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange, in one vol. 8vo., price 10*s.* 6*d.*,

SIX THOUSAND MILES THROUGH the UNITED STATES of AMERICA. By S. A. Ferrall, Esq.

"This is one of the best works on the United States that we have seen for a long time."—*Weekly Dispatch.*

"It is an agreeable and interesting narrative—the spirit in which he has made his observations is without prejudice or partiality."—*Literary Gazette.*

"We recommend it to our readers as a plain, sensible, and serviceable volume."—*Athenæum.*

"After the vapid or impertinent course of observation which we have been accustomed to encounter in American tours, it is especially agreeable to meet with a sensible and unprejudiced traveller—and such is Mr. Ferrall. He gives us all the advantage of a cool, impartial, and astute observer."—*Examiner.*

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 77.—No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*

THE

BIRMINGHAM REGISTER,

BIRMINGHAM DEBATE,
OR RAGS AGAINST GOLD,

At Birmingham, on the 28th and 29th August, 1832.

Barton, Staffordshire, 31st Aug., 1832.

THIS has become a matter of very great public importance; it has elicited views and facts very interesting in themselves, and very useful to be communicated to the public at this time. It was not the triumph over a political adversary that I sought; it was not to show off in a speech before the people of BIRMINGHAM; but it was to make this subject attract the attention of the whole country, that induced me to avail myself of the fair pretence for inviting the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL" to a public discussion. The same motive now induces me to give a full account of the speeches upon this occasion. I do not mean a *full report*. Messrs. ATTWOOD and JONES spoke *seven hours and a half*, if not *eight hours*; I myself two hours: so that to give a report of these speeches anything like *verbatim*, would require a space equal to that contained in an octavo volume of about *six hundred pages!* One cannot help stopping here to express admiration of the unparalleled patience of this people. Indeed, they have been pretty well *disciplined* to it for a long time. As far as the principal of my opponents was concerned; as far as related to Mr. ATTWOOD'S *six hours and a half*, it was *nothing new* to them, but at any rate the patience and good manners of this audience were such as to reflect the greatest honour upon the people of BIRMINGHAM; it was impossible for me to sit and look at them without being convinced that England is in no danger of being sunk by the folly or the baseness of any set of rulers; it being evident that the people have the sense and the steadiness to take their own affairs into their own hands, if need be; to put things to rights themselves if the dire necessity should arise; and not, like the brave, but too hasty and too thoughtless, French, to be deluded by a sound, first to shed each other's blood, and then to submit to be robbed and really enslaved by bands of villains calling themselves "*public creditors*," having at their head the greediest of all usurers upon the earth, with hordes of armed myrmidons ready to send the bayonet to the hearts of the people to uphold that which they have the audacity to call "*national faith.*"

The meeting took place in a room about a hundred feet long and thirty feet wide; very well provided with benches upon the level of the floor, there being, for the convenience of the speakers, a place, at one end, raised to about five feet high. This place was absolutely filled; and we know, by the money that was taken, that there were at the least *rather more than fourteen hundred persons*. That good order should be preserved in so large an assembly is quite astonishing; and certain it is, that such a spectacle was never yet seen, except in England, or in the United States of America. A French gentleman who went with me once to the Rotunda in London, expressed his wonder at seeing a thousand people perfectly silent for an hour or two. It is a thing highly honourable to our character; and it is that character which has preserved us from being brought to utter ruin and slavery, by the stupid and tyrannical men who have, at times, been invested with the power of ruling us.

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hink it proper to observe here, on ircumstance of my having insisted money being taken. Messrs, rood and JONES, in their accept- of my invitation, have a sort of at my having made this a part of ondition. But, laying aside all the very sufficient reasons for my ; this, there was one which be- visible to every person present at neeting; for, long before the first h was begun, every one saw, that doors had been flung open to the c, and every one permitted to enter ut any payment, the whole must in- ly have ended in confusion. There more than a thousand persons at moment of the time ready to in. I should have been willing, glad to have had the price of ad- on, *sixpence* or *threepence*, in to have admitted a great body of ing men; but I knew that it was ssible to do it, and to have any- like a peaceable discussion. I this the other day at HORSHAM in x. Some gentlemen there got a large school-room on the ground- well furnished with benches. The e of the population of the place, women, and children, is only 5. I thought I might safely ven- to refrain from using the check of g money: the place was on the nd-floor, singularly commodious, standing out upon a little piece of nd distant from all other buildings. ould conveniently contain five or undred persons; yet, it was so med, the strife was so great, the y passions so sturdily at work, that uired all my address, joined to the ion of all my authority of manner, ll the respect which the whole of southern chopsticks bear towards it required all these to prevent acts olence, and, indeed, to prevent the erous windows of the school-house being dashed in by those who l not enter, the general cry on the de being, "*We have as much right in as they have.*" This was very By my manner of managing the , I prevented mischief; but if this the case in the little town of HORSHAM, what was to have been expected in the town of Birmingham, and that, too, when there was going to be a trial of strength between their CICERO and me! In short, without the taking of the shilling, there could have been no discussion; and, therefore, my opponents might have spared their *fling*. Before I conclude this *Register*, I shall give a curious account of what was done with the money; but I will just mention here, that I having, in calling Mr. JONES to order, observed, that I had not come to Birmingham to listen to an essay on the theory of money, a person who, I was told, was one of Mr. ATTWOOD's clerks, called out, "But you "are come to Birmingham to *take* "*money*." I instantly answered, "If I "could *make* money I would not *take* "money." The allusion was caught by the meeting at once, and the confusion of the understrapping *rag-men* was lost sight of in the general laugh that ensued.

I now proceed to the speech of Mr. Attwood, which, as I said before, occupied, as nearly as possible, *four hours* and *twenty minutes*, the last hour, or more, by candle-light, when an adjournment to two o'clock next day took place. Mr. ATTWOOD has the reputation of being, in all his private relationship, a most excellent man. In the neighbourhood in which he lives, he is said to be universally beloved by the working people. I believe him to be perfectly sincere in his wishes to see his country great and prosperous; and particularly to see the industrious and laborious part of the community duly remunerated for their care and their toil. If I were tempted to speak of him disparagingly, I should always feel myself checked by the remembrance of that PETITION which came up from BIRMINGHAM in such good time in favour of the condemned labourers of HAMPSHIRE and WILTSHIRE, which was signed by him, and by this very Mr. JONES; which certainly had the effect of saving some scores of lives, which actually put a stop to the shedding of the blood of those labourers, and which was a subject of *censure* in the reported

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speech of DAMIAN of the 8th of May, 1831.

Having said this of Mr. ATTWOOD, and wishing it to be applied also to Mr. JONES, and wishing the reader to be pleased always to bear it in mind; and I being ready to acknowledge, also, that the POLITICAL COUNCIL, *up to the month of April last*, rendered very great services to the country upon the subject of parliamentary reform; ungrudgingly stating all this, and wishing it to be borne in mind by my readers, I must be permitted to speak very freely of what I deem to be the errors and frailties of Mr. ATTWOOD, and especially of his efforts upon this occasion, which sink so very far below that which I myself had anticipated, that it is impossible for me, in describing them, to do justice to the lowness of my opinion of his knowledge with regard to the matters which were the subject of discussion. A general description of his first speech is all that I can possibly give, and all that the reader would endure; and before I give that I must deal a little in narrative.

On the 30*th of July last*, (I beg the reader to attend to dates,) there appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, an address from the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL to Lord GREY, as first Lord of the Treasury, advising him to return to paper-money, making it a *legal tender* to a certain extent, and to do this *secretly* and *suddenly*, so that nobody might be apprised of what was going to take place. Out of this address sprang this "BIRMINGHAM DEBATE." I wished for an opportunity to proclaim, in a very signal manner, my abhorrence of this recommendation to my Lord GREY; and reading in the *Birmingham Journal* that a speech had been made in the COUNCIL, in refutation of my doctrines on the subject, I availed myself of that as the ground of the INVITATION which produced this DEBATE. Before, therefore, I proceed to speak of the speech of Mr. ATTWOOD, I must lay this memorable address before the reader; because, as he will find, the whole of the discussion ought to have turned upon this ADDRESS. This address, then, was in the following words, bearing date *in the month of October last*, though not *published* (for curious reasons which will appear by-and-by) until the 30*th day of July in this year*.

To the Right Hon. Earl Grey, First Lord of his Majesty's Treasury, &c.,

The Memorial of the Undersigned, forming the Council of the Birmingham Political Union,

Respectfully showeth,

1. That your memorialists think it their duty to represent to your Lordship, that, for the last six years, a generally increasing state of depression and distress has existed throughout all the manufacturing and commercial districts of the United Kingdom.

2. That this state of depression and distress still continues to increase; and your memorialists seriously apprehend that, unless remedial measures are adopted, a period is rapidly approaching, in which the operations of industry, from the loss and ruin attending them, must be generally suspended throughout the country.

3. That your memorialists have good reason to believe, that no branch of industry exists in the United Kingdom, in which the prudent employment of labour is attended with any fair and reasonable profit; and they have equal reason to believe, that in almost every branch of industry, a positive loss has attended the employment of labour for several years past, and does now attend such employment; and your memorialists think it their duty to represent to your Lordship, that unless this state of things can be altered, general convulsion and disorganization of society will become inevitable.

4. That your memorialists attribute this distressing and alarming state of things to the general contraction of the credit currency of the country; which has been effected by the unjust and impolitic attempt in which the legislature has been vainly engaged since the year 1819, to render all the paper taxes, tithes, rents, debts, and obligations of the country convertible by law into gold, at the ancient and unsuitable standard of 3*l*. 17*s*. 10½*d*. per ounce.

5. That by this destructive and most unjust attempt, the prices of commodities are beaten down within the grasp and of the fixed charges and moneyed expenses attending their production; and thus the reward of industry is destroyed, and the population of the country are, in a great degree, either deprived of employment or of the fair wages of their labour, or are otherwise supported for awhile by the sacrifice of the capital of their employers.

6. That notwithstanding the general and ruinous depression in the prices of property and labour which has been thus effected, such depression of prices has not yet been sufficient

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to prevent the gold coins from being exported to foreign countries; and your memorialists are informed and believe, that a very large exportation of gold coins has taken place within the last twelve months, and does still continue to take place, thereby forcing a still further reduction in the already ruinous prices of commodities and labour throughout the kingdom.

7. That in order to meet and prevent this exportation of the gold coins the Bank of England has been induced to make a very considerable reduction of its notes, thereby further reducing the wages of labour, and the prices of commodities, and increasing the deficiency of money at the very period when the issues of bank notes ought to have been increased in order to remedy it; and in this way it is the great and vital interests of the country are sacrificed to the restoration of an antiquated standard of value, which is neither just, suitable, nor practicable, under the existing state of society in England.

8. That whilst the profits of industry are thus annihilated, and whilst the wages of labour are thus beaten down, and every labourer in the kingdom is injured, humbled, and degraded; whilst the labourer is thus deprived of employment on the one hand, and reduced in his wages on the other; in this painful and degrading state of things, the prices of food are artificially kept up by cruel and unjust corn-laws, without considering that before the poor man can be called upon to pay high prices for his food, it is necessary that the money should first be put into his pocket wherewith to pay them. Your memorialists earnestly solicit the attention of your Lordship to this great and crying error of legislation; an error which has not protected the agricultural classes from ruin, brought upon them by the fraudulent money laws of 1819, but which has done more to alienate the affections of the people from the Government, and from the upper classes of society than almost any other measure that was ever adopted by a British Parliament.

9. That your memorialists are informed that according to the last returns made to the House of Commons the circulation of Bank-of-England notes has been now reduced to about seventeen millions sterling at the termination of the quarter, which is the exact amount to which it was reduced by similar operations at the termination of the quarter in the momentous week preceding the panic of 1825.

10. That this serious reduction of the bank-note circulation, combined with a similar reduction of the gold coins of the country above alluded to, has already produced very large and alarming failures among the mercantile interest of Bristol, London, and other places, exactly in the same manner as similar failures were produced by similar reductions in the few weeks preceding the panic of 1825; and your memorialists cannot but anticipate either the recurrence of a catastrophe similar to that which occurred in the close of 1825, and, perhaps, as fatal in its results, or such a general and progressive increase of national difficulties and embarrassments, as may prove totally destructive of the social system.

11. That your memorialists are exceedingly reluctant to intrude upon the weighty and anxious occupations of your Lordship, and they will not entertain a doubt that the reformed Parliament whenever it may assemble, will forthwith proceed to rectify evils of such a fearful and alarming magnitude as are here adverted to; but your memorialists apprehend that the sufferings and dangers of the country are too urgent to allow the prudent postponement of the means of relief until the reformed Parliament can assemble; and, therefore, your memorialists respectfully but most earnestly beg leave to recommend to your Lordship the adoption of the following preparatory measures, which they deem calculated to stay the increase of commercial and agricultural difficulties and embarrassments—to relieve the general distress which afflicts the industrious classes of the community—and to place the country in a condition of safety and of comparative ease and prosperity, until the reformed Parliament may have leisure to adopt definite and efficient measures.

I. The making of silver a standard of value and a legal tender, as it is in every other country in the world, and as it was in England, from the commencement of English history until the disastrous monetary measures of 1816 and 1819 were adopted.

II. The allowing of the Bank of England to issue 1*l.* notes, and the making of Bank-of-England notes legal tenders from all persons whatever, except the Bank of England itself.

III. The inducing the Bank of England forthwith to issue the bank notes, which have been recently withdrawn from circulation, and to increase its circulation, permanently, from the present reduced amount of seventeen millions at the termination of the quarter, to at least twenty-five millions at the termination of the quarter, which in the opinion of your memorialists is the lowest amount under which the necessary profits of industry and the beneficial employment of labour throughout the country, can be restored and preserved.

12. That your memorialists apprehend that your Lordship must clearly foresee that a period is rapidly approaching in which this great subject must be grappled with, and in which it will be found absolutely necessary for Parliament either to adjust the monetary system of the country to the existing state of society, or otherwise to cut down the public and private burdens of society into conformity with the present monetary system; and your memorialists respectfully represent to your Lordship that in their opinion the latter process will be found to be utterly impracticable, and that if attempted it will result in universal anarchy; and your memorialists further respectfully suggest that it would be most unwise to

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defer the decision of this great question until compelled by circumstances, the pressure of which will allow no time for reflection.

13. Your memorialists respectfully suggest to your Lordship the propriety of having a subject of this delicate and vital nature decided in the quiet deliberations of his Majesty's Government, without rendering its public discussion unavoidable throughout the country; for they cannot but apprehend that dangers of a very serious character may arise from its public discussion; and they greatly fear that the people would be driven to madness, if ever they should come to discover that all their misery and distress have been occasioned by an act of the legislature. And your memorialists apprehend that too many of them would come to the conclusion that such an act releases them from the duty of contributing to the taxation of the country, and of rendering obedience to laws which oppress and destroy the people, instead of defending and protecting them.

14. That it is the sincere wish of your memorialists, that when the reform of the Parliament is effected, the political excitement of the nation should cease; and if justice is done to the people, they are perfectly satisfied that it will cease. But this excitement, as your Lordship must well know, has grown out of the rooted wrongs and the hoarded injuries of many years; and it can only be allayed by a restoration of that permanent prosperity among the industrious classes, which the industrious classes have a right to expect from the hands of their Government.

15. Your memorialists would be deficient in the dutiful and grateful loyalty which they owe to and feel for their most excellent King, and in the respect and gratitude which they feel for your Lordship, if they did not solemnly express to your Lordship their firm conviction, that under the present system of the currency the permanent restoration of the national prosperity is not possible—that the plunder and oppression which it imposes upon the industrious classes is too enormous to be submitted to—and that if persevered in, no reform of the Parliament, and no human power can prevent universal anarchy in England.

16. That your memorialists entertain no doubt that the adoption of the monetary measures above recommended, will greatly contribute to restore the reward of industry, and the full employment and just wages of labour throughout the country; and after these just and righteous objects shall have been secured; if the restoration of the ancient standard of value should be found consistent with their preservation, your memorialists shall have no desire that it should be abandoned; but your memorialists respectfully remind your Lordship that the restoration of the ancient standard of value was submitted to by Parliament and the country under the present assurance and belief, that it would add only four per cent. to the weight and value of all the taxes, tithes, rents, debts and obligations of the community, but that it is now universally acknowledged to have secretly and fraudulently increased all such burdens full cent. per cent., instead of four per cent.; and if this should still be found to be the result of a restoration of the ancient standard of value—if this should continue to be the degree in which it increases the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the poor—in which it aggrandizes the idle and unproductive classes, at the expense of the industrious workmen and their employers, your memorialists, in the name of their constituents and of their country, will, in this case, protest against the enforcement of such an atrocious and Heaven-crying act of fraud, tyranny, and destruction; and so long as society holds together under its effects, they will never cease to use every possible legal exertion to obtain justice and redress.

17. Finally, your memorialists respectfully offer to produce to your Lordship, or to Parliament, the most unquestionable proof of all the facts and positions here laid down; and they most earnestly conjure your Lordship, as you value the safety of the throne and the happiness of the people, not to suffer your Lordship's high and unsullied name to be compromised in the vain attempt to support the guilty measures of your predecessors—those guilty measures which your Lordship has always disapproved—which have disorganized the monetary system of Europe, and carried difficulty and embarrassment through every country of the world—which have produced in England a mass of misery, discontent, and discord, totally unparalleled in the history of the country—and which, if adopted by your Lordship, will most certainly render your Lordship's administration as short and as signally disastrous as any which the pages of history record.

Birmingham, Sept. 14th, 1831.

The above memorial was agreed to unanimously by the Council, after five nights' deliberation, and signed respectively by thirty-four of them. Read to Lord Grey, and explained by a deputation of four of the Council, a few days afterwards.

Mr. ATTWOOD could not be prevailed upon to have *the question stated* before he began. I wished to have that done, in order that the meeting might know what we were speaking about. The chairman read to the meeting my INVITATION, and the ACCEPTANCE of it; but in that ACCEPTANCE, the question was not stated at all: it was merely observed, that we were to decide whether it was bad for the country that there should be "*an action on the currency, "or that an adjustment of debts and con-"tracts should take place.*" I represented,

that this "*action* upon the currency" should be *described* to the meeting, before an appeal to their opinions was made upon the subject. Mr. ATTWOOD, whose mind appears incapable of anything like lucid statement or arrangement, could not see the necessity of any such preliminary. I then insisted, that it should be taken for granted that the intended "*action on the currency*" was described in the address to Lord GREY; and that I should be allowed as matter of course to proceed upon the presumption that that was the sort of "*action*" which Mr. ATTWOOD meant to defend. To this he assented; and then on he went for the whole of the four hours, with volability perfectly indescribable, without once ever alluding to the real question at issue. His speech consisted of a repetition of the ten-thousand-times-told tale of PEEL'S BILL and of the other bills relative to the currency; of all his very just, but intolerably stale invectives, against PEEL, LIVERPOOL, and all those who had acted a prominent part in causing the restoration of the gold currency; of descriptions, very true, of the violations of contracts, of the ruin of families, and of all the distresses, miseries, and crimes, arising from that matchless act of folly and injustice; but, without saying one single word in defence of the propositions contained in the ADDRESS to Lord GREY, except by a general description of the advantages which would arise from *making money plenty*; and a general assertion, that the effects of his propositions would be the *reverse* of those of PEEL'S BILL; and by roundly declaring that his propositions, if they were adopted, would "*produce a state of national "prosperity and happiness, such as the "eldest man living had never witnessed, "and that the youngest man living would "not see the end of.*" These very words were given to me at COVENTRY, as part of his speech in that city, when he last came down from London, which was a few weeks ago, or, perhaps, when he came down from London in June. This declaration, he repeated, during his speech, not so few as *ten times*. There was something so exaggerated, so perfectly incredible in this assertion, that the people smiled, and in that smile signified their want of comprehension, their want of capacity to conceive how such a wondrous good was to be effected by substituting depreciated paper for the King's coin. In no one instance did he state a proposition, and make an attempt to prove it to be true. One hour out of the four was spent in reading *extracts from his own pamphlets*, to show that he had been the true prophet upon the subject. In two instances his fondness for his own productions went a little too far, proving him to have been *an enemy of Parliamentary reform*, and a reviler of "*radicals and revolutionists*," so late as the bubble days of 1824. However, on he went, unchecked by this, and apparently unconscious of it, boldly professing that his object was, to bring the country back to that state of *prosperity which it enjoyed* in 1825!" The reader will say this is not credible; for, that he knew well, that the "*prosperity*" in 1825 blowed up a hundred country banks, brought us within "*eight-and-forty hours of barter*," produced the bubble companies, destroyed thousands upon thousands of families, and produced hundreds of suicides The reader will say, that it is incredible that he should have said this; and, if I had not fourteen hundred witnesses to the truth of the fact, I should not dare to state it.

As such, every one who was present will say, is a correct general description of his speech. To speak of it in detail, and in the order in which it came forth, is impossible. Fortunately for him, there can be no such thing as a *report* of his speech given. He may write out something to be published at BIRMINGHAM or in London; but the rigmarole, if he could see it all upon paper, would frighten even himself. There was not one single thought which he did not repeat twenty times over in different parts of his speech. For instance, he compared the nation to a patient in the hands of unskilful surgeons, who, finding that bleeding in the right arm had brought it down to a very low state, next bled it in the left arm in order to

revive it. He repeated this simile not less than a dozen times; and, they told me at BIRMINGHAM, that he has repeated this several times in every speech that he has ever made at BIRMINGHAM on the subject. Added to this confusion of ideas, and this endless repetition which SUSSEX chopstick would compare to the wipings of a *round towel*; added to these, there are his voice and his manner, the former of which is noisy, loud, and strong, but not clear in articulation. At the further end of the room they could hear him, too, plainly, but not always distinguish one word from another. The sound of his voice is monotonous: he stands leaning forward, always in the same attitude precisely, the right-hand a little put forward, looking right before him, as if his audience were a fixed object; no animation, no cadence, no change of countenance the least in the world; not the smallest expression of feature, or movement of body to aid the emanation from the mind; so that, one contemplates, with admiration inexpressible, the good manners and good humour of such an audience (some of them compelled to stand all the while), silently enduring such a martyrdom for the space of four hours; for my own part, I can declare, that I have no recollection of having sitten still for so long without doing anything or saying anything since I came out of the cradle.

It is not in nature, however, that men should be *attentive* for any length of time to a speech of this description; and this audience, in spite of their proneness to be civil, very soon began to show that they were paying no attention. Many of them were in pairs talking to one another; at times some put on their hats; some were constantly looking back towards the further end of the room, where there was a sort of little hubbub pretty constantly going on, and whence many were going down, and occasionally some coming up, there being a great area below, in which they could walk backward and forward and smoke their cigars. Astonishing! All this had not the smallest effect upon him! Once or twice there was a cry of "question, question," which, without being in the smallest degree disheartened or disconcerted, he answered in just the old tone of voice, *that he would not detain them much longer*; and, when one gentleman called out in a very loud voice, "I HOPE NOT!" on he went with as much self-complacency as ever! At last it was necessary to bring the candles, though we had begun at four o'clock. With all the good humour in the world he renewed the attack upon their patience; and, at last, when we were compelled to adjourn, a gentleman, for whose veracity I will vouch, heard him say, that "*he had not said a tenth part of what he intended to say!*" However, many of the audience *had not dined*; and hunger and patience do not go long together with Englishmen. In short, he had exhausted this patience; and if he had not been prevailed upon to stop, we should have broken up in confusion.

SECOND DAY.

We met at two o'clock, and Mr. JONES began. Mr. JONES's speech, which was delivered in a very neat manner, and in a very pleasing voice, and was indicative of none of that self-complacency and that insensibility to the opinions of his audience which were so offensive and so thoroughly felt in the manner and tone of Mr. ATTWOOD. Mr. JONES's speech had, nevertheless, nothing at all to do with the question at issue. It consisted of a very amusing account of the rise and progress of money in the world; and of the refinement, which he described as a great excellence, at which we had arrived, in making slips of paper to supply the place of silver and of gold. It further consisted of Mr. JONES's description of an entire new plan of a NATIONAL BANK, for the notes of which *every farthing's worth of property in the kingdom was to be a security*; and in which BANK every owner of property of any description, from the richest duke down to the meanest cottage-owner, or keeper of a chandler's shop, was to be a *co-partner* and *a sharer in the profits*!

By this time my readers will begin to see me amongst the clouds, and to

speculate as to the means that I used to descend from a situation so astonishingly sublime. Mr. ATTWOOD had assured the audience, that he *would fill all their pockets with money*; an assurance, which, according to his invariable custom, he had repeated, at least, twenty times. His colleague, though less positive in his assurances, had precisely the same object in view. Both intended to fill the pockets of the audience with money, by taking out the little gold and silver in them, and cramming them full of bits of paper; but Mr. ATTWOOD proposed to do this by the banks at present in existence; whereas Mr. JONES meant to effect the object by the magnificent scheme of which I have given but a very faint description.

Now came my turn; and my compassionate readers will, I am sure, feel great solicitude to know how I could possibly hope to be attended to by an audience, who had been sublimated to this astonishing degree. To say the truth, I felt all the difficulties of my situation, having at my command nothing but plain sense in very plain words. I tried them; and, I am satisfied that nineteen twentieths of the audience went away, thoroughly convinced, that, if my Lord GREY were to attempt to adopt the measures recommended by the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL," he ought *to be hanged by the neck till he was dead*, or be shut up in a madhouse for the rest of his life. The public will not expect from me *a report of a two hours' speech*; and, I could not make it shorter: every word of it was to *the* question; no ramblings; not a single repetition. I could not possibly make it shorter; and, warned by the example of my opponent, I did not make it so long as strict justice to myself and my subject demanded. The reader will not expect a "*report*," but he will expect from me an *analysis*; and he will be pleased to bear in mind that I give this analysis with fourteen hundred witnesses to be appealed to with regard to its correctness.

MY SPEECH.

I began by reading Mr. ATTWOOD's propositions, as contained in the ADDRESS to Lord GREY, and as the reader will see them in the ADDRESS which I have above inserted. I then read the 12th paragraph of the ADDRESS, in which the COUNCIL express their opinion, that *my scheme*, namely, the *abolishing of all internal taxes* and an *equitable adjustment* of *contracts*, would, if attempted, *result in universal anarchy*. I then proceeded to observe, that there were, in fact, two questions for the audience to decide; FIRST, whether Mr. ATTWOOD's propositions ought to be adopted by the Government; and SECOND, whether my proposition ought to be adopted by the Government; that it was my opinion, that Mr. ATTWOOD's propositions were not practicable, and if practicable, they must produce mischief; for the wilfully producing of which, any body or any ministry would deserve to be put to death. With regard to the propositions of Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," I divided my objections into two classes; namely, those which I had to offer against them as being of a general and permanent nature; and those relating to the evil, which would immediately arise out of an attempt to act upon these propositions.

With regard to the former I begged the audience to observe, that the propositions contemplated a *depreciated* paper-money, and that that paper-money and that depreciation should be perpetual; but Mr. ATTWOOD seemed to proceed upon the notion, that a people must be rich or poor, happy or miserable, in proportion to the *nominal quantity of money in their country*, and hence his magnificent promise of "*filling their pockets with money*: that this was a very sad error: that a small quantity of money was just as efficient as a large quantity of money for every national purpose, and particularly for the securing of the great object of all, namely, a due reward for labour: that, according to the statute of labourers, passed in the reign of Edward the Third, a woman was to have a penny a day at hay-

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making, and a man threepence a day at filling dung-cart; but, as those sums would purchase as much meat and bread as twenty pennies, or twenty threepences, would purchase now (and this was proved to be the fact by the history of prices of this country, given by Bishop FLEETWOOD) the working people were better off with that small quantity of money in the country, than they can possibly be with the present large quantity of money in the country, while loaded with taxes to the present amount: that, if the labouring man have now two shillings a day, and the price of the loaf be sixpence, he gains nothing by raising his wages to four shillings a day if the loaf be raised to a shilling; so that Mr. ATTWOOD's scheme of doubling the nominal quantity of money would be no benefit to the working man: that it signifies not a straw what is the quantity of money in a country, provided there be no taxes in that country, and provided that the alteration in the quantity be not produced by arbitrary acts. If the change in the quantity be thus produced, then great mischief is done, great injustice, great cruelty inflicted on many parties. That Mr. ATTWOOD seems to think that the days of depreciated paper-money were days of great happiness to the working people, and that the nation as a whole became prosperous in consequence of the paper-money: that this is another fatal error: that the "*improvements*" of which he has talked, arose out of the robberies committed on the labouring people, within the last forty or fifty years, by the means of paper-money: that it was proved before a committee of the House of Commons in the year 1821, by Mr. ELLMAN, a farmer in Sussex, that, forty-five years before that time, when he became a farmer, every man in his parish brewed his own beer, and that now not a single working man in the parish did it. That all these years the country had been inundated with paper-money, by the instrumentality of which the working people had been robbed, first of their locks, next of their feather-beds, next of their brewing utensils and the rest of their goods, next of their Sunday clothes and of nearly all their bread and their meat, until at last this accursed thing, co-operating with the taxes, has reduced their comfortable dwellings to hovels, their food to the soul-degrading potato, and their dress to that of common beggars: that these gentlemen assume that there is nothing at all fraudulent or false in paper-money, and that every piece of paper that has the word BANK written on it, is the *representative of something of real value*; and they will deny, I suppose, that any of us ever heard of such a thing as an *accommodation note*: that, however, in the time of that memorable panic, which arose out of Mr. ATTWOOD's prosperity (to which prosperity he wishes to bring us back), there was an Essex banker who had a large quantity of notes out when he broke, and of whom it was proved before the commissioners of bankruptcy, that he never had been *worth a shilling in his life*; that he had purchased an estate during the days of his prosperity, and that his creditors found this estate settled upon his wife: that this is by no means a very uncommon case, and that were there nothing to be alleged against paper-money more than this, this alone would be sufficient to make us repudiate the propositions of Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL: that WENTWORTH, the banker who broke at York, had a fine estate in the neighbourhood of WAKEFIELD; and that those who took his notes naturally looked upon this estate as a security of their goodness; but the estate the creditors found to be settled on the son, and the son is in possession of it now: that paper-money is a false thing, and creates a credit which ought not to exist: that the makers and circulators of it live in idleness and luxury themselves, on the care and labour of the rest of the community, and on the rents of the rightful owners of the land: that this fiction creates masses of *middle-men*, the existence of whom all wise and just governments have endeavoured to prevent: that a pig-poker, who goes to market at BARTON, with an accommodation-note, purchases a score of porkers

for the BIRMINGHAM market, and brings them to BIRMINGHAM, and sells them for so much a head *more* than he gave for them, makes them come dearer to the consumers at BIRMINGHAM, and he and the banker share in the gain arising from that additional price; and that thus a race of men is created to assist the bankers in deriving riches from other men's labour and care: that were there no other objection to paper-money, it would be sufficient that it enables men to get great estates into their possession, without any possible cause for their having those estates: that the newspaper told us that RICARDO got half a million of money by merely *watching the turn of the paper-money market;* and we know that his sons have three or four thumping estates in their possession; and we also know, that that which was thus *got* by him, must have been lost by the rest of the community, though we cannot so clearly show the manner of the loss and the gain: that we can plainly see that Lord GRENVILLE has, by the means of his sinecure, got the means of purchasing an estate worth two hundred thousand pounds; that he has received these means *out of the taxes we know:* and we know that the rest of the nation must be two hundred thousand pounds poorer for his gains: that, in the case of RICARDO, the process is not so clear to our eyes; but as he did nothing of use to anybody in getting the half million of money, he took it from the rest of the country without value received on their part; and that he could not have done this, had it not been for that indescribable scourge, called paper-money, and *depreciated* paper-money, too, which Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL" urge my Lord GREY to revive and perpetuate: that Mr. ATTWOOD has pointed to AMERICA as a proof of the excellent effects of "*free-trade in paper-money:*" that Mr. ATTWOOD has been too much engaged in settling the important concerns of England to pay attention to what is really passing in that country: that if he had time to go to the New England Coffee-house, in London, and there look at the newspapers from the United States, he would find that the two Houses of Congress recently passed an act for the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, that the president has refused to ratify this act; that he has sent it back to the two Houses with a statement of his reasons for the non-ratification; and that the two Houses have, upon reconsideration, agreed to abandon the bill; at least, this I have been told is the case, though I have not read an account of it in the American papers: that amongst the reasons stated by the president are, that no government on earth has a right to make arbitrary changes in the value of money; that paper-money naturally creates a set of cunning men, whose very profession is to get from the simple and the honest, the fruit of their care and their labour; that it always must tend to add to the riches of the rich, and to add to the poverty of the poor: that in the same American newspapers Mr. ATTWOOD will find the "PRICE CURRENTS," stating the prices of cotton, of flour, of corn, of potash, of tobacco and the other products of that great country: that he will be delighted to find amongst the products, *an abundant produce of bank-notes*, the "*free-trade*" in which he has so loftily eulogised: that in one of these "PRICE CURRENTS" which I saw just before I left London, which "PRICE CURRENT" was published at New York, there are all the various prices of the *bank-notes* of all the banks in that state; in one case the dollar-note, which ought to be worth a hundred cents, is stated to be worth *ninety-eight* cents, and then the prices go on varying from *ninety-eight cents to twenty-five cents!* That Mr. ATTWOOD must be enraptured at this system, but that the people of NEW YORK, whom these roguish bankers have cheated out of seventy-five cents out of a hundred, will hardly join him and the "COUNCIL" of BIRMINGHAM in crying up the blessings of a free trade in money: that the same American papers will inform Mr. ATTWOOD, when the great weight of English affairs will permit him to attend to them, that, at this

very moment, the commercial distress in America, the embarrassments in all pecuniary transactions, the breakings, the frauds, aye, *and the want of employment, too*, all exist in a degree quite frightful to contemplate: that, therefore, though Mr. ATTWOOD is in error with regard to the American free trade in paper-money; though there is no bank-note can be issued there without a charter granted by law, America gives us a warning as awful as a warning from the tomb, to turn with indignation from the advice offered to the Ministers by Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL of BIRMINGHAM, for that, that country, otherwise so blessed, in all other things so happy, a cheap government, the face of a tax-gatherer never seen in it, the land more abundant than the hands to cultivate it, all the sources of information and of knowledge perfectly unshackled; that country, so blessed by God, and by a combination of earthly circumstances unparalleled in the history of the world, has been thrown into a state of turmoil and misery by that accursed scourge called paper-money, which it is the object of Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," to revive and perpetuate in England! That, however, our own experience ought to be quite enough to make us resolve to perish in the strife rather than suffer this curse to return to afflict the children committed by nature to our sacred care: that, in the year 1819, a banker at PORTSMOUTH, in Hampshire, broke, and the effects of that breaking were described by the Hampshire newspapers to be such, that the lamentations, the cries could not have been greater if there had been *a dead corpse lying in every third house in the county!* This was by no means a very great exaggeration, for his notes were in every hand; they were husbanded up by thousands and thousands of poor men to pay their rent with; to buy a pig with; to buy fuel for the winter; to provide other things for the coming inclement season; these accursed notes representing their sweat during the hay time and harvest, their care and anxiety to provide for their wives and their children, all, all swept away by the instrumentality of the execrable paper-money; and that that man must be a devil in human shape, who would seriously and on consideration (which I trust Mr. ATTWOOD will not), revive and perpetuate the diabolical scourge

After this part of the speech, I said, thus, gentlemen, I have most respectfully submitted to you, and you with very great indulgence have received a statement of my *general* objections to the propositions which Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL urge my Lord GREY to adopt. I will now, if you should deem me worthy of a continuation of that indulgence, proceed to submit to you, as shortly as possible, FIRST, my reasons for believing that the scheme would be utterly impracticable, and that it would break down in the attempt: and, SECOND, that if it were practicable, it would cause acts of injustice to be committed, and mischief to arise, which no sane person, not delighting in acts of injustice and cruelty, can possibly contemplate without shuddering with horror. I then proceeded in substance as follows:

With regard to the impracticability, the measure would, it appears to me, totally put a stop, for a short time, at least, to the *furnishing of great towns with the necessaries of life:* that we will, however, confine ourselves to London: that you will please to bear in mind that this measure is to come like "a thief in the night;" that there is to be no warning to be given to the public, that the *depreciation is finally to arrive at cent. per cent.*: that, therefore, supposing me to be a farmer in LINCOLNSHIRE, who, yesterday, sent off a hundred fat sheep to waddle up to London, and who finds, by this morning's post, that any salesman will legally tender me Mr. ATTWOOD's paper-money in payment for my sheep, shall I not know, that of his paper-money, which is going on in swift progress towards a hundred per cent., I shall get more, *if I keep the sheep* a little while longer; and shall I not, flinging down the newspaper that the post has brought me, run out into the stable, with boots on, or shoes

on, with hat upon my head, or without hat, get the saddle upon my horse as quickly as possible, and, without even stopping to kiss my wife, or daughter, scamper off towards London after my sheep, put them into a pasture somewhere by the side of the road, and there let them be, till I can do one of two things, get six pounds a-piece of Mr. ATTWOOD's money for them, or get somebody to give me three pounds a-piece in gold sovereigns: that I should certainly do one of these two things: that the same would take place with regard to cattle from Devonshire and Herefordshire, and every other county, and not a pig would move towards London from SOUTHWELL or ROMFORD, nor a wagon-load of potatoes or cabbages would come up from Kent: that, in such a state of things the Government itself would not exist for twice eight-and-forty hours: that there would need no "*Jacobins and Levellers*," no "*Radical Revolutionists*," against whom Mr. ATTWOOD wrote so lately as 1824; no "*evil designing*" person of any description; nothing in the world but the *mere movement* of the people, crowding about in thousands and hundreds of thousands, inquiring *what was going to be done*, and particularly where victuals and drink were to be got: that I do not positively state, that this would be the case, but I do positively say, that either this would be the case, or that London, aye, and MANCHESTER and BIRMINGHAM, too, and every other great town, if they were supplied with the necessaries of life, would be supplied by purchases made with *gold*: that, then, there will be TWO PRICES, at once, and that, though Mr. ATTWOOD can see "*no danger in two prices*," I dare say my Lord GREY can see some danger in them!

After this part of my speech, I proceeded to tell the meeting, how the scheme would operate, if it were possible to carry it into practice; what injustice it would inflict on every class of the community, from the lord to the labourer, with the exception of *bankers*, *renting farmers*, and *beneficed clergymen*, which three classes I would reserve for the last upon the list; I then proceeded in substance as follows:

That Mr. ATTWOOD's most captivating promise was, that he would *fill all the people's pockets with money*, and, of course, the pockets of the people of BIRMINGHAM, and, that we will now proceed to see in what a curious sort of way he would effect his purpose: that this country is at all times the great creditor of the world, particularly on account of manufactured goods, but that to make our view of the matter as close as possible, let us confine ourselves to its relationship with the United States of America: that it has for many years been computed, that the United States owe, at all times, thirty millions of pounds sterling to this country, and it is but reasonable to suppose that they owe one million of that to BIRMINGHAM and its immediate vicinity: that, if Mr. ATTWOOD's project were adopted JONATHAN would pay you *half a million* of our present money: that is to say, with one-half of what is due to you, which would be a very singular way of filling your pockets with money: that Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL tell us, "Never mind that, for we should pay the Yankees in the same sort of money;" to which I answer, that this is one of their grand mistakes; for if I owe a debt in America at this time, I must pay it in that money, and not in this, so that we should be in the situation in which France was placed by one of the half-foolish, half-roguish tricks of that pompous squanderer LOUIS XIV.: that Mr. ATTWOOD has told us something about GREECE and ROME, without stopping at a country nearer home, the consequences of whose swindling financial tricks have, for forty-five years, been under our eyes: that the COUNCIL are not aware, that they are, in this case, merely the humble imitators of the ministers of LOUIS XIV., who, as stupid as they were profligate, in order to get rid of the debts of the state, called in all the money, coined it into smaller money, and, to use Mr. ATTWOOD's phrase, "filled the people's pockets with money:" that MARMONTEL, who give us a history of these fooleries and rogueries,

tells us that, "besides the ruin in the "kingdom itself, there was the dreadful "ruin in the foreign commercial trans-"actions, particularly with the DUTCH, "who," says he "paid us in our *light* "money, and made us pay them in "their *heavy* money:" that, thus, the YANKEES would pay us in Mr. ATTWOOD's legal tender, *cent. per cent. depreciated*, while we, if we now owe them any thing, must pay them in silver dollars, that being the only legal standard coin of the country: that every man whose property consists in *book debts* would be robbed at once of one half of those book debts; and, as to the circumstance of his being able to pay his debts in the same way, the greatest of all retailers, butchers, bakers, millers, butter and cheese sellers, always purchase with ready money, and always have the larger part of their property in their book debts: that, BIRMINGHAM *itself* must always be a great creditor in this way, all the ironmongers in the kingdom being debtors to BIRMINGHAM, generally speaking; and, as to these creditors at Birmingham having the privilege of paying their debts in the same way, it would be the high privilege of being permitted to rob their own neighbours with impunity; so that Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," in order to fill your pockets with money, would set all the country to rob you, and set you to rob one another: that, for every bill of exchange now out, the holder would receive one half of its amount; so that unless he had a bill out to the same amount at the same time, he would be robbed of a part of its due: that every person depending upon security, receivable from the Life-insurance offices, would receive one half of his due: that a man who has now insured his premises against fire, for a thousand pounds, would, in case of destruction by fire, receive five hundred; so that these masses of usurers would be thus benefited by a monstrous robbery upon the public in general: that the widow with a hundred pounds a year settled upon her at her marriage, would receive fifty: that the man who lent his sovereigns only the other day on mortgage, would be paid with half the amount, and, that all rent charges would be subject to the same fate: that the far greater part of these *wills* have been made or altered since the year 1825, and that the makers of these *wills* have grounded the distribution that they have made of their property on calculations founded on present prices and present money: that, if Mr. ATTWOOD's recommendation were adopted, all these wills must be instantly altered or violated, and there is always a great part of them which circumstances do not permit to be altered: that there is one description of persons who have entered into a contract for time, that I think Mr. ATTWOOD would find it difficult to deal with, namely, the gentlemen *in red and blue coats*, whether mounted or dismounted; for, however great his powers of persuasion may be, however docile he might find the makers of muskets and bayonets, it would, I imagine, require more than even all his eloquence, to make a sixpence appear as good as a shilling to men who *use* those guns and bayonets, and with whom his measure would produce a direct breach of contract, so open and so flagrant that the minister must be mad who would attempt to enforce it: that, however, this would be full as just, or rather not less unjust, than the breach of contract, the scandalous and infamous breach of contract, that this measure would cause with regard to every person hired by the year, and especially with regard to servants in husbandry, who formerly consisted of a sixth part of the whole of the population of the country, and who now consist of much more than a million of persons, who would, by this measure, be robbed on an average of more than a third part of their year's wages; and will the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL tell these servants that they and the soldiers are to obtain compensation by paying *their debts* in the same sort of money? That Mr. ATTWOOD talked a good deal about the rise that would take place in the wages of mechanics and manufacturing workpeople, really seeming to imagine that every necessary of life would not rise

800! That repeated experience in all the countries in the world comes at the back of reason to convince us that the wages of labour never can *keep pace* in rising with the rise in the price of commodities; that the rise in the latter keeps an exact pace with the depreciation in the value of money; but that the rise in the former does not take place silently, but becomes matter of dispute; that the parties in this contest are the master and the man; that the master is able to dispense with the man's work for a little while, but that the man must eat; that the contest is therefore unequal; that the man is sure to be defeated; and that thus the rise in wages always keeps in arrear of the rise in the price of food and of raiment; and yet the "COUNCIL" of BIRMINGHAM boast of their measure as fraught with feelings of humanity, seeming to forget all the while that there are persons receiving aid from the parishes, and not having the boldness to tell us that they believe that the poor man, who now gets *three shillings a week* to help to support him and his miserable family, would get *six shillings a week* from the overseer, the moment Mr. ATTWOOD's measure was adopted: that you know well, gentlemen, that it would take him a year or two before he would add a shilling to the three shillings, and that in the mean while he and his family would be perishing with want; and yet this is a measure "to relieve the distress of the people;" this is a measure that Mr. ATTWOOD describes as being dictated by a regard for the welfare of all classes, but particularly for that class who live by their labour: that we now come, after so long a trespass upon your patience, to the three classes who will clearly benefit from this measure of Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," namely, the RENTING FARMERS, the BENEFICED CLERGY, and the BANKERS: that, in the first of these classes, singularly enough, I find *myself:* that I have just rented a farm in Surrey, for which I have agreed to pay my landlord a *pound* an acre per annum, for rent, for twenty-one years; let Mr. ATTWOOD's measure be adopted, I pay my landlord or his son ten shillings an acre instead of a pound; and thus I deduct one-half of his rent for twenty-one years, which deduction, with the interest, gives me and my successor more than one half of the estate! Here I stopped and said, Now, then, gentlemen, remember, that the man who holds up his hand for Mr. ATTWOOD's propositions, *declares that it is just that I should rob my landlord of one half of his estate.* Before I can believe that a man of you will do that, I must *see* you do it. This measure would enable me at once to rob my landlord of half his rent, and my servants of half their wages. I warrant you I should soon be in the yeomanry cavalry horse: I warrant you I should soon again have my glittering helmet and sharp-cutting sabre. If this project could possibly be carried into effect, we should soon hear these rural jamisaries calling again for the heads of "Jacobins and levellers;" and I should not at all wonder if they were to insist upon a repeal of the Reform Bill, which they have cried out for, only because they could no longer trample on their neighbours with impunity.

And now for the BENEFICED CLERGY, well known to be great favourites at BIRMINGHAM. The "COUNCIL" did not perceive, I am very sure, how their measure would operate with regard to this class of persons of immense property. They can at any time take their tithes *in "kind,"* therefore no change in the value of money affects them. It would be said, that they take money in lieu of tithes. This is almost always from year to year. They can suffer only for one season at any rate, and they can pay their debts in the depreciated money. Sometimes they make an agreement with the land occupiers for *several years,* and sometimes for the whole of the time that they are *to hold the living.* But they can *chop livings* when pushed hard in this way, and then the bargain is void, for no parson can bind his successor. This is what many of them did do during the time of depreciated money, and it is what they had a right to do, and would have a right to do it

again. They would receive no more than their due according to the *law*, and men have a right to resort to every legal means of protection against an act of injustice, so flagrant as that proposed by Mr. ATTWOOD. But while Mr. ATTWOOD would thus leave in a state of security the *beneficed* clergy, what would he do for the poor *curates*? He professes great humanity, and I believe him to be perfectly sincere; but then I must think that he has not thought of what he is proposing. There was an act passed in 1813 to compel the monopolising rectors and vicars to pay their curates better than they were paying them before. The stipends were to be from *eighty* to a *hundred and fifty* pounds a year. Mr. ATTWOOD's project would reduce these poor curates' salaries to from *forty* to *seventy-five* pounds a year; and the money thus taken from the poor curates to be put into the pockets of rectors and vicars and deans and chapters and bishops. The curates may *quit their curacies*, Mr. ATTWOOD will say! Aye, just as the workman may quit the workshop; but then, both must quit eating. Here again at every turn we see the rich gaining, and the poor suffering, by Mr. ATTWOOD's project, or, to use the words of the president of the United States, we see the accursed thing called paper-money, always tending to make the *rich more rich*, and the *poor more poor*.

We now come to the last effect that I shall notice, to the last instance of flagrant robbery to be committed by this scheme of the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL;" and here, I am sure, I am *quite sure*, that Mr. ATTWOOD never thought of this effect to be produced by his bill: it is possible that the rest of the "COUNCIL" might think of it; but I am quite sure, that the thought never came athwart the mind of Mr. ATTWOOD.

Suffer me to remind you, gentlemen, that this measure is to produce a depreciation of *cent. per cent.*; suffer me to remind you that it is to come like a "thief in the night;" that the recommendation to my Lord GREY is, not to make the matter public until it is done; to do it by "*Order in Council*;" and not to let any one know that the thing is going to be done; "do I (turning to "Mr. ATTWOOD) truly describe this pro-"position?" He says, *yes*. Well, then, gentlemen, no man is to have an intimation that this thing is going to be done. If I have deposited a thousand pounds with a country banker to day, Mr. ATTWOOD's project is adopted to-morrow, and the next day the country banker pays me with five hundred pounds, with the generous intention of filling my pocket with money! Now, I say, that I am *sure* that this proposition of Mr. ATTWOOD was made without a thought; and I am sure, that he will thank me for expressing my hope that you will not hold up your hands in approbation of a scheme which would enable *him* to rob all those customers who had deposited their money in his hands for *safe keeping*.

Such, gentlemen, are the reasons on which I found my objections, and my opposition to the measure proposed to the Ministers by the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL," with Mr. ATTWOOD at its head. I am desirous to take the decision of the meeting upon this measure, unconnected with any proposition or scheme of mine, which, you will please to observe, has never been submitted to any Minister or any person in power, and has been put forth in print by me merely as the opinions of a literary man, having no communication, direct or indirect, with any person being in legislative or executive power. However, as it has been insisted, that my scheme shall be brought before you, you shall have it described with the sacrifice of a very small portion of your time; it being as follows:

1. Not by any means to depart in any degree whatsoever from the present money standard of the country.
2. To take all the public property; namely, the crown-lands, the crown-estates, the woods and forests, the Duchies of Cornwall and of Lancaster, the *real* property now possessed by the bishops, deans and chapters; and to enforce the rigid payment and collection of all arrears due to the public from de-

faulters; and, in case of their being dead, pursue their heirs and assigns rigidly, according to the letter of the well-known and most admirable "*Statute of Public Accountants*," passed in the reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH, and still unrepealed; and to make the receivers of all unmerited pensions, sinecures, and grants, "*public accountants*," and pursue them and their heirs and assigns accordingly.

3. To take the whole of what is called the national debt; and, in the first place, reduce it one half in amount, we having, for many years been paying twice as much interest as is due to the fundholders, even supposing it to be a debt that we are bound to pay at all.

4. Then cease to pay interest upon a quarter part of this half at the end of six months, and so on, in order that interest might cease to be paid upon any part of it at the end of two years.

5. Then appoint a board of five commissioners to receive and examine the claims of suffering fundholders, and leave it to that board to make such compensation as might be found consistent with justice to the nation and humanity to the parties, out of the proceeds of the property mentioned before.

6. To disband the standing army, abolish all *internal* taxes whatsoever, raise a revenue of from six to seven millions a year in custom-house duties, making this Government as cheap as that of America, and never suffering an Englishman again to see the odious face of a tax-gatherer with an ink bottle at his button-hole, leaving for the people to keep for their own use the fifty-four millions a year, now pocketed by the tax-collectors in part, while the rest is sent up to London.

7. To make an *equitable adjustment* of all *contracts* and *debts*.

This, gentlemen, is *my scheme*; this is my way of putting money into the pockets of the people, or rather of preventing it from being taken out of their pockets. I am aware that the scheme of Mr. ATTWOOD would reduce by one half, the interest of the debt, the pay of the army, the pensions, the sinecures, the salaries. All this, with the exception of the pay to the soldiers, would be just, as far as it goes; but to take off half the pensions and sinecures would be but *half* justice to the nation; and I cannot see why it should not have *whole* justice. In order to obtain this *half* justice, Mr. ATTWOOD would revive and perpetuate the accursed paper-money, and would cause to be committed all the enormous robberies and injuries that I have enumerated. Mr. ATTWOOD spent four hours in describing to us the evils of paper-money, and particularly of stupid PEEL'S mischievous BILL. To be sure, he said little upon this subject which I had not said before. I hope to be *by his side*, when he shall do something more than utter mere querulous invective against that insolent pretender, whose very best plea is that of brutal ignorance; a plea which I hope we shall be able to prove insufficient to justify him in wriggling into a seat in the King's council, and pocketing six thousand pounds a year of our money. I hope to see Mr. ATTWOOD take the lead in bringing something like *real responsibility* upon the head of this man; but, because PEEL enabled my landlord to rob my chopstick predecessor, am I now to be allowed to rob the landlord? This, to use a very happy phrase of Mr. ATTWOOD, would be "wild justice," indeed! Because PEEL and his blundering or roguish co-operators transferred property unjustly from hand to hand by Act of Parliament, is my Lord GREY to do the same? And, observe, though PEEL'S BILL was a most wicked Act, it did not come like a thief in the night: it struck with ruin hundreds of thousands; but it gave them a little time to prepare for their end. This project of Mr. ATTWOOD would strike the victims dead at once; and in the space of a very few years, if it were possible for it to go into execution, the country would exhibit a set of slaves, working and toiling for the makers of false money.

Mr. ATTWOOD describes the execution of my scheme as "a *breaking up of the social system.*" He should say the *taxing system*, the tax-eating system; and, I am by no means unaware that there would be a great change in your customers as well as in your fabrics. You would not have so many chandeliers and other pretty things in brass and in steel to make; but you would have millions upon millions of frying-pans, gridirons, porridge pots, and brewing kettles, which would be a much more *solid* trade; and when millions are set against thousands, small, indeed, must be the value of the individual articles of the former for the millions not to exceed the thousands in amount. Mr. ATTWOOD wants to diminish the taxes. He told us repeatedly, that the *national debt "strangled"* the industry of the country; that the "taxes and debts took "all;" "that all our earnings were "*gobbled up* by the taxes." Of the *ad valorem* taxes his scheme would take off none; of the rest it would take off half: I am for taking off all: I am for suffering no part of our earnings to be *gobbled up*, except by those who give us due value in exchange.

It only remains for me to describe that part of my measure which relates to contracts between man and man. For, on account of a mortgage, a rent charge, an annuity, a jointure, a marriage settlement, a bond, a lease; for any of these obligations, settled about twenty years ago, every one who has to pay on account of them, is paying just *double* of what he ought to pay, in consequence of the measures of PEEL, and of the stupid Whigs, who were his chief prompters and abettors; always, however, *excepting my* Lord GREY, who, though, as I said before, a bitter enemy of mine, I must do him justice to say, never for one moment gave his countenance to these measures of monstrous iniquity, and not less of monstrous foolishness, by which property was transferred from one man to another by a process very nearly as flagrant as that practised by the highwayman or housebreaker.

You will please to observe, gentlemen, that a very large part of the property of the whole kingdom, especially the real property, is still subject to these obligations. For instance, just before I left London, I heard, relative to a farmer who died a little while ago, the following circumstances related: twenty years ago, he bought a farm for fifteen thousand pounds; and borrowed, I think it was, six thousand pounds upon it. He regularly paid the interest upon this mortgage; but, still the mortgage remained, he having a family of *ten children* during the time, and greatly improving the estate all the while, being a man of great industry and great skill. His *will* ordered the estate to be sold, and a certain division to be made of the proceeds: the estate was sold accordingly; and it sold for *less than the amount of the mortgage;* and there are the wife and ten children robbed of the proceeds of the estate, by PEEL's atrocious BILL, which, as I always said, ought to have been accompanied with an *adjustment of contracts.*

This adjustment I would make now. Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL say that this is *impracticable*, that it is complex; that it would be utterly impossible to rectify contracts so numerous and so various, the dates of which spread themselves over such a number of years. Very curious, this objection, when these gentlemen must recollect, with what facility this ingenious and industrious Government of ours got at an account of the affairs of every individual in the country, in order to raise an income tax upon us. PITT and his successors found not the smallest difficulty in the world in ascertaining all about every one of these obligations; aye, and about the *profits of every man's trade and calling, too.* Yet the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL fear that to get an account of the *existing contracts*, and to adjust them, requires a mental capacity more than human. Now, gentlemen, I venture to say, that the whole thing might be adjusted, in obedience to one very short act of parliament, and in the course of one month, with perfect justice to all the parties, and without one shilling of expense to any body.

The money of England began to be unsettled in its value the moment that PITT began his works; but more especially when he first put out five-pound Bank-of-England notes, which was, I think, in the year 1793. I would, therefore, go back to the year 1790, and lay down as my rule, that in that year the pound sterling had its true value according to its name. I would then ascertain the real value of the nominal pound sterling in each subsequent year up to the present time, by taking as my standard the prices, during that year, of *wheat*, *mutton*, and *wool*. These are the three great products of the country, and the record of their prices is in every one's hands, taking the price of these commodities for every week in each year, then making an average price for the year; then comparing that average of 1790, I should ascertain how much the nominal pound sterling was really worth in each year from the year 1790 to the present time. In order to guard against any incorrectness which might arise from the particular *seasons* of 1790, it might be advisable to take in four or five years previous to that year along with that year, and make the average of those years my standard. Having referred to my records and made my calculations, I then make a TABLE with two columns, one expressing *the year of our Lord*, and the other expressing the *real value of the nominal pound sterling in that year*. Thus my TABLE would begin with the year 1790 and end with the year 1832; and, when we came down to the year 1812, when the farmer that I have just mentioned took the mortgage on his farm, we should find that the nominal pound sterling was then worth about *ten shillings*, and that the farmer's family ought now to have paid to the mortgagee three thousand pounds instead of six; and thus I would proceed with every contract for time, and with every debt.

Having prepared my TABLE ready to introduce into my act of parliament, I would move leave to bring in my bill, and my preamble should be somewhat in this way: "Whereas, by an act passed "in the fifty-ninth year of his late Ma- "jesty, King George the Third, of ever "blessed and glorious memory, enor- "mous injustice was, through gross "ignorance, or through fraudulent de- "sign, inflicted on great numbers of "his Majesty's good and loyal subjects; "and whereas, it becomes this present "parliament (now consisting, as it hap- "pily does, of true representatives of at "least a small part of the people of "this realm) to rectify, as far as it is "possible, the wrongs then done; may "it please your Majesty, that it may "be enacted, and be it enacted, &c. "&c." Then I should proceed with my enactments, changing the obligations according to the TABLE above mentioned, which would make part of the act; and providing that the parties who wish to avail themselves of the advantage of the change, should come to an adjustment with the other party within the space of three months. In case of such agreement, a memorandum to that effect, assented to and signed before two justices of the peace and countersigned by them, should be sufficient evidence of the adjustment. In case the parties could not agree, the complaining party should take the matter before a Board of Commissioners, to be sitting in each county town, for the said county on the market day in every week for three months, from the date specified in the act. These commissioners should be the lord-lieutenant of the county, and the high-sheriff of the county for the time being, the chairman of the quarter sessions of the county, and the clerk of the peace of the county should be in attendance. These commissioners should be bound to make an adjustment according to the act; and the adjustment fixed on, expressed, and signed by them, should be binding on the parties, and should be evidence in all courts of law.

This, gentlemen, is what ought to have been done when stupid and pompous PEEL brought in his BILL; this is what must be done now, or convulsion will be the end. Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL say, that "to attempt to "do this *would produce universal anar-* "*chy!*" Do you discover here any of the elements of anarchy? Mr. ATT-

Attwood's scheme would, indeed, have saved the farmer's family that I have mentioned above, but it would ruin the mortgagee who lent his money last year. In short, not to detain you any longer, my proposition breathes justice from the beginning to the end; and justice is the sure and certain foundation of peace and happiness in a nation. Mr. ATTWOOD's project is justice by accident; injustice is its rule and justice is its exception. My proposition would put an end, for ever, to fluctuations in the value of money, and to that monstrous instrument of fraud, a depreciated paper. Mr. ATTWOOD's project would perpetuate both, if it were practicable, the chances being, that it would produce general confusion immediately. In my proposition you see the sure and certain means of making the innumerable bands of idlers cease to devour the fruits of labour and of care. In the propositions of Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL you see the means as sure of increasing and perpetuating those bands, and of making industry and labour instrumental only to the supporting of those bands. With regard to my propositions, not only am I convinced that they ought to be submitted to the Parliament, but I pledge myself to you that I myself will submit them, if I be in that Parliament; and I request you, gentlemen, to be so good as to bear this promise in your minds.

In conclusion, gentlemen, you have now both our projects fairly before you; about my own I care not a straw for the decision, knowing well that it must be adopted at last; but, about Mr. ATTWOOD's I care a great deal; because, though I am sure that my Lord GREY, though a very great enemy to me, will never adopt the recommendation of Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," it is of great importance that the people of a town, so justly esteemed for its sense and public spirit as this town is, should not, in this public and solemn manner, give its countenance to a scheme fraught with such folly, injustice, and cruelty. I am well aware, gentlemen, of the influence of local partialities, especially when bearing upon persons so generally and justly esteemed as are my opponents; but, at the same time, I have confidence enough in your indulgence to embolden me to rely that you will, in this case, as you would in a jury-box, dismiss every personal and partial feeling from your minds, and decide here, as you would there, under no influence except that of the truth and justice of the case.

MR. ATTWOOD'S REPLY.

Mr. ATTWOOD began by asserting, that my speech had consisted of nothing but a "*tissue of sophistries*," every one of which he would expose and refute; and, under all the talkings of the audience to one another; under all their mutterings, and evidence of being uneasy, he proceeded for two whole hours, until approaching darkness made every one begin to cry shame; under all these, any one of which was enough to strike dumb a man of common mould, he proceeded for two whole hours, without making *even an allusion* to any one of the points which I had brought forward in opposition to his scheme. Not even an allusion to any one of them; not even a hint at my describing the robbery that he would commit on *his own customers*! Not a word in answer to my statement relative to the prices of bank-notes at New York Not one single word *in justification of the measure recommended to my Lord* GREY; all was repetition of the ten-times-told tale of the day before. All his *own prophecies* over and over again; all his old invectives against PEEL and Lord LIVERPOOL, and their BILL. The promise again twenty times repeated, that he would "fill *all our pockets with money*," and make our happiness such "*as the oldest "man living had never seen the like of, "and the youngest man living would "never see the end of.*" Every one of these repeated twenty times over, and every time in the very same words, precisely in the manner of a show-man; in exactly the same tone of voice, and he being always in exactly the same attitude, and his face having always the same, good-natured and self-complacent look. Not a single word to show any error in my propositions or calculations; not a single word

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to show either the impracticability, the inexpediency, or the inefficiency of the measures proposed by me; but, merely, just towards the conclusion of his speech, a repetition of his assertion, that they would produce *a breaking up of our social system*, and a sort of raw-head-and-bloody-bones description of the effects which would arise from such breaking up.

Darkness happily came and snatched us up out of the "*rivers of blood*" in which he had got us up to our armpits. Some of his partisans gave a faint cry for lights; but hunger produced such a roar as compelled him to come to that conclusion for which the meeting had been sighing so long.

THE DIVISION.

It was become so dark, that it was necessary to bring a candle, in order that Mr. EDMONDS might see on which side the majority of hands was held up. The reader will know without my saying it, that, in a room a *hundred feet long*, a candle in the chairman's hand, could not enable him to arrive at any thing more than a guess on the subject. It was a guess; Mr. EDMONDS said he could not tell which had the majority, and he was talking of dividing the persons of the meeting right and left. That would have been impossible. Above all things in the world I wished that there might be nothing like riot or confusion. I felt that I had *done the job*: I saw that on the countenances of the audience: I almost thought I saw the seven devils of paper-money come out of the body of the possessed; and, rather than have had anything like a riot, I would have had not one single hand held up for me; and, therefore, I whispered Mr. EDMONDS and pressed him to decide for Mr. ATTWOOD, telling him that, for my own part, I did not care a straw about the matter.

And I will now state why the matter was become not worth one straw. The reader will please to observe, that the object of the discussion was, to ascertain whether the people of Birmingham, with all their local partialities, were prepared to declare in a public and solemn manner, that Mr. ATTWOOD's *propositions ought to be adopted*. My scheme was before the public merely as the opinions of an *author*; but his had been communicated formally to the First Lord of the Treasury in a "MEMORIAL" agreed to by the COUNCIL and signed by him as chairman; therefore, the main object was to take the opinion of the meeting on these propositions, seriously intended, and really expected, *to form the basis of a legislative measure*. I had had no communication with the Ministers: we found from him, that he had been in constant intercourse with all the prime ministers ever since the year 1816. I, therefore, proposed that the first question put to the meeting should be as follows:

This meeting are of opinion, that Mr. Attwood's propositions ought to be adopted by the Government.

After this, a similar question I proposed to have put upon my propositions. No! They would not do this; Mr. ATTWOOD had the "COUNCIL" around him; and they all protested against this! They were all afraid, after my speech especially, to call upon the meeting to say, *that the Government ought to adopt their propositions!* They insisted upon it, that the question should be put in the following words:

This Meeting are of opinion that it would be better to adopt the propositions of Mr. ATTWOOD *than those of* Mr. COBBETT.

I objected to this, not because it would render it a *personal* question, though it would certainly do that, but because it would DECIDE NOTHING with regard to the merits of the proposition pressed by the "COUNCIL" upon my Lord GREY. The meeting, I said, might disapprove of *both propositions*. I observed, that we had no right to presume that the meeting were to approve of either; and I said, "They may "regard us as two doctors, one pre-"scribing arsenic, and the other a "pound of laudanum; one with a "slow poison, the other with a quick "poison; and they may very reason-

" ably say, No, thank you, gentlemen; " we don't wish to be poisoned in any " way." In vain did I say, that I wished my propositions to be made *a positive* question. In vain did I hint, and pretty broadly, too, that it would argue great *apprehension* in them, if they refused to put their propositions to the meeting as a *positive* question. All would not do: they persevered till I saw that it was nothing but waste of time to endeavour longer to bring them to the test; and the question was finally put in their own way, deciding nothing at all, except merely this, that the very questionable majority of Mr. ATTWOOD proved that, in his own town, where he is a banker, and where he is very justly popular, and in an assembly composed, in some part at least, of his own devoted partisans; in an assembly, too, where the working classes were, generally speaking, necessarily excluded, *he had a few more hands held up for him than I had.* This is all that was proved by the DIVISION.

I should like to conclude without any observation reflecting on the conduct of Mr. ATTWOOD; but I see it stated in the *Birmingham Journal* of the 25th of August, which paper is (with what truth I know not) said to be the property of a banker, that he himself publicly stated, in a speech made on the day of the celebration of the reform at BIRMINGHAM, which was on the 20th of August, " that his character was public " property; that he had no right to " *tamper* with that property; that he " was at that moment, and had been " incessantly engaged for many years, " in recommending measures to the " Government; that if he had listened " to the whisperings of *guilty ambition*, " the road to power and honour and " glory was open to him in *October* " last; that the same road was open to " him again, more dazzling and more " certain than before, in the month of " *May last*; that he had closed his " eyes and his ears against the *tempta-* " *tions* before him; not that he shrunk " from danger, but that he shrunk from " GUILT; that he shrunk from the " *guilty responsibility* of adding to the " *miseries of the people*, and of *involving* " *his country in scenes of immeasurable* " *woe.*" This manifestly alludes to offers made him by the Ministry at the two epochs which he mentions; and Ministers have generally called their characters public property; and all the attornies-general, from the bitter and lashing, from the *vulture* GIBBS, down to the *crow*, DENMAN, have always insisted upon the same. But it is pretty clear, that one parcel or the other of this " *public property*" is now in a state of great peril. It is the common talk at BIRMINGHAM that he was offered *a place in the Ministry* at both these epochs. This is the common talk; and I can positively assert, that a gentleman actually in the employ of Mr. ATTWOOD, said that this was the fact, and said it, too, in Mr. ATTWOOD's own banking-house, while I was at BIRMINGHAM, I can prove this upon oath, and will at any time name the parties if the fact be denied. But what need we more than his own avowals in his speech? He related me history of his intercourse with the Ministers from 1816 to the present day. He finally related, that he had recently been beseeching one of the Ministers to adopt his scheme, and that the Minister said: " *We did monstrous injustice by* PEEL'S BILL; *but it is now too late to go back.*" I congratulate the country that there is so much sense as that left at WHITEHALL. Amongst the qualities, in his character as described by himself, were, " *prudence, moderation, forbearance,* and *discretion*," of the extent of all which, I must leave the reader to judge. Mr. ATTWOOD's great frailty is *vulgar vanity*, and that to an excess surpassing any conception of which ordinary minds are capable. This vanity is always inseparable from *conceit* in an equal degree. He cannot bring himself to form an idea, as to the possibility of any wisdom, or talent, being equal to his own; and, he never seems to perceive, that the mutterings and wrestlings and turnings about, of his audience proceed from their listlessness and weariness from his intolerable harangues. His repetitions are so numerous and so frequently repeated, that one would almost believe him totally destitute of memory:

the same spot in the round towel comes under his eye so often, that one is led to think him as unconscious of the nature of his efforts, as is the goldfinch, which carries on the very same peckings at the wire of his prison, every hour of every day, from the first day of January to the last day of December. His vanity is of the vulgarest cast that I ever beheld. It had been agreed at the beginning of the discussion, that the audience should abstain, if they pleased, from all loud expressions, whether of approbation or disapprobation. Soon after I began to speak, there were repeated general clappings and cheerings; he rose, and *remonstrated with the chairman*, observing that that was a violation of the compact: whereupon I said to the meeting: "I hope that you will hear from me "nothing to merit marks of your disap-"probation, and if I should be so happy "as to have the very great honour of "your approbation, the most unequivo-"cal mark that you can give me of it "will be that of hearing me in *silence*." This produced, generally, the desired effect; but, at certain parts of my speech it was impossible to restrain them from a clapping and a cheering which appeared to me to create no very pleasont sensations in Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL."

Hitherto I have been describing mere frailties in this gentleman. There were some things, however, which were really *foul*, both on his part and that of Mr. JONES. Long before we had been assembled an hour, every one saw, that, if *money* had not been taken for admittance, we could not have assembled at all. Yet, though I said nothing about it, their paragraph, in the letter accepting the invitation; that paragraph, relating to the *money-taking* and to the *sand-wheelers*, was extremely foul, if not worthy the epithet base. With regard to the money-taking, I answered one of their thoughtless partisans, in the manner before described and in the midst of the plaudits of the audience, too. I did not like to show any thing like *anger*, otherwise, I should have added, with regard to the division with the "*sand-wheelers*," I should have preferred a division with some of the hundreds of thousands of poor souls, *who had been reduced to beggary by the breaking of fraudulent country bankers.* Before I have done I will lay the account of this *money affair* before my readers, which will show, that the "COUNCIL," who had the matter all in their own hands, know how to manage affairs of real money as well as paper-money.

But, what I complain of most is, Mr. ATTWOOD's conduct *after my lips were closed.* I attribute his refusing to submit his own project to the meeting, purely to his fears arising out of his vanity; but, in his *reply*, if such it ought to be called, there was foulness unpardonable. He asserted fifty things that were totally false; they were so grossly false, that other persons frequently cried out, "No, no, he did not say so." Not at all abashed, on he went again. I called out to him several times, "I said just the contrary of that." Not at all disconcerted, on he went pulling at the round towel. At last, I wanted, after we had got him to shut his mouth, to have *half a minute* of explanation. I wanted to say: "Be "pleased to mark, gentlemen, that Mr. "ATTWOOD called my speech a *tissue* "*of sophistries*, and pledged himself to "prove them such; that I have stated, "distinctly, *twenty-two* reasons for ob-"jecting to his project, and that he has "*not even alluded to any one of them.*" After I had listened to him and Mr. JONES for *more than seven hours*, he refused *half a minute* of explanation to me; and he shook like an aspen-leaf at the thought of it, saying to the chairman, "If Mr. COBBETT explains, I will explain, too; and I have got notes for two hours' explanation." This, not to call it cowardly, not to call it dastardly, was foul in the extreme; and it only shows to what lengths vulgar vanity will push a very kind, frank, good-tempered, and even liberal man.

Situated as I was, it became me not to be offended, or, at least, not to discover displeasure, at any thing which did not tend to defeat my object, which was, as I said before, to lay this BIRMINGHAM devil of paper-money in the Red Sea; otherwise, I should have noticed the very unconstrous behaviour

on the part of the COUNCIL, in depriving me almost of room to sit myself down upon. On each side of the chairman there was room for three or four persons. There was a small table for the chairman, which Mr. ATTWOOD, who was close on his right-hand, took for his own use. To me was allotted just room enough on the bench to sit, without room to twist up my legs alternately upon my knees, the COUNCIL occupying the whole of the rest of the bench, making it impossible for me to write with pencil upon a bit of paper, without some one of them seeing what I was at.

But, and now I come to the pleasing part of my task, and I wish I were able to describe, in a manner adequate to my feelings, and to their merits, the good manners, the great indulgence, the quick perception, and the most judicious conduct of this audience. For two whole hours these fourteen hundred persons sat, or stood (for hundreds were obliged to stand) without appearing to move, hand or foot, or, for one single moment to turn any of their eyes from my eyes. I am a very *skittish* fellow as to this matter. When I have been unlucky enough to see people turning to one another to *causé*, as the French call it, or to shift much in their seats; whenever I have been unlucky enough to receive these admonitory signs, I have always hastened to a conclusion. Not one sign of this sort did I see for this my two hours' address, from this most respectable audience, in whose faces I could see clearly depicted the impression that I had made upon their minds; and, I shall always carry with me, as long as I live, the highest respect for the celebrated town in which I was so honoured, and compared to which honour there is nothing that kings or governments can give, upon which I set the value of a straw. The holding up of hands, at last, did, as I saw before, decide nothing relative to the question at issue. All the meeting felt, ninety-nine hundredths of them have said, that I had demolished Mr. ATTWOOD'S project for ever. If he had a majority of hands held up, they were raised by a feeling partly composed of personal respect, and partly of *compassion*. To me the whole meeting knew, that a vote on such a question was a matter of indifference; but they knew that it was a *serious matter* with him. This circumstance, therefore, does not make the smallest deduction from my respect for, and gratitude to, this audience, of whom I now take my leave, expressing my hope, that I may meet with other such in the NORTH, but with being quite sure to meet with none that shall have higher claims to my respect and admiration.

MONEY AFFAIR.

I SHALL simply observe, that the COUNCIL managed all this matter *just as they pleased*; and now I insert the account of "*receipts and expenditure*," which is really very much of the character of our national "receipts and expenditure!" I should think that the *public* get much about the same proportion laid out for its use, as fall to my share here. The account was made out and delivered to my amanuensis at Mr. ATTWOOD'S own house.

RECEIPTS AT MR. BEARDSWORTH'S REPOSITORY.

Aug. 28 and 29th, 1832.

	£.	s.	d.
1st day's collection.....	62	16	0
2nd ditto ditto	4	11	0
	67	7	0

EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.
Mr. Beardsworth's bill for use of the Repository, and *his ten men*	16	10	0
Aldridge, carpenter, fitting up Repository	9	0	0
Mr. Dobbs, lighting up Repository, use of *painting*, and men employed.....	4	0	0
Door-keepers, collectors, check-takers, and *refreshments*.....	4	15	0
Balance in hand.....	33	2	0
	67	7	0

	£.	s.	d.
For *Mr. Cobbett*...	16	11	0
Sand-wheelers	16	11	0

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As I return to London, I shall stop again at BIRMINGHAM, if I possibly can, in order to deliver an address or two to the *working men* and the electors, and particularly the former; but some friend will be so good as to find a place where so much national expenditure will not be necessary. Mr. BEARDSWORTH'S establishment is on too magnificent a scale for humble persons. At any rate, I think I am entitled to know whether the poor "*sand wheelers*" have *really got* this 16*l.* 11*s.*

POLITICAL COUNCIL.

When Mr. ATTWOOD was telling his townsmen, on the 20*th of August*, that he might have been a Minister, or, in other words, that the road "to power, "honour, and glory, was opened to "him IN THE MONTH OF MAY "LAST," I wonder whether those townsmen recollected THE CURIOUS CONDUCT OF THE COUNCIL IN THAT MONTH OF MAY LAST! Whether they recollected its *surprising silence* from the 13th of April to the middle of May, while GLASGOW, PAISLEY, NEWCASTLE, MORPETH, LEEDS, MANCHESTER, DUDLEY, and all the other great towns in the kingdom, were in a stir against *the project for raising the ten-pound suffrage*! The whole nation exclaimed, "What is BIRMINGHAM about?" "What are the BIRMINGHAM 'COUNCIL' about?" Why, as I said then, and as we *now find*, the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL saw, or thought they saw, the road to "*honour, power and glory*" opening to them! My readers will remember the vigilance with which I watched them; they will remember my publication about Mr. PARKES'S DECLARATION! As plain as I could say it without having a certain knowledge of the fact, I said, that the Ministers had promised them a reward, *if they could keep the rest of the nation quiet by their example.* I said this as plainly as I could say it without being able to swear to the fact. Aye, and they would have done it, too, for a while, at least, if I, the watchman, had not been in the tower! Curious, that the proof of this should have come out in this manner; but vulgar vanity was never yet associated with discretion; and, like other things, mischievous in themselves, it seldom fails to administer, in the end, a cure for the mischiefs which it is calculated to do. Oh! how right I was with regard to "the *Council's*" acting (in April and May) as *tools in the hands of the Ministers!* My readers will remember that just after WELLINGTON had been driven off from his attempt to be minister again, the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL issued a formal "DECLARATION" that WELLINGTON *ought to be kept out of the King's councils for ever*; that this declaration was signed by Mr. ATTWOOD, as chairman; that there was subjoined to it an exhortation of the COUNCIL, *for everybody, everywhere, to sign this "declaration";*" that a circular was sent by the secretary to conspicuous persons, all over the country, and *to me amongst others;* that I refused to sign it, and gave very good reasons for it. To the reasons which I gave I might have added my pure conviction, that the declaration was issued at the express suggestion, and by the express desire of the Ministers. We now find, that, at the very time when this declaration was put forth, Mr. ATTWOOD was, according to his own account now given, offered "POWER, HONOUR, AND GLORY." My sincere opinion is, that the whole of the COUNCIL, or, at least, his branch of it, were offered places or emoluments of some sort or other, at the same time; that is to say, that they were, by the crafty and double-dealing fellows of WHITEHALL, *led to believe*, that they all should have places! I will venture to say, that Mr. ATTWOOD himself never had a *distinct* promise or offer. Those gentry know how to effect their purposes, without exposing themselves to a charge of *breach of promise:* they know how to make *tools* without committing themselves either to blade or handle: not a *scrap of paper*; not a single *verbal phrase*, can he bring against any one of them! Oh, how truly did I describe all their tricks, and how opportunely did I warn the country against the BIRMINGHAM UNION in my

Register of the 20th of April! I beg my readers to observe, the history of the *fall* of this POLITICAL COUNCIL. Until the affair of the *ten-pound suffrage* they had prodigious weight in the country: the fellows at WHITEHALL saw that; therefore, they flattered them, shook their hands, *breakfasted* them, talked as familiarly with them as if they were already brother tax-eaters, *hinted at the great good that they were capable of doing*, gave obscure hints, leaving them to draw conclusions of their great fitness to taking a part in "*his Majesty's Government*," told them *secrets*, that all their footmen had known for several days before. But, when I, by my exposures, of *April and May*, had taken the influence out of the hands of the "COUNCIL;" when I had stirred the other great towns while BIRMINGHAM was silent; when, in short, I had taken from the COUNCIL all power of leading the nation by the nose; when I had done this, then the fellows of WHITEHALL cast the Council aside, as we cast aside (very ungratefully) the peel of an orange, when we have sucked out the juice; or, as we, in the fields, used to fling the bottle into the hedge with every mark of disregard, when we had drunk out the beer. When the *full* bottle hung upon the crook, we used to trudge along to the field very contentedly with it, thinking nothing of its weight: there was a sort of rivalship, who should have the pleasure of carrying it: but, at night, when the bottle was empty, I have had many a quarrel with my brothers about which should carry it home; many a long and elaborate speech to prove that it was injustice to impose the burden upon me. Thus it has been with the "COUNCIL" and WHITEHALL, where, I will be bound to say, there has been not a little wrangling about who should have the job of *getting rid* of the "COUNCIL." Accordingly we find, that, since that time, the "COUNCIL" has been cast out of WHITEHALL. Mind, in *October last*, they presented their "MEMORIAL," of which the public heard not a word until the *30th of July*, it being confined entirely to the breasts of the "COUNCIL" at BIRMINGHAM and the "COUNCIL" at WHITEHALL; but, after the latter had cast off the former, out comes the "MEMORIAL," printed by the former, in order to "*shame the rogues*" at WHITEHALL. Some poet says, that "hell has no fury like love to hatred turned;" and, the MIDLAND "COUNCIL" now really seem as if they could cut off the heads of the other "COUNCIL" with a hand-saw. Ah! but the SOUTHERN "COUNCIL" know that they are *impotent!* They know well, that their influence is gone; that they are rather *more than suspected*; aye, and whatever the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL" may think of it now, I beg it to keep its temper, if WHITEHALL should turn about, and *take great merit to itself with the people, for having disdained to have any thing to do with the mischievous projects of the* "COUNCIL" *of* BIRMINGHAM! If this should be the case, I beg the "COUNCIL" not to fall into fits. Ah! endless are the troubles of those who once step their foot into the buildings of WHITEHALL; buildings which I have always shunned, as one ought to shun the gates of hell. How long ago should I have been rendered powerless, if I had ever darkened the door of a minister, ever conversed with one, or ever stepped my foot, only for one moment, into any one of the buildings under their control! After these observations, it would be to act unfairly towards Mr. ATTWOOD not to insert his speech of the 20th of August, which I shall now do. In my next, I shall give him *another invitation*; and, in the meanwhile, I promise, that, on my return from the NORTH, I will again stop at BIRMINGHAM, and there say, in public, and before his face, if he choose to come, all that I have said here.

N. B. The *Birmingham Journal*, of the 1st Sept., conducted by Mr. GREATHEAD LEWIS, says, that there were TEN TO ONE for Mr. ATTWOOD. This paper is, I am told, the property of Mr. JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD, the BANKER, and fellow-candidate with Mr. ATTWOOD. The same, I hear, is said in the base daily papers of London. This is all natural, especially in that wretched thing called the *Morning Herald*, and

in which this Mr. GREATHEAD LEWIS was employed before he came to BIRMINGHAM. I saw the London *Reporthers* bestowing sycophantic smiles on Mr. ATTWOOD, junior, and handing him over little *billets-doux* while his father was inflicting mortal sufferance on fourteen hundred innocent persons. My opinion is, that, if Mr. EDMONDS, the chairman, were to write a contradiction of this lie, the villanous papers in London would not insert his contradiction, and that Mr. GREATHEAD LEWIS would not dare to do it. I dare say, that the factions hug themselves in the thought, that a similar game can be carried on with respect to debates *in Parliament, in case I should be there.* Oh! how they deceive themselves, if they do think this. If they think this, what children they are! No, no! the game of fraud will then be at an end: *reporthing* will at once cease to be that corrupt trade which it has been for the last forty years. In the next *Register* I will point out the means by which I will defeat this villanous combination, which, if suffered to exist, would not only cause the suppression of *speeches*, but the suppression of *motions*, resolutions, bills moved for, returns, and every thing else really interesting to the public. Let the public be assured that, if I be in Parliament I will break up and disperse this pestiferous swarm of gin-drinking vermin.

MR. ATTWOOD'S SPEECH

To the People of Birmingham, 20th August, 1832; taken from the Birmingham Journal of the 25th of August.

After the procession had paraded through the principal streets, (previously announced in hand-bills) it halted in New-street. Mr. Attwood and Dr. Wade appeared at an upper window. Mr. Attwood, by a motion of his hand, signified his intention to address the crowd, and silence was immediately obtained. He thanked them most sincerely for these gratifying testimonies of their confidence and esteem. He regretted very much that he should have found it is duty to abstain from placing himself at their head on this great and interesting occasion; but he could assure them that he took the most sincere pleasure in perceiving that they could exhibit patriotism and public spirit, and order, and enthusiasm in the public cause without being instigated by him. Where were now the lies and calumnies of those who attributed the excitement of the public mind to *his* influence and agitation? The excitement of the public mind was owing to the hoarded wrongs and injuries of the nation, and to the sense, intellect, and virtue of the people, who were determined that those wrongs and injuries should at length be redressed. He (Mr. A.) had in fact himself been urged on by this high and glorious determination of the people, more than he had been instrumental in exciting *them*. He rejoiced that this great and magnificent procession of his brave and virtuous friends should give ample proof of this great truth. He rejoiced also to perceive that the men of Birmingham had enough of wise and able leaders to guide them well, in the event of any misfortune happening to him and his friends upon the Council. Not one of those gentlemen was present upon this great occason, and yet he rejoiced to perceive that the procession was conducted with the same order, regularity, and effect which had always distinguished the members and friends of the Political Union. A few weeks ago, in the hour of their country's trial, he had *been told that he should be kidnapped by military force in the dead of the night*, and that thus the *power of the Union* would be *paralyzed*. To this he answered, "Look at the members of the Council. Will not they *supply my place?*" "Yes," was the answer. "But the members of the Council will *all* be *kidnapped*, and then the Union will be without a head!" He rejoiced to see there, living proof before his eyes, that even under this *extreme position*, which was scarcely practicable, the members of the Union would still have found brave and able leaders, fully competent to do them and their country justice. Rejoicing as he did in this great truth, and in this great exhibition of public spirit, order, and virtue, he was the more satisfied with the prudence and discretion of his own conduct and that of the Council. In declining to take part in the procession, two objects had thus been accomplished; the men of Birmingham had shown *public spirit and patriotism*, and the members of the Council had shown *prudence and discretion*. If they had called the meeting themselves, in all probability vast masses of their generous countrymen would have crowded into Birmingham from distant towns; and although he was himself not much disposed to believe in the contagious character of *cholera*, yet he fully expected that this alarming disease would shortly reach Birmingham, and probably carry off some hundreds of victims; and in that case he was quite sure, that if he had persisted in holding the meeting, in defiance of the warnings which he had received, the deaths of those victims would most certainly have been charged upon *him*. It was not right that he should expose his character to so serious a charge,—to a charge of having sacrificed the lives of his fellow-townsmen, for the gratification of what might be termed his own personal vanity and

love of popularity. He felt that in the situation in which he stood, his character for prudence, moderation, forbearance, and discretion was public property; and that under the urgent circumstances in which the country was placed, he had no right to *tamper* with that property. He had therefore, for a moment, exposed himself to the displeasure of many of his friends, in order that he might the more permanently deserve and ensure their confidence and that of their country. In so doing, he had exercised, upon a small scale, the same forbearance, humanity, and true patriotism, as he had endeavoured to exercise during his whole life, and more particularly during the twelve months now passed. If he had listened to the whisperings of a guilty ambition, the road to power and honour and unhallowed glory was open to him in October last. *The same road was again opened, more dazzling and more certain than before, in the month of May last. He had closed his eyes and his ears against the prospects and the temptations before him, not that he shrunk from danger, but that he shrunk from guilt*—he shrunk from the guilty responsibility of adding more to the miseries of the people—of breaking up their trade and their means of employment- of involving his country in scenes of unmeasurable wo. By holding fast to this line of conduct, he had been instrumental in assisting to obtain the most glorious victory which a nation ever obtained over its oppressors—a victory unbought by a single tear—unstained by a single drop of blood. He trusted that the prudence and moderation which he had thus displayed under great emergencies, and under minor circumstances, would be a proof to them that no love of popularity, and no fascinations of personal ambition, could induce him to lead them astray. And he trusted that if ever the day should come (which God avert) when it might possibly become his painful duty to adopt a different line of conduct, they would all of them be convinced, that nothing but the very last extremity of his country's need could possibly urge him to such a dreadful alternative. At the awful period which he contemplated as possible to occur, he trusted that his fellow-countrymen would derive proof from his present and past conduct, that in any future measures which he might possibly recommend, he should not be animated by *any vain, selfish, or ambitious interests of his own.* He looked only to the positive and permanent happiness of the people. If this permanent happiness should be restored, all his views would be gratified. *He was at that moment, and had been incessantly engaged for many years, in recommending measures to the Government which he knew would restore the mass of the people to prosperity, but which would, at the same time, consign him to a peaceful obscurity all the rest of his life.* If he were selfish, sordid, or ambitious, it was *his* interest to "*let the distress go on,*" for in the general confusion which must shortly ensue, few men would have a better chance than himself of "*riding in the whirlwind,*" although, God knew, it was sufficiently doubtful how long he might be enebled "*to direct the storm.*" He trusted, however, that all these gloomy anticipations were in a great degree neutralised by the passing of the bill of reform. That great measure was not indeed complete. It did not give the people the full amount of their just constitutional rights; nor did it, indeed, secure to them the full measure of the liberty which it promised them. The 10*l.* franchise was *clogged* with many difficulties which they were not given to expect. These difficulties, he trusted, would be removed on the opening of the reformed Parliament. He trusted, also, that the great question of triennial Parliaments, and of vote by ballot, *which the Ministers themselves had left open for future settlement,* would shortly be settled in a way satisfactory to the people. In this shape the bill of reform, if it gave prosperity and contentment to the mass of the people, would be quite satisfactory to him. For he judged of the excellence of particular systems of legislation by the positive benefits which they produced to the mass of the people, and not by any abstract or ideal notions of theoretical perfection or imperfection in such systems. If, therefore, the bill of reform should lead to measures which ensured the prosperity and contentment of the mass of the people, it would, in that case, give entire satisfaction to him. He would therefore give the bill of reform a fair trial. But he begged to be understood, that if it did not produce the fruit of general prosperity and contentment, in a very short period, it would give no satisfaction to him. In that case he should be prepared to recommend measures, at a proper time, which would quickly ensure the peaceful and legal obtaining of universal suffrage for the people, and would at the same time most certainly have the effect of either restoring the general prosperity, or of bringing the oppressors of the people to sleep in the same bed with their victims. He had told them three years ago, at Mr. Beardsworth's, that reform of itself would not restore prosperity to the industrious classes; but he told them that it would certainly compel the palace to do justice to the cottage, or otherwise bring the palace to one common ruin with the cottage. He trusted, however, that the bill of reform would shortly lead to measures which would produce justice and prosperity to all classes. In that case, he was himself pledged to be content, and as a member of the Political Union, he could not further labour in exciting the public mind to political objects. But if the mass of the people were not made *prosperous and contented,* he was under no such pledge. He should in that case firmly persevere in demanding *further political change;* and if the Union continued to act as they had hitherto done, he doubted not that they would legally and peacefully obtain the *universal suffrage of the*

British people. Mr. A. then reminded the people that it was under the banners of *peace, law, and order*, that they had gathered up their strength. If they had broken out into any illegal, violent, or disgraceful acts, the public confidence would have deserted them, their arm would have been paralyzed, and they would have been crushed like the rioters of Bristol. By the system which the men of Birmingham had acted upon, they had secured the confidence and support of the whole British people, and in this way they had become so strong that their enemies durst not attack them. The Duke of Wellington did not want the *good-will* to put them down, but he wanted the *power*. If he had ventured to play Polignac upon them he would have been crushed, under the power of the people, as an elephant would crush a worm. He earnestly urged the men of Birmingham always to keep these great truths in mind, and never to suffer themselves to be betrayed into conduct which might injure their cause, and compromise the confidence and support of the nation. Mr. A. then concluded by thanking the assembled thousands for the attention with which they had heard them, and by expressing his earnest wishes for the liberty, prosperity and happiness of them and their children for ever. Mr. Attwood then called for *three groans for the infernal German Political Union*, which was immediately answered by three of the most tremendous groans we ever had the honour or the satisfaction of hearing.

Manchester, 3d September, 1832.

I STOPPED on my road, one night at BARTON, and two nights at WOLSELEY. To night I shall have the honour to meet my committees, and to-morrow I shall regularly open the campaign against the tax-eater, the paper-money grinder, and the *tallow-merchant privy-councillor*. I have no time to say any thing more; but, in the way of information to my readers as to what is going on in Lancashire, I will insert, as relating to BOLTON (to which place I shall go very soon), first, Mr. Wm. EAGLE'S address to the electors of that place; and next, a categorical appeal to the electors by the opponents of TORRENS.

TO THE ELECTORS OF BOLTON.

GENTLEMEN,—Having received a requisition from a numerous and respectable body of electors of your populous and public-spirited town, requesting me to become a candidate for the honour of being elected one of its representatives in the reformed Parliament, I beg leave most respectfully to announce to you my compliance with the requisition, and to lay before you a short declaration of my political principles and opinions.

I have been long convinced that excessive taxation, imposed by a series of corrupt Parliaments is a paramount grievance of this kingdom, and the cause of that unexampled distress and misery under which the great body of the people are now groaning; and, therefore, if I should be elected a member of the reformed Parliament, it will be my first endeavour to cause a reduction of the taxes to a very great extent; and, in particular, I shall vote for a bona fide and absolute repeal, without commutation or substitution, of the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap, and the stamp taxes on periodical publications. By these, and all other means within my power, I shall endeavour to accomplish the reduction of the standing army, and to put an end to all unmerited pensions and sinecures; barracks, military schools, and the other profligate heads of expenditure by which the aristocracy have been so long enabled to devour the fruits of the labour and toil of the industrious classes of the community.

With respect to the duration of Parliaments, I shall vote for the repeal of the act called the Septennial Act, in order to obtain a restoration of Triennial Parliaments.

In regard to the tithes, it is, I believe, pretty generally known that I am a most determined enemy to that execrable system, and whether in or out of Parliament, I shall continue to use every exertion to procure an absolute and unqualified abolition of them; and as to church reform, I shall support a law to exclude the bishops and clergy from the exercise of every species of temporal power, and to abolish those horrible tribunals called the ecclesiastical courts.

As to the corn-laws, I am persuaded, that under the present system of taxation they are absolutely necessary; but after taking off the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap, and the abolition of tithes, I think that the corn-laws ought to be repealed.

With respect to the general duties of a member of the House of Commons, I think that he is, properly, the agent of those who send him to Parliament, and bound to act conformably to their wishes. I am also of opinion that electors have an undoubted right to require pledges from candidates, and that this practice is in perfect conformity with the representative system; and, moreover, that in the present state of affairs, the exaction of specific pledges is absolutely necessary for the salvation of the country; and, in short that it is the duty of a member in the House of Commons at all times, and in all things, to obey the instructions of the majority of his constituents, or, upon their request to resign his seat.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,

WM. EAGLE.

Lakenheath, Suffolk, Aug. 24th, 1832.

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TO THE ELECTORS OF BOLTON!

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Who is a tax-eater?—Colonel Torrens!

Who, in 1809, supported household suffrage and triennial parliaments, and in 1822 opposed them?—Colonel Torrens!

Who, in 1815, wrote a book in favour of an abolition of the corn-laws, and in 1831, not only spoke against it, but voted against even an inquiry?—Colonel Torrens!

Who voted for the dissection of the poor man's body?—Colonel Torrens!

Who is it that has been in the Political Economy club for the last fifteen years, and has regularly voted the people's money away whilst in Parliament?—Colonel Torrens!

Who was it that supported the administration of George Canning, through thick and thin, through the medium of the *Globe* newspaper, though Canning declared he would resist reform, let it come in what shape it would, to the last day of his life?—Colonel Torrens!

Who was it that was returned for Ipswich in 1826, and was turned out for bribery after sitting six weeks?—Colonel Torrens!

Who voted against an inquiry into the Manchester massacre?—Colonel Torrens!

Who said in one place in his canvass he was a freemason, and in another an odd-fellow; but if report says true, he is an Orangeman?—Colonel Torrens!

Who says the poor man must regulate the number of his family according to the amount of wages he can earn?—Colonel Torrens!

Who advanced 170*l.* to the editor of the *Bolton Chronicle* to support Colonel Torrens?—Ask Mr. Trevor.

Who are the stupid party that believe every promise that a sinecurist makes?—The supporters of Colonel Torrens.

Who are they that have been bawling and roaring for a quarter of a century, for the abolition of pensions, sinecurist grants, and a host of other abuses, and now, like senseless hounds, lick the hand that scourges them?—The supporters of Colonel Torrens!

NON-ELECTORS OF BIRMINGHAM.

"SIR,—Deputed by the Committee "of NON-ELECTORS to present to you "this our address, we respectfully re- "quest your acceptance of our heart- "felt thanks, the only offering, which, "as working men, we have to offer; "and we flatter ourselves, that, to one "who has so long, so nobly, and so "consistently, advocated our cause, "these thanks, though plainly ex- "pressed, will not be unacceptable; "and also indulging the fond hope, "that the day is not far distant, when "the nation only having the disposal of "national reward, we shall be enabled "to evince our gratitude to you, Sir, "in a more substantial but not more "sincere manner than we now do. It "is true, that, the address I now hold "in my hand, is as humble and plain "in its exterior as is the source from "whence it emanates; our sentiments "are not presented to you inscribed in "letters of 'refined gold,' nor on "rolls of satin, whose whiteness rivals "'the lily;' nor is it saturated with "the odours of 'the violet;' its sin- "cerity, Sir, is its only perfume, its "truth its only value.

The above is the speech, adverted to before, which was made to me by the young man who was the spokesman of the deputation. The matter of it the reader will be able to judge of; the manner of it was, in every respect, equal to the matter. Again I say, that it is impossible that dunder-headed paper-money grinders can long continue to be the masters of men like these. I never was more delighted in my life, than I was with the conduct of these young men. Were there only ten such in every town in England, the country never would sink. As I have said a thousand times, England is full of such men, and they all do me the infinite honour to ascribe their knowledge to me. I do not disclaim my right to it: such and so long labours merit even this honour, compared to which all that the king has to bestow, or all the kings of the earth have to bestow, is not worth one straw.

[*The following was received from Mr. Cobbett on Saturday the 1st inst., but too late for insertion in last week's Register*].

BIRMINGHAM DEBATE.

Barton, Staffordshire, 30th of August, 1832.

IN the *next Register* I shall give a full account of this whole affair. On Tuesday evening Mr. ATTWOOD spoke

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for *four hours and a quarter*; on Wednesday evening Mr. JONES spoke *an hour and a half*, I believe; at least *an hour*. I then made my speech of just *two hours'* length; then came Mr. ATTWOOD with a reply of rather more than *two hours*, put an end to at last by darkness so great as to require candles to be brought in to be held up, in order that the chairman might distinguish which had the majority on the division. With respect to that division the chairman was *in doubt*, and something was said about taking the division by placing the persons assembled on the two opposite sides of the room; when I whispered to Mr. EDMONDS, the chairman, and begged him to decide at once in favour of Mr. ATTWOOD; for that I myself did not care one straw about the matter. He then so decided.

The whole of these proceedings are of a most interesting nature. I was anxious only to cure BIRMINGHAM of the *rag mania*, and that I have effectually done. After "*Puddle in a Storm*," and "*King Tom in his Tantrums*;" after all that I had said about the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL, I could not, in my way to the NORTH, *slip along by the side of Birmingham*, nor go *silently* through it, without departing from the practice of my whole life, which has been that of never saying behind a man's back that which I will not say to his face. But my main object was to demolish the paper-scheme of Mr. ATTWOOD at BIRMINGHAM itself; and this I have effectually done. The room was about a hundred feet long, and about thirty feet wide, and there were present, to hear my speech, about fourteen hundred people, great part of whom were persons of considerable property and weight in society, many of them coming from a considerable distance; and I am satisfied that nine-tenths of the persons present went away perfectly convinced that Mr. ATTWOOD's project is little short of a mark of madness, and that any minister that shall dare to adopt it *will deserve to be hanged*. I have no time now, and my printers will have no time for anything more at present; but I will just mention one occurrence, which will enable my readers to judge of the magnitude of the fears of my opponents. Mr. ATTWOOD began his reply by saying that my whole speech consisted of "*a tissue of sophistries*." At the end of his two hours' reply I begged hard for *half a minute* to explain; and I intended to say just this: "Mr. ATTWOOD began "by telling you that my speech con-"sisted of nothing but a tissue of so-"phistries, and promised you to prove "that to you. My speech consisted of "observations on *twenty-two* topics, al-"ways coming to a conclusion, proving "the badness of his project; all very "distinctly laid before you; and Mr. "ATTWOOD has not even alluded to any "*one* of the twenty-two; but has only "given you another *round-towel* harangue "upon the disastrous effects of PEEL's "Bill." The chairman observed to Mr. ATTWOOD "that, after I had had "the prtience to listen to my opponents "for *seven hours*, it was not too much "to allow me half a minute for an ex-"planation." "Then," said Mr. ATTWOOD, "I must have a right to explain, "too; and I have got *notes* that it "would take me *two hours* to explain "upon." Upon hearing which I, frightened out of my life, exclaimed, "Oh, Lord! oh, Lord! I don't want to explain."

My readers will know how great my gratification must have been at seeing fourteen hundred persons sitting, or standing, in profound silence to hear me for two whole hours; my voice, though not loud, is very clear, and my articulation distinct; every one heard every word, and, therefore, every one was attentive; and when my readers come to have the matter of my speech before them, they will all be satisfied that the dunder-headed devil of paper-money is totally destroyed at BIRMINGHAM; and that any minister who shall dare to attempt to put in execution the project of Mr. ATTWOOD, will deserve to swing on a gibbet. I could not have destroyed this devil so effectually in any other way. BIRMINGHAM was possessed of him. Recently, seven other devils in the persons of the Coun-

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cil seem to have joined the original demon. I have driven them out from this poor possessed town: whether they will now go into a herd of swine I know not; but I confess that I shall be a little shy of WARWICKSHIRE or STAFFORDSHIRE pork for some time to come. I am stopping in this village to-day to see some plantations of my CORN, and some fields cultivated according to the book of Mr. TULL, republished and so strongly recommended by me,

WM. COBBETT.

N.B. There were some London *Reporthers* present, *without my knowledge at the time.* I saw them exchanging notes with some of "*the Council.*" My readers will see whether they *justly* report my speech; for I will do it, and appeal to fourteen hundred persons for my correctness. I cannot dismiss this article without expressing my admiration of the good manners of this audience.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

MAUD, W., Bradford, Yorkshire, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BLOKE, J., New-road, Hammersmith, market-gardener.
EMMERSON, J., Chalk Foot, Cumberland, shoemaker.
HALL, J., Molesworth-place, Kentish-town, picture-dealer.
JORDAN, W., Worcester, coal-dealer.
MADDOCKS, J., Wem, Shropshire, builder.
NEWTON, M. and M. S., Kensington, school-mistresses.
PEPPERELL, R., Portsea, butcher.
RAWLINGS, J.D., High Holborn, auctioneer.
SHORT, W. M., Martin's-lane, Cannon-st., sworn-broker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MILLER, A. and J., Strathaven, yarn-merch.
SCOTT, J. B., Leith, brewer.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 4, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

MARSHALL, W. and J. E., Horton, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted-spinners.

BANKRUPTS.

FRANCIS, W., King-street, Bristol, builder.
FRASER, J., Leadenhall-street, ships' hearth-manufacturer.
FOSTER, M., Liverpool, chemist.
HEWES, W., Newark-upon-Trent, miller.
PATTEN, W., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, druggist.
PUCKRIDGE, B. W., Southampton, coach-maker.
SHARP, F. and L. B. T., Brighton, lodging-house-keepers.
WISDEN, J., late of Brighton, builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, SEPT. 3.—Having a great deal of rain last Tuesday and Wednesday, we had a brisk demand for wheat on the latter day, when a considerable quantity of old, as well as all that appeared of new, was readily disposed of, at an advance of 2*s.* to 3*s.* per qr. on the quotations of Monday, but a favourable change in the weather subsequently taking place, the trade became very heavy on Friday, when the terms of Wednesday could not be procured, by very nearly the advance that then was realised. The supply this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, was large, particularly from the former county, but the quality was not so fine as we had in the previous week, although far superior to any of last year's growth. A few picked samples sold from 1*s.* to 2*s.* per qr. higher than on this day se'nnight, but for the general runs no advance could be obtained, nor did they go off freely. Fine old wheat may be noted from 1*s.* to 2*s.* per qr. dearer, in consequence of a demand from the northern counties, arising from the unfavourableness of the weather in that district, and the backward state of the harvest.

We had a few parcels of new barley from Suffolk, and a tolerable show of samples from Kent; the former were of very fine quality, and obtained 32*s.*; but those from the latter county were exceedingly coarse, and were offered at 35*s.*

The oat trade was heavy, but fully supported last week's prices.

In beans and peas there was no alteration.

Wheat	60s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	28s. to 30s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
——— Boilers	38s. to —s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
——— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
——— Feed	21s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new...50s. to 55s.
Pork, India, new....132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ...77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ....—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow .....80s. to 82s.
——— Cork .....80s. to 81s.
——— Limerick ..80s. to 82s.
——— Waterford..76s. to 78s.
——— Dublin ....—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire....52s. to 78s.
——— Gloucester, Double..52s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single...40s. to 48s.
——— Edam .....40s. to 48s.
——— Gouda ..... 40s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish..... 55s. to 76s.

SMITHFIELD.—Sept. 3.

This day's supply of beasts (the most numerous one recollected to have been exhibited on a St. Bartholomew Fair day) and calves was good; of sheep, lambs, and porkers, rather limited. As the sellers were anxious to sell, and the buyers to buy, for the purpose of getting the stock out of the market before "Lady Holland's mob" entered it, the trade was, with each kind of meat, somewhat brisk, at Friday's quotations.

As nearly as we could ascertain, on account of a great part of the area of the market being occupied by show-booths, toy and gingerbread-stalls, &c., and consequent huddled and imperfect state of the supply, for a full third of which there was not room, only as the other parts were diminished by being sold and turned out, full two-thirds of the beasts were about equal numbers of the different short-horned and Irish breeds, chiefly oxen, steers, and heifers; a sixth about equal numbers of Welsh runts and Devons; the remainder Herefords, a few Scots, Town's-end cows, &c. About two-thirds of the sheep and lambs appeared to be Downs and Leicester half-breds; about a sixth Kents and Kentish half-breds; the remainder sundry other polled breeds.

Beasts, 2,490; sheep and lambs, 22,950; calves, 161; pigs, 210.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 7.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull, but without any alteration in prices.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	84¼	83⅞	84¼	84½	84⅝	84⅜

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Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 77.—No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Manchester, Sunday, 9th of September, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

1. YOU, who, like the air, are *everywhere*, ought to receive from me as full account, as time will allow me to give, of what I am *now doing* and of what I *intend to do*. The whole of my *political career* has been of importance to my country; but *now* it is of ten times the importance that it ever was before. In the accomplishing of all great things some *one man* must take the lead; and, according to every appearance, I am destined to show *young men* the way to restore this kingdom to *freedom* and *good* living; to abolish flogging barracks and sword-and-dagger-bearing police; and to bring back in their stead the sheriff's-wand and the constable's-staff; to put bread and meat in the labourer's luncheon-bag, and beer in his bottle, instead of the cold potatoes and water which now fill them. If it shall please God to continue, for a few years longer, to reward my sobriety and abstinence with that health and strength which I now possess, I *must* be the teacher and the leader of those younger men, who are, I trust, destined to make this our country once more what it was in the days of our fathers, before the accursed septennial Whig-Parliaments loaded it with taxes and reduced it to pauperism. This being my opinion, I naturally think it right and useful to tell you *what I am doing here in the North*; and before I conclude this *Register* I shall tell you what *I intend to do hereafter*, in order to make this reform *worth having*.

2. The last *Register* gave you full information as to what took place between me and the devil of *paper-kite* propensity at BIRMINGHAM; and you will congratulate yourselves, that *that* devil is *laid*, in that great town at any rate. From Birmingham I went to BARTON, in Staffordshire, to a friend's house, to be quiet to *write*. Having done the writing on the 31st August, I came on that night to Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY'S, at his place of the same name; and there I remained two nights and one whole day, amidst an abundance of apricots, plums, peaches, and STRAWBERRIES; the latter in great abundance, and as fine as I ever saw in my life, and having, I can vouch from ample experience, nothing of cholera-morbus-producing quality in them. I was wanted at Manchester; but having come up from Surrey on Sunday the 26th, and not got to bed till *eleven* o'clock that night; having got up at *three* on the 27th, to come to Coventry; having lectured at Coventry that night, and not got to bed till nearly midnight; having had to sit and hear Mr. Attwood till *nine* on the 28th, and then to go and not get to bed till eleven; having had to hear the orators and to speak myself on the 29th, and then to talk with my friends till eleven again; I found, on the morning of the 30th, a long arrear of sleep due to me; and this arrear I was resolved to fetch up, which I did nine hours of three nights running at Barton and at Wolseley. Besides this, there was nothing but *rain*; and as mine was to be out-of-door work at Manchester, I trusted to the indulgence of my friends there for the suggesting of an apology for me; in which I found myself not disappointed when I arrived, in the afternoon of the 2nd of September, by the London coach, which I had taken at STONE, having come to that place in the morning in a post-chaise from WOLSELEY, at which latter place I

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had met with and seen everything to please and delight me. Sir Charles Wolseley, whose name is that of his parish, which has been the property of his family from Saxon-times, is one of the most skilful *gardeners* that I have ever known; has the best taste in such matters; and is, indeed, skilful in the whole range of agricultural science. At different times he has told me of many things greatly useful to me. His estate and his gardens are managed in the best possible manner, and without any extravagance. So that I was at home here indeed. I ought not to quit Sir CHARLES without telling my readers, that, for his well-known *efforts in the cause of reform*, SCOTT-ELDON *put him out of the commission of the peace*. We know how loudly the WHIGS *condemned* all those acts of persecution; but they will not *restore* him! BROUGHAM adheres to what SCOTT-ELDON did! He has made formal application; but all in vain. He cares not a straw about the thing; but he was resolved to put the *sincerity* of the "*liberal*" Whigs to the test. As I have always said, the two factions are, as *towards the people*, one and the same, and this will become visible to all eyes *the moment a reformed Parliament shall meet*: we shall see them acting *as one body*: the mask will then be pulled off: the Whig-fraud, of *a hundred and forty-four years duration*, will then be put an end to for ever.

3. Having arrived at Manchester, on the afternoon of Sunday, the 2nd of September, and having brought up my arrears of sleep, I was *ready for work* on the Monday. The work is this: the town is, for purposes belonging to its government, divided into 14 districts; and my work is, to go to some spot in each district, fixed on for the purpose, there to *address the people*, taking two districts in a day, one *at noon*, when the people come out of the factories to dinner; and one in the *evening*, when they have done work. It was settled, that I should not begin till the evening of *Tuesday, the* 4th of September. So that, during the week, I have addressed *ten* assemblies, each consisting, on an average, perhaps, of five thousand persons. This is a very efficient mode of *canvassing*, and it is the only mode that I shall pursue. *What I have said* to these several assemblies I need not tell my readers; nor need I hardly tell them, that I have constantly been received with every mark of applause which so zealous a people can bestow; and I am satisfied, that I have convinced this whole town, that, if I be in Parliament, this REFORM BILL (if it can be executed), defective as it is, will not have been passed in vain. I am extremely well situated for my work: three miles from the town, in a large and pleasant house, with unaffected kindness in my host and his lady and family; coming home from the speech-making as soon as it is over; going to bed at nine o'clock; getting up at five, and having three hours (in a large room looking into the garden) as still as in any farm-house in England. This is no *labour*, then: it is leading an easy and a pleasant life, and is doing a great deal at the same time; and these, *O sobriety!* are amongst the rewards, which you never fail to bestow upon those who listen to your voice.

4. To-morrow, 10th of September, I am to go on with my work, which I am to finish on the 12th; and, on the 13th, I am to go to OLDHAM, where, in seven districts and townships, it is intended that I shall perform the same sort of work, which will take me till Saturday, the 15th; and, on Sunday, the 16th, I shall set off on my way, at once, to NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; and when there, where I am kindly offered *a home* for the time, I shall be guided by friends, with regard to my visits to the other towns in that quarter. When I get to MORPETH, I shall find, I dare say, letters from Scotland (which I shall then be able to answer) with respect to the time of my being at the different towns in that country.

5. As to my having a seat in the first reformed Parliament, that is *sure* with respect to the borough of OLDHAM, if I and the present electors be alive at the time; and with respect to MANCHESTER, though I cannot speak so positively, I have *no doubt* that I shall be chosen.

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here also. If I be, it is agreed at OLDHAM that I shall sit for Manchester, because that might *add to my power of doing good for my country*; a motive quite sufficient; but a motive that would have found its way into breasts less patriotic and generous than those of the people of OLDHAM. I never despaired of my country; in the worst of times I always confided in the virtue of the people; and, if despair were taking possession of my mind, it would be instantly dispelled by thinking of the conduct of this town: that country that contains only *one* such town, never can be enslaved.

6. During the week, I have written *a pretty long letter to Mr.* MARK PHILLIPS, which I shall send to him to-morrow, and which I shall insert in another part of this *Register*. Also *a letter to the people of* BLACKBURN, which I shall also insert. So that this has not been an *idle* week; and yet I do not know that it has been a more busy week than any other of my life; for I have always been as busy, in one way or in another. My life has been a life of labour and of pleasure at the same time. I have led the *happiest life* of any man that I have ever known. Never did I know one single moment when I was *cast down*; never one moment when *I dreaded the future*. And, with such health, and so blessed and supported by the goodness of Providence, what a shame, what an infamy, would it be in me, to give way to idleness, to selfish enjoyments, having the capacity to render service to my country!

7. This appears to me to be a fit occasion for my doing that which I have for some time thought of, namely, give a short narrative of my PUBLIC CAREER, of which the *young men* of the present day can know, except by accident, little or nothing. It is very right, however, that they should know something of it *now*; and, therefore, they shall know something of it. Lawyers SCARLETT and DENMAN, having, in 1822, an action to contest, in the Court of King's Bench, between Major Cartwright and a base reptile who had foully libelled me by publishing garbled sentences from my *Register, joined* most cordially in *pitching upon me*, totally losing sight of their *two clients*, until one of the jury, addressing the judge, said, "My lord, *Mr. Cobbett is no party* in this action." "Very true, sir," said the judge, who had let them go on for an hour or more abusing me, "the learned gentleman will perceive *that*." "I do," said SCARLETT; "but, "my lord, it is hardly possible to avoid "adverting to *that* man's EXTRAOR- "DINARY CAREER." Pretty *extraordinary*, indeed, SCARLETT, even *then*, but nothing to what you and Denman will find it, if we all three live for *another two years!*

8. This CAREER of mine began at Philadelphia in the year 1794. I had been eight years in the army, in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; I had been six months in France, and about two years in the United States. I became *an author*, not from *conceit*, not from motives of *gain*, but purely from *love of my own country*, which the undeniable facts of the case most amply prove. At that time the war had just begun between England and France; the Americans were divided into two parties, the *French* and the *English*; the former were two to one as to numbers, and a thousand to one as to boldness: the French cockade was sold in the shops, and worn by the greater part of the young men and working people in all the great towns; to be known to be an *Englishman* was to be exposed to more or less of odium; and, as to *speaking* or *writing* in favour of England, no man dreamed of it, any more than of running his hand into a fire. WASHINGTON, who saw that *war* would destroy his infant government, had, upon the breaking out of hostilities between England and France, issued a PROCLAMATION, declaring America *neutral*; which he speedily followed by sending Mr. JAY to England to negotiate a *treaty of amity commerce*. In this state of things *I began writing*; and, first by pamphlets, and afterwards by a newspaper, defended these measures of Washington, defended the character of my country, attacked all its assailants, by

my boldness and industry and perseverance, silenced them, overawed them, till, at last, the cowardly English merchants and manufacturers were no longer afraid to own England as their country. Every one, acquainted with the history of those times, know, that it was, in a great measure, owing to me, that the Congress finally ratified the treaty of 1794; and knows also, that, if that Treaty had not been ratified, the United States must and would have joined France in the war against England. I knew nothing of *politics*; nothing of the merits of the war; I only knew, that England was my country, that my character in the world was bound up with hers; and honest nature bade me take part in her cause, and made my zeal great in proportion to the number and the fury of her foes. No *gain*, no *reward*, of any sort, did I seek, or ever so much as think of; but, it was impossible that the Ministry at home should be insensible to such services. Our AMBASSADOR, or, rather, ENVOY, at Philadelphia, the late Sir ROBERT LISTON, offered me, on their part, pecuniary reward, which he could not have done otherwise than grant. This reward I declined to receive, and declined also his offers to provide for my relations in England; and this, too, while every body in America took it for granted, that I was "in the *pay of England*:" all the newspapers asserted it; and almost all the people believed it. Sir ROBERT LISTON is now dead, but I published this same statement *while he was alive*, and defied the villanous persecuting Government to produce a contradiction.

9. When, in 1800, I came home to England, very nearly without a shilling, having been stripped bare by prosecutions arising out of my exertions for my country, it was natural for Pitt and his set to look at me a little, to see what they could make of so efficient a piece of stuff. They were very *civil* too; I dined with Pitt, Canning, Liverpool, and others, at the house of their colleague, Mr. WINDHAM, HUSKISSON not being then "*great man*" enough to dine with us! Of course I received applause and thanks for my services in the UNITED STATES, for which Mr. WINDHAM afterwards said, in the House of Commons, that I deserved "*a statue of gold*." In a few days after this, the Ministers offered me the "TRUE BRITON," daily newspaper, which they had set up with public money; they offered me this, together with all the presses, types, lease of house, and every thing belonging to the establishment, as a free gift for my own use. It was a paper of some years' standing, and the thing could not, altogether, have been worth less than *ten thousand pounds*, nor could it have been worth so little. This *I refused to accept of*, though I had not a hundred pounds clear in the world, and had a family just coming on. This offer was made to me by Mr. GEORGE HAMMOND, then Under-Secretary of State to LORD GRENVILLE, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. HAMMOND is, I believe and hope, now alive; but, whether he be or not, he was alive in 1817, when I published this statement before. He was a very worthy as well as able man; he had been a most faithful ENVOY to America before Mr. LISTON; and, upon this occasion, he behaved in a very honourable manner. It is *thirty years* since I saw him, or heard of him; but, if alive, he will bear witness to the truth of this statement.

10. A third time I might have had a good lump of public money. In 1803, I was opposed to the then Minister, ADDINGTON, now SIDMOUTH; but BONAPARTE making great preparations for invading England, and I believing the thing possible, wrote an *Address to the Nation* for the purpose of rousing it to resistance. I gave this, in manuscript, to Mr. REEVES, without my name to it; he showed it to the Ministers; they had printed a MILLION of copies of it, which were sent by the post-office all over the kingdom; and, in a great many cases, it was *read by the parsons from the pulpit*. It was published in the REGISTER as well as in other papers, but without my name to it. The effect of it was very great; the Ministers felt this; and they were desirous of reward-

ing me. No *sum* was mentioned; but it might have been pretty nearly what I pleased. Mr. REEVES, who persuaded me to take it, is dead, but Mr. CHARLES YORKE (who was then Secretary of State for the Home Department) is alive; and he, who knew all the facts, will, if appealed to, confirm this statement.

11. A fourth time I might have been made rich with public money. When that change of Ministry took place, (in 1806,) which had been mainly instrumental in producing, Mr. WINDHAM, who was *Secretary of State for War and the Colonies*, offered to make me his *Under Secretary of State*. This has been denied; but, will any one believe, that he who had, in his place in Parliament, said that I merited a statue of gold; will it be believed, that he who had now millions of patronage in his hands, would not have *made me rich*, if I had chosen to take public money? There is my LORD RADNOR, to whom I was the bearer of a pressing request from WINDHAM that his lordship would accept of an office of *a thousand a year*, which his lordship *refused*, upon the ground *that he should not deserve the money*; there is my lord alive, to say whether he does not believe that I might *then* have been made as rich as I could have wished to be. Yet, I took nothing, though the heap lay before me, and I might almost have helped myself.

12. Besides, there was, in fact, *nothing wrong* in any of these offers, and there would have been *nothing wrong* in my accepting of them, seeing that my opinions were, at the several epochs, in accordance with the measures of the Ministers. But, in the first two instances I was restrained by my unconquerable objection to be trammeled in any way; in the third instance, by my fear, that, first or last, it would weaken my power in the pulling down of that taxing and paper-money system, the evils of which I had begun to see and speak of in my writings; and, in the fourth instance, *expressly* (as my Lord Radnor well knows), because I found that the new Ministers would not bundle out all the Pitt-underlings, and because they would not hear of *a reduction of the interest of the debt*. I told Mr. WINDHAM, that, sooner or later, the system of taxing and funding must blow up; and that I would not be found amongst those who had, in any way, had a hand in supporting it or in the carrying of it on. All this my Lord RADNOR knows as well as I do; and all this, if necessary, he would testify, even if it were not proved by what appeared in the Register of that day. These refusals of mine were mentioned in the COURIER NEWSPAPER, immediately after my flight to LONG ISLAND, in 1817. The scoundrel who owned that vile paper, thinking me *gone for ever*; never dreaming of the Register *coming across the Atlantic*, and still less of I myself ever coming across it to England, thought he might safely make a little display of *candour*; and he said, that I was certainly a most *disinterested* man; for, that "*he knew* "that I had refused an offer of public "money, when the sum could not have "been other than *pretty considerable in* "*amount*." This will be found in the COURIER newspaper of April, 1817; when the miscreant found, afterwards, that I was *not dead*, nor *dumb*, he resumed his former calumnies.

13. I claim no particular merit on account of these refusals, especially the last, which arose out of my conviction, that to take a part in managing public affairs was not the path of fame, nor, in the end, of ease and happiness; and NOW, who does not see that I acted the *prudent part* for myself, as well as the part of duty towards my country? My name and words are NOW worth a great deal; even the same talent and the same industry (neither of which I should have had) would not have made my name or my word worth one single straw, if I had ever touched, or showed a disposition to touch, public money. I always, after 1802 or 3, had this in my mind; and hence my preferring a life of toil, of sobriety, and of self-denials of all sorts. How many bright men, naturally good, have I seen sink into the grave dishonoured or unknown, merely because love of ease induced them to live on public money!

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14. Ah! but this is a Government of very delicate character! It has a more than female sensibility on the score of rejected advances! You do it, as I did it, *no harm* by your refusals. Ah! but it discovers that you are *able* to do it harm; and, therefore, its hatred against you becomes unquenchable. In short, it gives you this choice: be *bribed*, be *silent*, or be *ruined*. I rejected the two first, and from 1803 to 1831, it has been constantly endeavouring to inflict the last; and, that it has not succeeded, is, perhaps, the greatest moral wonder that the world ever beheld. The FLOGGING PROSECUTION, which was the *most ruinous*, and which led to other causes of ruin, was (as GROSE as good as said when he passed the horrid sentence) on account of "*the past* as well as the *present*." This was the *great wrong* of which I complained, and of which I still complain, and which wrong *the country* ought *now*, in part at least, to redress. I have recently given an account of this affair by publishing my *petition to the King*; but I will here insert that petition again; for the abominable transaction ought to be continually before the eyes of the public; and especially at this time.

To his Most Gracious Majesty WILLIAM the Fourth, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the county of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That there was published in London, in the year 1809, a newspaper called the *Courier*, which newspaper continues there to be published unto this day; that, in this said newspaper was published, on Saturday the twenty-fourth day of June, 1809, a piece of news, or intelligence, in the following words; to wit:

"The mutiny amongst the *Local Militia*, "which broke out at Ely, was fortu- "nately suppressed, on Wednesday, by "the arrival of *four squadrons* of the Ger- "man Legion Cavalry from Bury, under "the command of General Auckland. "Five of the ringleaders were tried by a "Court-Martial, and sentenced to receive "*five hundred lashes each*, part of which "punishment they received on Wednes- "day, and a part was remitted. A *stop- "page for their knapsacks* was the ground "of complaint that excited this mutinous "spirit, which occasioned the men to sur- "round their officers and demand what "*they deemed* their *arrears*. The first "division of the German Legion halted "yesterday at Newmarket, on their re- "turn to Bury."

That your humble petitioner published, at the time here referred to, a work called the *Weekly Political Register*; that, on the first day of July 1809, he inserted in the said work the above paragraph from the *Courier*; and that he, at the same time, subjoined words of his own, expressive of great indignation at the transaction, but words conveying no sentiment which he did not then think, and which he does not now think, it became an Englishman to entertain and express on such an occasion; and your humble petitioner is fully convinced, that if YOUR MAJESTY were to be graciously pleased now to read those words, taking all the circumstances into your consideration; who the punished parties were; that they were poor men, whom a novel law had forced to quit their homes, and to submit to military service; that the law had awarded a sum of money called the "marching guinea," but knapsacks had been given, or tendered to them, instead of the money; that though, perhaps, this might be for their own ultimate convenience and good, yet that, even if their claim had not been strictly legal, their youth and inexperience ought (your petitioner is sure your Majesty will allow) to have pleaded successfully in excuse for their conduct, and ought (especially as they had been compelled to assume the military garb) to have saved them from suffering punishment, severe in itself, and deemed infamous by the law of the land; your humble petitioner is fully convinced that, if your Majesty were now to read those words, taking into consideration all these circumstances, your Majesty would see in them nothing that ought not to have proceeded from the heart or the pen of an Englishman; and that your Majesty would be able to discover in those words nothing that ought to be deemed seditious or libellous.

That, however, for having written and caused to be published these words, your humble petitioner was prosecuted by an *ex officio* information; that he was harassed with this prosecution for nearly a year; that he was then brought to trial; and that he was sentenced, first, to be imprisoned for two years in the jail of Newgate; second, to pay a thousand pounds sterling at the end of the two years; and third, to be held in bonds of three thousand pounds himself, with two sureties in a thousand pounds each, to the end of seven years after the expiration of the two years of imprisonment.

That, after the verdict had been given against your petitioner, he had just time to return to his alarmed family at seventy miles distance from London, when he was brought back by a judge's warrant to *give bail for his appearance to receive his sentence*; that, having appeared on the first day of term, according to the command of the warrant, he was

at once committed to jail, and kept there until finally brought up to receive his horrible sentence; and that (a thing theretofore wholly unheard of), his then printer, THOMAS HANSARD, his then publisher, RICHARD BAGSHAW, and even a bookseller named JOHN BUDD, were all, for the self-same cause, prosecuted in like manner, and all punished by imprisonment; so that all persons pursuing the business of printing, or that of publishing, became terrified at the thought of printing or publishing the writings of your humble petitioner, who had to endure many and great disadvantages arising from this terror, which caused an augmentation in the expense of putting forth his future literary labours, and other grievous injuries which he will not here enumerate.

That your petitioner, who had long lived in the country at the time, and who had a wife and a family of six small children, was put into a part of the jail allotted to *felons* and to persons convicted of *unnatural crimes*; that, on the day after the imprisonment of your petitioner commenced, one of the former was taken out to be transported; and that, in a few days later, several of the latter were taken out to be placed in the pillory, and then brought back again to endure imprisonment in the same place that had been allotted to your petitioner, but imprisonment, he beseeches your Majesty to be pleased to observe, *of much shorter duration!*

That your humble petitioner, in order to avoid society like this, and to be able to avail himself of the consolation afforded by occasionally seeing his virtuous family, obtained, through the intercession of gentlemen belonging to the corporation of London, leave to reside in the house of the keeper, to whom he paid for this indulgence twelve pounds for every week; amounting, in the two years, to *one thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds*.

That, with any detail of the numerous other expenses, losses, injuries, and mischiefs of endless variety, attending these two years of imprisonment, and the other parts of the merciless sentence, your humble petitioner will not presume to trouble your Majesty; but will conclude with, first, expressing his gratitude to God for having preserved him and his family amidst all these terrible sufferings; and next, with appealing to the justice of your Majesty, whom he humbly begs leave to remind, that at the end of these two years of pain and of ruin, he paid into the hands of an officer of the crown a *thousand pounds sterling*, for the use of the King; and he now prays that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause the said thousand pounds to be restored to him, with the interests thereon; a prayer, the rejection of which he cannot anticipate, now that the House of Commons have addressed your Majesty, beseeching you to suspend not only *flogging*, but *all corporeal punishment* in the army.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

15. The words at the close of the petition are erroneous, owing to a false report of the proceeding; but it is notorious, that the practice of flogging *even regular soldiers*, is now, in every newspaper in the kingdom, reprobated in language a thousand times more harsh than that which I used in expressing my indignation at the transaction at ELY. I need hardly say that my petition was rejected, and that the insolent MELBOURNE ordered one of his clerks to announce the fact to me. But this is an affair in which *the country* is concerned; I have here to *call upon it* for reparation of wrong. The sufferings of body and of mind; the losses arising out of this act of injustice and cruelty; of these I say nothing; but here are *a thousand pounds*, paid by me, and *received by the country*; for let it be observed, one of the heads of the *public revenue* is "*Fines and Forfeitures*;" and that of this sum of public receipts for the year 1812, *my thousand pounds* make a part; so the country has this thousand pounds, and has had it for *twenty years*, ending in the month of July last; and this money it ought now to pay me, interest and principal. In case of money *lent* to our brethren, the Scripture forbids to take interest; but this was *no loan*, it was what civilians call "*a violent taking away*." However, I am willing to forego the interest; but I have a clear *right* to the principal; and now that I am likely to want it, I am sure that I have only to ask for it. It must be clear to every one, who reflects on the matter, that, to give me the time to do *that which I shall now be called upon to do*, it is very likely that I shall find it necessary to *drop the Register*, or to turn it into *a monthly publication*. I shall and *must* have a *daily paper at my command*: for it will be nothing to attack boroughmongers without being able to set at defiance the base, corrupt, gin-swilling crew of *reporthers*, who, with some few exceptions, are the most profligate and unprincipled wretches that disgrace this earth, with the sole exception of a part of the *proprietors* and *editors* of London daily papers. Against all this crew I

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must be *completely armed;* and that I can be and *will be*, and in the manner which I will hereafter more fully describe. This hellish press has, for thirty long years, been at me with its poisonous tongue and harpy claws; I never crouched to it for one single moment: and now, if in Parliament, I will be *the master of the monster;* and will reform it, or destroy it. Never will the corrupt miscreants find me *complaining* of their *reporths;* never hear silly talk about "*breach of privilege*" from me; never see me take any more notice of them than if they were so many shag-tailed dogs. But, to act this part, to render my labours in Parliament *efficient;* to do my *best* and my *all*, I must have *something* beyond *literary labours* to rely on; and this *something* I shall have in a *very humble farm*, on which I am now about to enter on a lease, the duration of which will naturally exceed my life. My lease is out, at Kensington, in March next, and, in my garden there, I have, this year, raised *lucern plants*, *my corn*, and *locust plants*, for my farm. I can see, all over England, plantations of locusts, all the fruit of my labour and my love of the country; I can every where see pieces of *my corn*, from Lancashire (where I have seen a statute acre this very day) to the Isle of Wight; and, if I could go to Mr. Palmer's, at Bollitree Castle, near Ross, in Herefordshire, I should there see, now standing, a field of *nine acres*, which will produce about *twelve quarters* of shelled corn to *the acre*, each quarter having more human food in it than a quarter of wheat. And, it *is* hard; it *is* hard, that I should not have a field of corn or a plantation of locusts for myself; and, God giving me life and health for another year, have them both I will! I have never *got* anything by trees or by the corn. I have always had, in this, as in every other act of my life, *country* more than *self* in view. I saw, last fall, that, to introduce the CORN effectually, some eminent *farmer* must do it, at a great distance from me; and I therefore wrote Mr. PALMER to plant a field of *ten acres*. He in May planted a nine-acre field with seed corn, sent down by me; and he has now, according to the accounts that I have received, the above-mentioned crop. The land bore *wheat last year*; and it is, he tells me, to bear *wheat next year*, the land having been twice ploughed since the corn was planted, being, to use his words, "without a weed of any kind in it." This is, then, as my Lord VERNON says, "the "*greatest thing* that man ever did for his "country." And, it *is* hard that I should not have a field of corn! It *is* hard, too, that I should not yet see a hop-ground, polled with locust poles, raised and cut down by me! But I will see it though, if God give me life and health but eight years longer. I said once, in a joke, that the Catholics ought to give me as much good land as all the sheets of all the editions (all over the world) of the *History of the Protestant Reformation would cover;* and that would have been *quite enough!* But, I ask for NO REWARD for any thing; I ask for no compensation for sufferings or for losses; for all these I am amply compensated in the friendship and affection of my countrymen, of which I receive such unequivocal marks, go whither I will. I ask for NO REWARD; but, this *thousand pounds* was taken from me by force, and made part of the revenue of the country; and this, therefore, ought to be paid back to me now. Amongst the other consequences of this *fine* and its accompanying ruinous inflictions was the destruction or loss of PLANTATIONS that I had just then begun, having imported seeds and made preparations, and made some plantations, in order that each child should have something solid. From these the base persecutors tore me away, and finally stripped me of all. Had it not been for this, these plantations would now have yielded a noble income. Only about seven years ago, I sold my Lord Radnor locust trees for *about* 150*l.*, which are now, I believe, worth *two or three thousand pounds*. I should have had twenty times the number, now worth, on an average, from 10*s.* to 20*s.* a piece! Think, then, of the magnitude of the wrong inflicted

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on me for expressing *my indignation at seeing Englishmen flogged, in their own country, by Hanoverians!* and say whether the country ought not to pay me back that thousand pounds which was taken from me *in money*, and paid into the treasury for *public use!* Say, whether the country ought to suffer the oppressors thus to despoil me for *its benefit!* It ought to pay me the interest also; but the principal is *my own*, and that I ought to have, and to have it, too, *quickly* and without any further public mention of the matter on my part; and I am quite sure that such will be the effect of this my appeal to its justice.

WM. COBBETT.

Manchester, 13th September, 1832.

I ended my labours here yesterday with an address to about two thousand people, in the *Exchange dining-room*, amidst unanimous applause as loud as two thousand people could make it. What a change! I reminded them of the time when the ruffians in power forbade me to enter the town, on my return from America; when they threatened the people with horse and foot, if they met to congratulate me on my safe arrival; and when, in 1826, they knocked poor men half on the head, for crowding round an inn-door to shake hands with me. What a change! And yet these blind buzzards of Ministers really seem to imagine that there is to be no change in conducting the affairs of this country! Were they not absolutely infatuated, they would see, as plainly as the tyrant of old saw the hand-writing on the wall, that the measures which I propose must be adopted. Nothing would give me so much pleasure as to see them adopted by Lord GREY himself. And I do believe that he would adopt them, were he not surrounded and hampered as he is. Years and years ago, I told him that with the people at his back he might do anything; and he may yet have them all at his back if he will. I wish to God that he would resolve to do the thing at once, and let me go to my farm and raise my corn and my locusts in quiet; never again see London, and never have my sight again disgusted with an unprincipled newspaper! But to make the working people of England better off if I can, I am pledged to my country; and, until they be better off, my efforts shall not cease but with my life.

AMERICAN VETO.

IN another part of this *Register* I shall insert the message of the American President, containing his objections against a bill that had been passed by the two Houses of Congress. It is a thing of the greatest possible importance to us. If I cannot insert the whole in *this Register*, the remainder of it will be inserted in the next.

TO

MARK PHILLIPS, ESQ.,

One of the Candidates for the Borough of Manchester.

Manchester, 7th September, 1832.

SIR,—I have a complaint of a very grave nature to make against you; and, on every account, it is proper that I should do it in such time and manner as will enable you to give an answer to it before I quit this town and its neighbourhood; or, at least, before my return from Scotland, when I purpose to remain for one day in MANCHESTER. I allude, Sir, to the doctrines, which, I am informed, you have been promulgating relative to that which is called, and falsely called, "the NATIONAL DEBT."

You know, I take it for granted, that *not a farthing of this debt is justly due from the people to the fundholder;* you must, I think, be satisfied, that I have proved, that no body of persons, calling themselves what they may, have a right to make laws to compel children to pay the debts of their fathers, those fathers leaving them nothing to pay with; that there is no power on earth which can justly make the child in the cradle work for life, to pay the debts contracted by

his father; that our forefathers, supposing them to have been fairly represented in Parliament, could have given no *lien* upon the property of the country, except for their own lives; that he who cannot *sell* cannot *mortgage*, without the consent of his successor; that the consent of the successor could not have been obtained before he was born; that, as our forefathers could not have *sold England*, so they could not mortgage it; that there is no real distinction at all between the child of a negro slave and that of an Englishman, if the labour of the English child be the property of the fundholder, or of any body else, it being the *labour* of the body, and not the *body itself*, which is valuable to the slave-owner; that, legally speaking, the usurers, called fundholders, have not, and never had, any claim at all, except that which was founded upon *the taxes*; that they have no mortgage either on the land or the labour of the country; that their only security consists of the taxes; that there is no law, and never has been any law, and never can be any law, to prevent these taxes from being repealed and abolished; that, even if we were to allow the justice of the claim of the fundholders, they have already been paid more than they ever ought to have received; and that, therefore, supposing it not to have been an act of tyranny to compel the people to pay any thing on account of this pretended debt, the debt has, in reality, been long ago discharged. I take it for granted, Sir, that you are satisfied, that this has all been proved long and long ago; but, strange to say, you are, I am told, putting forth the doctrine, that it would be *injurious* to the *nation itself*, and especially to the *industrious classes*, to cease to pay interest on this debt, which they do not owe!

As far as I can learn (and I sincerely hope that I may have been misinformed), you have been, in your addresses to the people of Manchester, putting forth a doctrine containing the following propositions: *that the interest of the debt is a mass of money, expended in the country, and, of course, expended, in part, amongst the makers of cotton goods; that, if the debt were to cease to exist, the makers of cotton goods would lose this great mass of excellent customers; that, therefore, to cease to pay the interest of the* DEBT, *would make manufacturers and traders have less profit than they now have, and make the working people more miserable than they now are.*

Notions, so strange as these, never could have existed, had not the minds of men been perverted and stultified by the intricate frauds of paper-money. The brains of the nation must have undergone a process somewhat similar to that which the contents of an egg undergo when that little elliptic mass of delicate nutrition becomes a thing proverbially offensive to the smell. To see a young man like you, Sir, of decent manners and deportment, and, apparently, by no means destitute of what is termed education; to see such a person, standing before his townsmen, and voluntarily and deliberately putting forth such notions as these, and that, too, when he is tendering himself to them as a *lawgiver*; for me to behold this, under any circumstances, would be painful, it would be a subject of considerable regret with me; but, when I hear such doctrines addressed to those whom I am shortly to have the honour to represent in Parliament; when I see such an affront offered to their understandings; when I see such an attempt made (however thoughtlessly and feebly) to pervert their minds, and to make them patiently submit to be the slaves of bands of inexorable usurers; when I behold this, duty commands me to remonstrate with the person who is the organ of the attempted delusion.

In remonstrating with you, Sir, I beg to observe, that, if your present doctrine be correct, the nation has been laughing unjustly at Judge Bayley, who, in a twattle to the Grand Jury of York, in 1819, called the national debt a "*national blessing.*" Then, I beg to refer you to documents in the hands of every one, which prove, which do not assert, but which *prove*, that the poor-rates have gone on increasing at exactly the same pace as the national

debt has gone on increasing; that before there was any debt at all, the poor-rates were so trifling in amount, that, where *twelve hundred and fifty pounds a year* are now expended in the relief of the poor, there were only *thirty-one pounds a year* expended; that the number of barracks has, within the last sixty years, been increased from *three* to *three hundred and one*; that *crime* has increased in an exact proportion with the increase of the DEBT, within the last fifty years especially; that new and additional jails have increased precisely in the same proportion; that the increase of the severity of the laws has kept exactly the same pace, till, at last, we behold men punished in a very severe manner without a trial by judge or jury; that we see magistrates, *who are removeable at pleasure*, and a large part of whom are parsons, military and naval officers, tax-collectors or tax-receivers, invested with power even of *transporting men for life*; that we behold new modes of punishment invented, a new sort of peace-officers, in half-military uniform, with daggers and pistols at their belts; that, we have seen, by degrees, the mild, the good-humoured, the free government, established by our fathers, almost completely overturned, and that we have seen these degrees keep an exact pace with the increase of the thing falsely called the NATIONAL DEBT; that, with regard to our character in the world of nations, we behold it sunk so low, that we have, in no case, the courage even to *talk* of the thunder of the cannon, and are reduced to the common resource of timidity and feebleness, namely, to supplications and prayers; and that we now, at this very moment, are smothering our sentiments, while we receive, with caresses, the agents of the combined GERMAN despots, who have just issued an edict against the freedom of every soul upon the face of the earth; that with regard to the internal peace of our own country, we know that, in 1825, we were brought to within forty-eight hours of a state of barter, that is to say to the *law of the strongest*, or, in other words, to a total breaking up of society, an end of all order, and all law, and a totally new and accidental distribution of property.

All these things, Sir, you *know to be true*. All these things you know, relative to the effects of the DEBT; and, knowing them all, you are still for upholding this monstrous thing for the reasons stated in the propositions, which I have above cited, in the third paragraph of the letter which I am now doing myself the honour of addressing to you. For the reasons stated in the fourth paragraph, I will now proceed to show you the folly of those propositions, not being able to apply to them a milder term, and not being disposed to apply to them any term that can be deemed other than mild.

You say, Sir, that the fundholders, are customers of the makers of cotton goods, and that, therefore, if the fundholders were to cease to exist, their custom would be lost to the makers of cotton goods. Let me observe here, that the same argument must necessarily be applied in favour of all other receivers of taxes; to the soldier, the sinecure people, the pensioners, aye, and which would be curious enough, even to the paupers; for all that the whole of them receive, must be *laid out* with somebody or another; so that, whether we will it or not, we have forced upon us this conclusion, that the heavier you tax the creative and industrious part of the community, the better it is for them; the more you take away from their profits and the fruit of their earnings, the more "*customers*" you create for them; the more flourishing will be the trade of the master, and the better the wages of the workman! Such a conclusion, though necessarily arising out of the premises, is an insult to common sense such as was never before heard of in the world.

It is strange, Sir, that you should not have perceived, that men could not gain by customers to whom they first gave their own money to lay out with them. When I was in petticoats, I used to hear the story of the farmer's wife, who, wishing to keep up the price of her eggs, used to send money

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to her friends in the market-town to purchase them at a high price. Nor might she be, altogether, without some little reason: such a contrivance, might, in an isolated market-town, answer her purpose, under particular circumstances; but, the idea of the whole of the creative and working classes of a whole nation, permanently gaining by giving the half of their profits and their earnings to idle persons, in order to enable them to be good customers to them; this idea, Sir, is so monstrous, that, in spite of all that I have heard relative to your having put it forth, I will not suppose it to exist in your mind, but to have been thrust into it by the devil of paper-money; and I express my confident hope, that, if you be to be a member for this industrious town, you will cast it out with all convenient speed; for if you indulge it in its residence there for any length of time, you will become the mockery and scorn of those, whose interests you ought to protect, and whose respect you must, above all things, desire to possess and to merit.

When absurdities are so great; when men's minds are so perverted as to entertain them; and, especially, when the subject is of a nature so extensive and so complex; when this is the case, there is great difficulty, especially, when the mind is deeply impregnated with the absurdity, to dissipate it in a complete and satisfactory manner. But, Sir, if you will now listen to me for a few minutes, I will make you see the absurdity of the notions which you have been putting forth to the people; I will make you see your error, and I wish I was as sure of being able to induce you to confess it, and thereby make to the people of Manchester all the atonement in your power.

Great matters are illustrated best by statements relative to small ones. Let us then suppose a country town, surrounded by half-a-dozen agricultural villages, and having in it all the manufactures necessary for its purposes, without any public expenses beyond the poor-rates and the maintenance of the constable and of the *cage* and the *stocks*: having no public expenses of any sort beyond those necessary to uphold these "ancient institutions of the country," and the whole of the community being engaged in providing for the wants and the pleasures, and in promoting the happiness of each other; let us suppose such town to become all at once, foolish enough to desire to have fundholders, pensioners, sinecure people, and all the rest of the idlers, such as those that now eat up the fruits of industry in England. To begin there must be a tax-gatherer to go round to get the money to be given to the fundholder-crew, taking that name for the denomination of the whole of the tax-eaters. This crew, finding the sweets of the taxes; finding how much pleasanter it was to live upon the labour of others than to work themselves, would go on demanding more and more, and would pass laws, to be sure, to make the demand perpetual. They would tell the people, to be sure, that they lost nothing by giving the taxes to them; for that the taxes all *came back* to them for goods and labour of one sort and another. "Yes," would say the shoemaker, "I get mine back again, "to be sure; but then I am obliged *to give* "*shoes for them*, first." "Yes," would say the tailor, "and I get mine back "again in the same way; and, I have "the *less clothes for myself and my fa*"*mily*." But, would your logic be able to make it out to the *ploughman*, that he got his taxes back again? You must spin logic very finely, before you would twist enough of it into his head to make him believe, that he got his tax upon his malt back again by the fundholder's living in idleness, and eating the flour and the meal, and wearing the wool, raised by his ploughing. He would give you logic of a different description: he would tell you, that the bread and the meat upon the idle fundholder's table had been taken from his table; that the woollens and cottons and the linen and the leather which were decking off the fundholder and his brood, had taken away the clothing of his family, and had reduced the comfortable

dwelling of his father to be for him an unfurnished hovel.

The people of this little deluded community, finding themselves robbed in this way; finding that with all their toil, all their care and frugality, they were getting poorer and poorer, more and more miserable, and that the tax-eating crew went on increasing in their demands; would begin to give signs of *discontent*; would begin to be "*disaffected*," and would threaten to proceed so far as to refuse to comply with the demands of the fundholding and tax-eating crew. These latter, perceiving this, would hire a good lot of fellows, who did not like work, and would furnish them with arms, and with clothes and victuals and lodgings, and would *give them a share of the taxes*, if they would use their arms when necessary to compel their fathers and brothers and neighbours to pay the taxes to the tax-eating crew; and these armed men would cause a demand for *more taxes!* The thing would then be done; all attempts at resistance would be unavailing; the present generation would be the slaves of the tax-eaters of the present day, and the children in the cradle would be the slaves of their children.

Here, Sir, you have, upon a small scale, all the inevitable effects of the funding and taxing system, in the getting rid of which you are reported to discover *the loss of customers* to those who make cotton goods. The little community, above supposed, by withholding the taxes from the fundholder-crew, would certainly lose their custom, but would not the amount of the taxes *remain in the pockets of the people at large*? And would not they be better customers to one another, when they got something in exchange for their labour, than when they got nothing in exchange for it? Would it not be better for the hosier to take half-a-crown for a pair of stockings, from the butcher, to whom he would give the half-crown for a leg of mutton, than to sell a pair of stockings for half-a-crown to the fundholder, to whom he would have *first given the half-a-crown* to purchase the stockings with?

The answer, which common sense must give to this question, at once settles the point and drives away the delusion. But, it is said by some persons, and, I understand, by you amongst the rest, that, to cease to pay the dividends on the debt, would *destroy all credit*, and throw *every thing into confusion*; that there would *be no money* to pay wages with; and that we should all *be in a state of starvation together*. Strange idea! that, by ceasing to have our earnings taken away from us, we should cease to have the means of living! Strange assertion! that in consequence of the discredit of false money, the victuals and drink and clothing and bedding and fuel would vanish from the country. These notions, Sir, are so full of absurdity; they are so completely wild, that there is no dealing with them in a serious and sober manner: we are not bound to reason with madmen; and madmen those must be, who, knowing that this kingdom became great, and that all its famed institutions arose, without any soul in it ever having dreamed of such a thing as paper-money; who know, that the false thing has not, to any extent worth naming, existed in the country for more than about *forty-two years*; who knew that, from the first glimpse of the present sort of paper, the country began to lose all its liberties and its happiness; who see, that, at last, this vile system of false money has made the state, and all its powers and attributes, hang upon a mere thread, and has enabled a printer, living in an alley, by sending out a placard, with the words, "GO FOR GOLD," printed on it, to compel the peers to pass a law which they had declared their determination not to pass: those, who, having all this before their eyes, still insist, that a false money is necessary to the welfare of the nation, are madmen, and with madmen we are not bound to reason.

You will agree with me, I dare say, that the Congress of the United States are a body of wise legislators. For the purpose of purchasing territories, which

they thought necessary to their safety, they contracted a debt, but not beyond their means of paying; and they have hastened to pay it off, and have nearly accomplished that great object, to their great honour, and to the inexpressible satisfaction of the people, who do not agree with Judge Bayley, that "a national debt is a national *blessing*," but who deem it the surest means of establishing *national slavery*. One would think that the example of America ought to have some weight with us: the people there see the debt got rid of without any confusion arising from it. To get rid of it *suddenly* would certainly make a greater disturbance in pecuniary affairs; but, Sir, what is the confusion amongst thousands for a month, compared with the sufferings of millions for ages! Besides, the thing could not be so *very sudden*, nor would the individuals absolutely ruined be at all numerous. To cease to pay interest on the debt must be the result of a legislative measure adopted with the usual forms; while the measure would be under discussion, those who had *their all* dependent upon it, would take care to get *something*; those who had property of other descriptions, would take their chance for awhile, at any rate; such persons as those who now hold *Spanish bonds*, would continue to hold *English stock*; for, could any act passed by the English Parliament render that *stock* more worthless than the edict of the King of Spain has rendered those bonds? So that, after all, very few persons would be absolutely ruined; and, then, there would be the public property to be placed in the hands of commissioners to be applied to the relief of those who had lost their all by the funding system, *by acts of the Government* compelling them to place and keep their property in the funds.

Thus, Sir, have I laid before you my opinions upon these matters. It must be manifest to every one, that, out of the debt and the vile paper-money have arisen all those evils, which have, at last, come to seek their *remedy in reform of Parliament*; and, if any were still blind enough not yet to have perceived this, let him look at the progress of this measure of reform. It was loudly demanded by the people at the breaking out of the French revolutionary war. The history of the cause of reform, from the year 1793 to 1819, is written in pains, penalties, dungeons, banishment, halters, and axes; but in 1819 came the first open breach in the system. The borough-system and the paper-system are twin devils, begotten by Satan upon the body of the Whigs. In 1819, a blow was given to the paper-system, which it never can recover. The borough-system, like the brother Siamese youth, could not exist long without the paper-system. Both have gone on staggering, from that day to this; and it is wonderfully curious, that the BANK, *which was established for the express purpose of upholding the borough-system*, is now struggling for the preservation of its *charter*, which it has had for a hundred and thirty-eight years, while the borough-system is struggling to retain a remnant of its power; more curious still, that you, and other advocates of the paper-system, are eager to *pledge* yourselves to *take away the charter of the* BANK, though daylight is not more clear than the fact, that, without the existence of that charter, the whole of the paper-system must go, instantly, to pieces; and, more and more curious, that you and I and Mr. Attwood and Richard Potter and Dr. Bowring and Mr. Hume and Sir H. Parnell are *all* for refusing a renewal of the charter of the Bank. All you, because you think it would extend and perpetuate the paper-system; and I, because I know that it would totally destroy it, O, yes! "I am *against all monopolies.*" Here I join Mr. Attwood most cordially: I am for "*free trade in paper-money.*"

In conclusion, Sir, permit me to ask you whether you believe, that *the people*, who have *made* the reform so far, will not also make those who shall be chosen by the limited electors, do something to lighten their burdens; and whether, to be a member of Parliament will be a situation to be envied, unless the man

who shall fill it be ready cordially to assist in that undertaking? Leaving you, Sir, to reflect on the answers to be given to these questions, and, trusting that I have done something to correct the erroneous notions, which, as I am informed, you were engaged in promulgating, I remain,

Your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CIRCULAR.

To MESSRS. PHILLIPS, HOPE, LOYD, AND THOMPSON, CANDIDATES FOR THE BOROUGH OF MANCHESTER.

Manchester, 8th Sept. 1832.

GENTLEMEN,—This town, the first in industry, ingenuity, and intelligence, ought to be represented in Parliament by men, the first in vigilance, first in talent, first in knowledge, first in zeal, first in perseverance, and the first in resolution to cause to be done those things which are necessary to obtain good government for its meritorious people. The town is to have but *two* members (though it ought to have eight); and, there being *five* of us, I very respectfully submit to you the following propositions:

1. That we all present ourselves to the people, at one and the same time, and on the same spot.
2. That we all, one after another, address them, from some place of convenient elevation.
3. That, when we have so done, we take, by show of hands, the decision of the people, as to which two of us they prefer.
4. That the other three then withdraw their pretensions; and thus prevent any further agitation of the town, and also prevent the possibility of private ill-will from arising out of a transaction, which ought to tend only to the producing of general harmony and happiness.
5. That, if you accept of this invitation, you will be pleased to signify the same to my Committee, who will instantly make all the preparations necessary to give effect to our wishes.

I am, Gentlemen,
your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

BOROUGHMONGER ORATORS.

SIR,—It appears from what passed at the meeting in the parish of St. John's, Westminster, that in that particular instance, at all events, the statement of Colonel Evans respecting the disqualification of voters by non-payment of rates within the limited time, was not exaggerated, and it can no longer be doubted that the Reform Bill is a very bungling performance. This must always be the case as long as a mere flux of words, and the easily-acquired trick of making pert and lengthy speeches continue to be mistaken for legislative skill and judgment. The most eloquent, and therefore, according to the present parliamentary standard, the most able supporter of the Reform Bill is Mr. Macaulay; that gentleman has amused and astonished all the superficial political smatterers in the House with tropes and figures and showy passages of poetic prose, as much to the purpose as if he had played a concerto on the violin; he has talked about "Xerxes chaining the winds, and Canute rebuking the sea," and has sneered at the opponents of Ministers. All this he has accomplished in four set speeches. But what important improvement in the bill has he ever suggested? what defect has he pointed out? what in short has he done but talk? For all practical purposes the most important bill that ever passed the House would have been exactly what it is if Mr. T. B. Macaulay had never sat in Parliament. He has improved nothing, he has originated nothing, and yet he is the Magnus Apollo of the Ministerial Bench. After making four declamatory speeches, we find him in possession of a seat of the Board for regulating the affairs of India, and the concerns of 80 millions of human beings

with a salary of 1,200*l.* a year. At the same time his father is gratified with 1,000*l.* a year as a Commissioner for inquiring into public charities. Here there are 2,200*l.* a year, and four flowery oratorical displays. Among the many pledges so readily given to the electors of Leeds, I do not find that Mr. Macaulay has pledged himself that the 2,200*l.* a year shall go back to the public, unless he can prove that the four speeches were good value for the money. In the meanwhile I would ask of your readers to take out from the cloud of words contained in Mr. Macaulay's four speeches, all that a practical man of business would consider of any use, and then put into the opposite scale any one paper that you have written on the subject of the Reform Bill. Let it, however, be clearly understood that it is not my object to point invidiously at individuals, I give Mr. Macaulay full credit for his superior excellence as a declaimer, though it is an art which, in my estimation, does not rank higher than tumbling and rope-dancing, or the dexterity of a French cook who can toss up the semblance of a dinner out of nothing. But I have selected him as being at the head of his eloquent class, and, therefore, as the best illustration I can produce, in order to impress on the public mind how very little that class is worth, for the purposes of real business, and how fatally we shall err if in choosing representatives we mistake volubility, and a command of language for those qualities which constitute true statesmanship. Too long has it been the custom to consider the House of Commons as an arena for the men of words to disport and take their pastime in, to the great delight of those idle and affluent candidates for Parliamentary fame, who having learned nothing at school and college, but the ornamental parts of education, imagine that wit, eloquence, and party sarcasm, are all that is necessary for promoting the welfare of a nation, and holding in due equipoise the conflicting interests of a great agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing community. According to their standard of public merit, the poor, despicable, drunken Sheridan was a statesman, and every way fitted to be made a Privy-councillor and Treasurer of the Navy with a salary of 4,000*l.* a year. He was like the echo, a voice without substance, and grown-up children listened to him with pleasure and surprise; but he left no legislative act behind him of any value to his country. Excuse me, Sir, if in this exigent moment I call on you in the name of the people of England, to give the aid of your mighty pen, in exposing with far greater ability than the individual who now addresses you can hope to do, the dangerous delusion of regarding the art of speech-making, which can only subserve the purposes of a party, as an adequate substitute for practical wisdom, sagacity and experience, and all those higher endowments which are necessary to form the character of a safe, useful, and efficient legislator.

B.

August 28, 1832.

My correspondent need not alarm himself on this score. I need not fear that Mr. MACAULAY will *bewitch* us. The matters, in which we shall have to deal, will be very *plain matters*. "*Tropes* and *figures*" will do little against a motion *for repealing* the MALT TAX, or for taking away the *pension of Lady Louisa Paget*. The days for *tropes* are over. The days of *pounds, shillings, and pence* are come; and, as to these, tropes are of little use. Tropes will do little (except with the *fools* of Leeds) to satisfy us, that OLD ZACHARY MACAULAY ought to be kept by us, at the rate of *a thousand pounds a year*.

LITTLE SANCHO.

MEETING OF THE RATE-PAYERS OF ST. JOHN'S, WESTMINSTER.

LATELY a very numerous and respectable meeting of the rate-payers of the above parish was held at the Infant School-house, Vincent-square, to consider the propriety of petitioning his Majesty to summon the present Parlia-

ment for another session, in order to repeal the clauses of the Reform Bill which make the payment of rates a part of the qualification of voters, and which have disqualified nearly all the scot and-lot voters of this populous parish.

M. Arbor was unanimously called to the chair.

Mr. MICHIE then proposed that the petition be adopted. He observed that they had been, by the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Bill, reduced from 1,796 scot-and-lot voters to the number of 153, and that it was impossible for them to think of exercising their right of franchise under existing circumstances. They were not the only ratepayers in the same situation. He would just lay before them a comparative list of the numbers who had been entitled to vote at the last election, and also of those who were now entitled to vote for the several parishes to which he would refer. He would first allude to St. George's, Hanover-square, where there were 5,144 inhabitants rated, and only twenty-two were now entitled to vote. (Great marks of disapprobation.) He had said that the scot-and-lot voters in the parish of St. John's were reduced to 153; he would still further assure them that, if the remainder were all allowed to qualify who were entitled to vote under the 10*l.* clause, they would amount to no more than between 500 and 600. The number in that parish who paid King's taxes and poor-rates amounted to 540, and they would thus be under the necessity of paying King's taxes before they could vote, as well as the poor-rates, which they were formerly called on to pay. (Hear, hear.) Lord Althorp had said that the bill left the scot-and-lot voters just as it found them. None of the lawyers in the House of Commons had corrected him, that the rates which were due must first have been demanded; secondly, that the Reform Bill merely changed "the day of the election" to "the 1st of August," on which all rates and taxes must be paid. Now he (Mr. Michie) would contend that these two positions were contradictory to each other. The scot-and-lot voters could not now be just where they were, as they now had, to qualify themselves, to pay King's taxes as well as poor-rates due up to the 31st of July, even if the election did not take place till January. Afterwards Lord Althorp had said that scot-and-lot voters might vote as 10*l.* householders. He (Mr. Michie) believed that it was quite impossible for a new Parliament to be elected with such glaring defects in the bill, and he had no doubt that the only way to remedy the evil was to call another session of the present Parliament, in order to get rid of these damnatory clauses in the bill. He, as a radical reformer, would wish that all taxes, rates, or rent, should be prevented from interfering in the right of voting. (*Cheers.*) Under this bill the candidate who had the largest purse would be sure to get in for Westminster, because he had no doubt but people would give their votes if the members paid their poor-rates. (Cries of No, no, and Yes.) He was not to suppose that people had become more honest now than they were, especially when he heard Mr. Hume say that he had in his pocket 22 letters from 22 voters who were entitled to vote for the parish of St. Marylebone, declaring that, if he called in another candidate to buy their votes they would return him. (Hear, hear.) After some more observations on the non-necessity for a new power to collect the taxes, the speaker referred to his comparative list of the number of persons entitled to vote in 1818, and at present. In the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, there were 5,144 rated inhabitants: 2,271 polled at the election in 1818; but the number who were now entitled to vote amounted to no more than 22. In St. James's parish there were 2,884 rated inhabitants; 2,066 was the extreme number that ever had voted, and of these there were only 180 qualified. In St. Martin's parish there were 2,218 ratepayers, of whom 1,748 polled in 1818, and of whom all were now disfranchised except 150; and even this number would not have been qualified had not the inhabitants upset a 2*s.* rate, and substituted one of 1*s.* In the parish of St.

Clement there were 1,875 rate-payers; 1,289 voted in 1818, and now only 320 had the right of voting. In St. Ann's parish 901 had voted out of 1,322, and there remained only 490 now qualified. In St. Margaret's 1,900 paid rates, and 1,896 had polled; but there were now only 271 with the right of voting. With respect to St. John's, they were reduced to the state of a rotten borough, and every vote would be worth 100*l*. They had 1,796 rate-payers; 1,659 polled in 1818, and they now were reduced to 153, and it was very probable that even of this number not more than 50 would vote. The parish of St. Paul would have only 10 voters. He believed this bill, which was proposed to enfranchise half a million of people, had disfranchised three times that number. The speaker concluded, amid loud cheers, by stating his opinion that the Ministers had erred from stupidity, but were still better than the Tories. He then moved that the petition, which was read at length, be adopted.

Mr. MOORE seconded the resolution, and believed that all other parishes would join them in petitioning against so great a grievance. He hoped that they would besiege the throne with petitions, and the King must then notice them.

Mr. POWLES proposed that the allegation that the constituency was reduced to 153 should be expunged from the petition, as it would be declaring themselves a rotten borough, and admitting that such a view of extensive disfranchisement was correct, and could not afterwards be controverted. In allusion to the Ministers, he declared his belief that they never meant to grant an honest reform, or they would not have introduced those clauses, or divided the counties.

After a few words from Mr. WELSH, and a conversation in which it was stated Mr. Chitty had coincided with Mr. Michie as to the disfranchisement of the voters, Mr. Powles withdrew his amendment, and the motion was carried with one dissentient.

In the course of this conversation Mr. MOORE said he hoped that there was no man in the room who would vote for a Tory; and, as for Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE, the man who would vote for him would deserve to be scouted from Westminster.

These observations were received with *the most marked* demonstrations of *dislike* of the Hon. Member for Westminster, and the meeting with one voice called out "We won't have him again."

It was then agreed that the petition should be presented by a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Arbor, Michie, Butt, Mallet, and Powles, to Lord Melbourne, with a view to its being presented to his Majesty.

Thanks were heartily voted to the chairman, and the meeting dispersed.

LOCAL TAXATION.

To his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, sitting at the Workhouse, of the Parish of Fulham, in the said County, on Wednesday the 29th day of August, 1832.

GENTLEMEN—I have patiently waited for a summons for the highway rate, or composition money, as an opportunity of laying before you and the parish generally, what I consider to be, the abominably unjust, unfair, and oppressive conduct of the Commissioners of the Metropolis Trust towards the parish of Fulham.

It was a strange whim for the Parliament to take the management of the turnpike roads from the resident gentry, and the local magistracy of the several divisions, and place the management in the hands of members of parliament and others, the greater part of whom are, for a considerable time of the year, far distant from the metropolis, and who have no local knowledge or interest in the affair. The consequences have been severely injurious to a great part of the inhabitants of the formerly Kensington Trust, now called the First District of the Metropolis Roads.

In 1825, the Kensington Trust stood clear of debts, and with reduced tolls.

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The toll-gates were fairly and judiciously placed; and every one contributed equally according to the use made of the roads. The metropolitan commissioners took the affair out of the hands of the then trustee, and a pretty devil of a mess they have made of it as far as regards the parish of Fulham. The law has given them leave at their *discretion*, to erect gates and toll-houses where they think proper; and as many *gentlemen from Bedlam* would have fixed them as justly and as wisely as they have done. In the exercise of their profound judgment they have freed the most opulent parts of the trust from the payment of any toll onwards to London, and doubled the tolls of all the rest, nineteen journeys out of twenty being to London. And, God bless us! they have thought fit, in their wisdom, to barricade the little dirty *town* of Fulham with a turnpike gate at each end. (And here I must remark, *that one of those gates is so illegally and* STUPIDLY *placed, that I engage I can fine the collector at that gate* 100*l. in a single day, either for taking toll of me, or for refusing to take it in a* CERTAIN *instance.*

In 1825, the Kensington trust stood free of debt. We are now amalgamated with these pretty ignorant fellows the commissioners of the metropolis roads; our tolls doubled; the roads in a wretched state; and shares in a debt of above 120,000*l.* Had we remained under our former jurisdiction, we should have had no debt, our roads greatly improved, and the turnpike tolls not above one-third of their present amount. Why is not Walham Green, and the road through North-end to Hammersmith, improved and lighted? It is an important road. But, the truth is, the tolls levied on *barricadoed* Fulham are expended on the roads of those who do not contribute to the tolls. The Metropolitan Commissioners have released the estates and the tenants of the estates of several noblemen and other wealthy persons from paying tolls onwards to London, and actually doubled the tolls on others. They have taken off the tolls from the idle and the opulent, from the gig and the nobleman's chariot, and placed double tolls on the productive and busy part of the community; even to the poor man's ass. Gentlemen, you will say, perhaps, (if you have patience to read it,) What is all this tirade about? It does not concern the payment of the rate. You should pay that. It does not impeach the conduct of the surveyors. Fair and softly, gentlemen. I am ready to pay the rate: but I do impeach the conduct of the surveyors, *for repairing the King's private road: and I decididly say, that I am confident, that they cannot recover one single farthing of the money they have expended on that road for repairs, if their accounts are appealed against, by any rated inhabitant of Fulham.*

I do not quarrel with the surveyors for what they have done. They are both men I respect. One of them, Mr. A. Dancer, was one of the Fulham deputation that had a conference with Lord Lowther, and others of the Metropolitan Commissioners, on their own invitation; and he doubtless recollects the chastisement the ignoble Lord and his colleagues received on that day. At the request of several inhabitants, I wrote a petition to the House of Commons complaining of the metropolis trust. It was given to Mr. Byng (our county member) by Mr. Wilcox and myself. Mr. Byng requested the Fulham deputation to attend a meeting of the Commissioners of the Metropolis Road, previous to his presenting the petition to the House of Commons; we acceded to it, and attended. We met nothing but *insult* and *ignorance* from the *puppy Lord Lowther*, but which I think he had his change for, except in the *latter article.* Our conference ended in our requesting Mr. Byng to present our petition to the House that evening, and to move for a committee to inquire into its allegations. He presented the petition, and moved for a committee, but had not courage to pursue it further, and there the matter dropped; at the next election for Middlesex, inquiries may be made.

It is said the King has given up his private road to the parishes. His Majesty cannot give it up nor the

parishes take it without an Act of Parliament to authorise them to do it.

Gentlemen, I am contending, (humbly situated as I am) for a public benefit. I have no private interests to serve. But I will not be satisfied until the Metropolitan Commissioners take the King's Road and the New Road from Brompton Lane to Hammersmith Bridge into their keeping, at the same time to equalize the tolls, or resign us to our old masters of the Kensington trust.

I am, gentlemen, most obediently
Your humble servant,
THOS. POYNTER.

List of the present *Head Scavengers* of the Metropolis Roads.

1 Duke—Portland.
2 Earls—Essex, Verulam.
2 Barons—Dacre, Bexley, *formerly Commissioners of Scotch Herrings.*
3 Lords by courtesy—Lowther, Duncannon, Belgrave.
3 Baronets—T. Baring, J. Sebright, H. Parnell.
12 Nominal Esquires—Nicolas Calvert, James Broggen, Davies Gilbert, but who are M. P.'s; Thomas Wood, William Heygate, George H. Sumner, John Maberly, Frankland Lewis, Right Hon. J. W. Croker, William Holmes, William Henry Trant, Sheldon Cradock.
8 *The members for London, Westminster, and Middlesex, for the time being.*
London—Matthew Wood, Wm. Thompson, Wm. Venables.
Middlesex—George Byng, Joseph Hume.
Westminster—Sir F. Burdett, Sir J. C. Hobhouse.
16 Commoners not Esquires—Sampson Hanbury, Wm. Hobson, Rob. Ashton, James Clitherow, James Copeland, Daniel Mildred, James Deans, R. L. Jones, John Carrick, Edmund Treherne, Richard Hen. Cox, John J. Austin, Archibald Campbell, William Day, Richard Carpenter, Alexander Milne.
47 *None of them knowing how to use a pick-axe or shovel.*

GAME-PRESERVING BISHOP.

(*From the Welshman, 31st August.*)

DESPERATE AND FATAL AFFRAY.—On Friday last, a number of poachers having shown themselves in the vicinity of the moor called Stanhope-hope, in Weardale, they were cautioned against shooting there by Fenwick, principal *gamekeeper to the Bishop of Durham*, and they agreed to withdraw. No sooner, however, had Fenwick entered upon the moor, than the poachers made their appearance, and the consequence was a quarrel, and subsequently a fight. Fenwick defended himself gallantly against a superior force, until overpowered by numbers, when he was knocked down, and held upon the ground by his assailants. Some of the watchers and other assistants soon came to his relief, and while one of the latter, named William Holmes, who had mastered one of the poachers, was kneeling over him, another poacher, named John Price, came behind, and with a dreadful blow with the butt-end of his gun, literally smashed in the back part of Holmes's skull. Price, in his turn, was severely wounded by *a watcher*, and taken into custody. He was brought to Durham jail on Saturday morning, and has since been committed on the Coroner's warrant on a charge of wilful murder, the unfortunate man Holmes having died while undergoing the operation of trepanning.—*Durham Advertiser.*

My readers, pray read the following carefully. It is good, real good stuff.
W. C.

WARWICKSHIRE ELECTION.

(*Birmingham Journal, 1st September*)

On Saturday last, Dempster Heming, Esq. made a public entry, as a candidate for the northern division of the county of Warwick, into the town of Nuneaton; on which occasion he delivered the following speech, expressive of his principles on the great question of reform:

Gentlemen and Fellow-townsmen,—The warm-hearted and cordial reception which I have this day received from you, is amongst the most agreeable and gratifying events of my life. I am not so vain as to attribute the marks of approbation I have this day met with to my own merits. No, gentlemen, I ascribe them to the noble cause I am come here to espouse, and to the conviction in your minds that in supporting me, you are supporting a man who will strenuously exert himself to procure for you, and the people of England, all the beneficial fruits which they expect to derive from a reformed Parliament. I consider we have now arrived at the first

stage of the Reform Bill, and in this stage you, the electors, are the actors. That bill is to produce such an alteration in Parliament as will accomplish a redress of grievances, the removal of abuses, and the restoration of the rights of the people, which have been so long usurped by the boroughmongers. In order to effect these and other beneficial objects in a reformed Parliament, it is essential to attend to the recommendation inscribed on one of the flags I now see before me, I mean "Purity of Election;" for without it, it is impossible to secure the return of right sort of men to Parliament, and without them what good is to be expected? Money *per se* ought not to be a qualification of a member of Parliament; for if enormous expenses be again permitted at elections, the old abuse of making money a test of fitness will recur. Gentlemen, I could, if I had chosen, have long ago obtained a seat in Parliament, through one or other of the rotten boroughs, as a representative for a parcel of wretches, who having sold themselves to me, cared not a straw whether or not I sold them in return. (Cheers.) Inasmuch, therefore, as I despised such means of obtaining a seat in Parliament, so shall I estimate in the same proportion the value of being returned by such noble and kind-hearted men as are now before me. (Applause.) A great deal has been said and written about pledges; I will not now discuss the merits of that question generally, but I cannot but ask you one question, and that is this:—Should we have obtained the Reform Bill if the people had not required pledges at the last election? (Cries of No, no.) Then, gentlemen, I advise you not to give your vote to any candidate who will not distinctly pledge himself to vote for the repeal of the Septennial Act and a return to triennial Parliaments. It is absurd to talk of a reformed Parliament, till that unconstitutional invasion of the people's rights, the extending the duration of Parliament from three to seven years, be remedied. (Cheers.) Therefore, I repeat again to you and the other electors, require a pledge for a repeal of the Septennial Act, than which there never was a more flagrant infringement on the rights of the people. When we had triennial Parliaments, the people had a certain degree of control over their representatives; but in the time of George the Second, the duration of Parliament was extended, as I before mentioned, and this extended duration of Parliament is one of the main causes of the long and continued misgovernment of this country, because from that time it ceased to have any sympathy with the people, and popular opinion ceased to have any control over it. I stated a short time ago, that wealth and large property was not a certain criterion for a man's being fit for Parliament; and by the way of elucidating my meaning, I will shortly advert to the law of primogeniture which prevails in this country, by which all the real property devolves upon the eldest son; and this law, in its operation, I conceive to have been productive of great evils to England, inasmuch as out of this class of men the members for counties, with very few exceptions, have been elected. Born to large estates, they are generally nursed on velvet; they acquire no professional, no practical knowledge; they do not mix in the bustle of the world; and, in short, they are an exclusive race of men; yet, unfortunately for England, this has been the class into whose hands the representation of the country has for the most part fallen. If a proof of the unfitness of primogeniture men to legislate for the people is wanting, I might refer you to the House of Lords: but I must not wander on this occasion out of the other house of Parliament, a retrospect of which will abundantly substantiate my proposition, that hereditary property generally unfits men for the business of statesmen. Gentlemen, is it possible to believe, that if the members for the counties had been fit and equal to the discharge of the trust reposed in them by the people of England, that a tax so suicidal to the land as the malt tax, would ever have been imposed upon the country?—that taxation would have been allowed by them to go on increasing and increasing, till at last it has become so excessive as to be absolutely unendurable any longer? (Cheers.) To this cause, gentlemen, namely, the sending of unfit men as members of counties, I also ascribe in part the misgovernment of the country. But if Parliament will grant to us *triennial Parliaments*, and *an extension* of the *elective franchise to all householders*, the evils and mischiefs which have resulted from the law of primogeniture, I think, would for the future be prevented. I have just alluded to excessive taxation, and that, in my mind, is always coupled with *what is called the national debt*. (Cheers.) I think this is a *misnomer*, and as I like to call things by their proper names, we will, if you please, call *it the debt of the boroughmongers*. (Great cheering.) This debt began in the reign of King William, who has been called the deliverer: and a pretty deliverer he was, for he delivered the people of England into the clutches of *Jews, jobbers, money-dealers*, and *tax-collectors*. (Laughter and applause.) We have been told by one statesman, that property has accumulated in large masses and in few hands; and by another statesman, that the people of England must be *content to eat dear bread as long as they continue to pay the dividends of the national debt*. I ask, gentlemen, if property has thus accumulated in large masses and in few hands, why not tax those large masses and those few hands, instead of wringing the money from the labour and industry of the country? (Applause.) The Duke of Wellington had boasted that 6,000,000*l.* of taxes were repealed in his administration; but I ask you, what benefit have any of you derived from this boasted relief? (Cries of None, none.) Well then, it shows they began at the wrong end; they should have repealed the taxes that press on labour and the necessaries of life. (Applause.)

I always include *untaxed malt*. I shall not now discuss *the justice* or *the right*, or the *power of men who lived half a century ago, to bequeath a debt almost uncountable to their posterity. I shall now inquire how far a law, made in an unreformed septennial Parliament, entailing such a debt on children then unborn, is, unlike all other Acts of Parliament, unrepealable.* (Cheers.) But as to the possibility of paying the principal, all the money in the world would not pay it. Why if there were waggons loaded with gold from here to London, they could not contain a sufficiency for that purpose. If you want to get an idea of its immensity let one of you try to count 1,000,000*l.*; it would take you a fortnight. How, long, then, to count eight hundred millions? Why, all your lives. (Laughter.) Yet this is the debt, and contracted as I have already stated, to pay which, not only the comforts, but many of the absolute necessaries of life are taxed; it is preposterous. Is it to be supposed for a moment, that if the people had been duly represented, and had that control over their representatives from the period of the revolution, which by the constitution they were entitled to have: is it credible that such a monstrous incubus as this debt could have been placed on the back of the labourer, and which has entailed upon us the most atrocious and abominable system of taxation? Is it possible, with this control, that the members, if only capable of deducting two from twenty and knowing that 18 remained, would have tolerated such legislation? Certainly not. Having now thus briefly touched on some of what I consider the most important topics, and on which, as a candidate for your suffrages, I felt myself called upon to be explicit, it now only remains for me to refer you to my address for a further detail of my views, and which has been so well read for me by my friend Mr. Burton. It is to me matter of satisfaction and delight. to see a number of men, such as I now behold, determined to exercise their privileges for the benefit of their country, and anxious only of returning men to Parliament whom they believe to be anxious to carry the Reform Bill into full effect. I have been born and in part educated in your town. I recollect you in the enjoyment of prosperity, and it is with deep regret that I now witness the contrast between your past and present condition. I recollect when the honest industrious man could earn a comfortable subsistence for himself and family. I believe the distress to be in a great degree attributable to the weight of the taxes, and aggravated by the tampering with the currency, and making us pay the interest of the paper-money debt in a metallic currency. It has been suggested to me by my friend near me, that I have omitted the church. I have but little to say on that subject on the present occasion, and in that little I expect I shall differ with some of my friends. I think a reform of the church indispensably necessary (cheers); and I would begin with the system of church patronage, which, as it exists, is very objectionable. A patron may have a son, whose slender ability or weakness of constitution may render him unable to discharge the duties of their professions; he is selected by his parent for the next presentation; and thus, too often, without a due reference to fitness or to the approval of the parish, such a man, through the medium of church patronage, is imposed upon a congregation. How can such a man teach or preach the Christian doctrines with effect? (Hear, hear.) To remedy this evil, my opinion is, that the inhabitants of every parish containing a certain number of persons, ought to have a voice in the appointment of their own clergymen. Having now detained you so long, I shall conclude for the present, by returning you my best thanks for the kindness and attention with which you have listened to me.

Mr. Heming now retired, and was loudly cheered.

Mr. Heming stated in the committee-room, that he would co-operate to the utmost of his power with the other members connected with the silk manufacturing districts, in the instituting of inquiries, and the promoting of measures which are calculated to improve the silk trade. He also stated that he was a most decided advocate for the ballot, without which he considered the Reform Act could not be carried into effect with advantage to the country, and that security to the voters which they ought to possess.

MALT-TAX.

(*From the Welshman, 31st August.*)

CARMARTHENSHIRE ELECTION.

We, the undersigned, Freeholders of the County of Carmarthen, having this day been assured by the HONORABLE COLONEL RICE TREVOR, that although he must decline giving Pledges on the subject of his conduct in the ensuing Parliament, should he become a Member of it, yet that his sentiments are decidedly in favour of giving every support to the Agricultural Interest, and to the maintenance of the Corn Laws, of *repealing the Duty on Malt*, of an immediate amelioration of the condition of the slaves in the Colonies, and of the Abolition of Slavery, when it can be effected with due regard to the interest of the slaves themselves and of our colonial possessions, and of a just and equitable commutation of tithes, agree to support him as a Candidate for the county of Carmarthen,

and pledge ourselves to use our utmost efforts to secure his election.—*Here follow many names.*

AMERICAN VETO.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, RETURNING THE BANK BILL, WITH HIS OBJECTIONS, &c.

TO THE SENATE.—The bill to "modify and continue" the Act entitled "An Act to incorporate the Subscribers of the Bank of the United States" was presented to me on the 4th of July instant. Having considered it with that solemn regard to the principles of the constitution which the day was calculated to inspire, and come to the conclusion that it ought not to become a law, I herewith return it to the Senate with my objections.

A Bank of the United States is, in many respects, convenient for the Government and useful to the people. Entertaining this opinion, and deeply impressed with the belief that some of the powers and privileges possessed by the existing Bank are unauthorised by the constitution, subversive of the rights of the States, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, I felt it my duty, at an early period of my administration, to call the attention of Congress to the practicability of organising an institution combining all its advantages and obviating those objections. I sincerely regret that, in the Act before me, I can perceive none of those modifications of the Bank charter which are necessary, in my opinion, to make it compatible with justice and with sound policy, or with the constitution of our country.

The present corporate body, denominated the President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of the United States, will have existed, at the time this act is intended to take effect, twenty years. It enjoys an exclusive privilege of banking under the authority of the general Government, a monopoly of its favour and support, and, as a necessary consequence, almost a monopoly of the foreign and domestic exchange. The powers, privileges, and favours bestowed upon it, in the original charter, by increasing the value of the stock far above its par value, operated as a gratuity of many millions to the stockholders.

An apology may be found for the failure to guard against this result in the consideration that the effect of the original Act of incorporation could not be certainly foreseen at the time of its *passage*. The Act before me proposes another gratuity to the holders of the same stock, and, in many cases, to the same men, of at least seven millions more. This donation finds no apology in any uncertainty as to the effect of the Act. On all hands it is conceded that *its passage* will increase at least twenty or thirty per cent. more the market price of *its* stock, subject to the payment of the annuity of 200,000 dollars per year, secured by the Act; thus adding, in a moment, one-fourth of its par value. It is not our citizens only who are to receive the bounty of our Government. More than eight millions of the stock of this Bank are held by foreigners. By this Act, the American Republic proposes virtually to make them a present of some millions of dollars. For these gratuities to foreigners, and to some of our own opulent citizens, the Act secures no equivalent whatever. They are the certain gains of the present stockholders under the operation of this Act, after making full allowance for the payment of the bonus.

Every monopoly, and all exclusive privileges, are granted at the expense of the public, which ought to receive a fair equivalent. The many millions which this Act proposes to bestow on the stockholders of the existing Bank, must come *directly or indirectly out of the earnings of the American people*. It is due to *them*, therefore, if *their* Government sell monopolies and exclusive privileges, that *they* should at least exact for *them* as much as *they* are worth in open market. The value of the monopoly in this case may be correctly ascertained. The 28 millions of stock would probably be at an advance of 50 per cent., and command in market at least 42 millions of dollars, subject to the payment of the present bonus. The present value of the monopoly, therefore, is 17 millions of dollars, and this the Act proposes to sell for three millions, payable in fifteen annual instalments of 200,000 dollars each.

It is not conceivable how the present stockholders can have any claim to the special favour of the Government. The present corporation has enjoyed its monopoly during the period stipulated in the original contract. If we must have such a corporation, why should not the Government sell out the whole stock, and thus secure to the people the full market value of the privileges granted? Why should not Congress create and sell 28 millions of stock, incorporating the purchasers with all the powers and privileges secured in this Act, and putting the premium upon the sales into the Treasury?

But this Act does not permit competition in the purchase of this monopoly. It seems to be predicated on the erroneous idea, that the present stockholders have a prescriptive right not only to the favour, but the bounty of Government. *It appears that more than a fourth part of the stock is held by foreigners*, and the residue is held by a few hundred of our own citizens, chiefly of the richest class; for their benefit does this Act exclude the whole American people from competition in the purchase of this monopoly, and dispose of it for many millions less than it is worth. This seems the less excusable because some of our citizens, not now stockholders, petitioned that the door of competition might be opened, and

offered to take a charter on terms much more favourable to the Government and country.

But this proposition, although made by men whose aggregate wealth is believed to be equal to all the private stock in the existing Bank, has been set aside, and the bounty of our Government is proposed to be again bestowed on the few who have been fortunate enough to secure the stock, and, at this moment, wield the power of the existing institution. I cannot perceive the justice or policy of this course. *If our Government must sell monopolies, it would seem to be its duty to take nothing less than their full value;* and if gratuities must be made once in fifteen or twenty years, let them not be bestowed on the subjects of a foreign government, nor upon a designated and favoured class of men in our own country. It is but justice and good policy, as far as the nature of the case will admit, to confine our favours to our own fellow-citizens, and let each in his turn enjoy an opportunity to profit by our bounty. In the bearings of the Acts before me upon these points, I find ample reasons why it should not become a law.

It has been urged as an argument in favour of re-chartering the present Bank, that the calling in its loans will produce great embarrassment and distress. The time allowed to close its concerns is ample, and if it has been well managed, its pressure will be light, and heavy only in case its management has been bad. If, therefore, it shall produce distress, the fault will be its own, and it would furnish a reason against renewing a power which had been so obviously abused. But, will there ever be a time when this reason will be less powerful? To acknowledge its force, is to admit that the Bank ought to be perpetual, and as a consequence, the present stockholders, and those inheriting their rights, as successors, be established a privileged order, clothed both with great political power and enjoying immense pecuniary advantages from their connexion with the Government.

The modifications of the existing charter, proposed by this act are not such, in my view, as make it consistent with the rights of the State or the liberties of the people. The qualification of the right of the Bank to hold real estate, the limitation of its power to establish branches, and the power reserved to Congress to forbid the circulation of small notes, are restrictions comparatively of little value or importance. All the objectionable principles of the existing corporation, and most of its odious features, are retained without alleviation.

The fourth section provides, "that the notes or bills of the said corporation, although the same be on the faces thereof, respectively made payable at one place only, shall, nevertheless, be received by the said corporation at the Bank, or at any of the offices of discount and deposit thereof, if tendered in liquidation or payment of any balance or balances due to said corporation, or to such office of discount and deposit from any other incorporated bank." This provision secures to the State Banks a legal privilege in the Bank of the United States, which is withheld from all private citizens. If a State Bank in Philadelphia owe the Bank of the United States, and have notes issued by St. Louis Branch, it can pay the debt with those notes, but if a merchant, mechanic, or other private citizen be in like circumstances, he cannot by law pay his debt with those notes, but must sell them at a discount, or send them to St. Louis to be cashed. This boon, *conceded* to the State Banks, though *not unjust in itself, is most odious, because it does not measure out equal justice to the high and the low, the rich and the poor.*

To the extent of its practical effect, it is a bond of union among the banking establishments of the nation erecting them into an interest separate from that of the people, and its necessary tendency is to unite the Bank of the United States and the State Banks in any measure which may be thought conducive to their common interest.

The ninth section of the act recognises principles of worse tendency than any provision of the present charter.

It enacts that "the Cashier of the Bank shall annually report to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of all stockholders who are not resident citizens of the United States, and on the application of the Treasurer of any State, shall make out and transmit to such Treasurer a list of stockholders residing in, or citizens of such State, with the amount of stock owed by each. Although this provision, taken in connexion with a decision of the Supreme Court, surrenders, by its silence, the right of the States to tax the banking institutions created by this corporation, under the name of branches, throughout the Union,—it is evidently intended to be construed as a concession of their right to tax that portion of the stock which may be held by their own citizens and residents. In this light, if the act becomes a law, it will be understood by the States, who will probably proceed to levy a tax equal to that paid upon the stock of banks incorporated by themselves. In some States that tax is now one per cent., either on the capital or on the shares, and that may be assumed as the amount which all citizens or resident stockholders will be taxed under the operation of this act. As it is only the stock held in the States, and not that employed within them, which would be subject to taxation; and as the names of foreign stockholders are not to be reported to the Treasurers of the States, it is obvious that the stock held by them will be exempt from this burden. Their annual profits will therefore be one per cent. more than the citizen stockholders, and as the annual dividends of the Bank may be safely estimated at 7 per cent., the stock will be worth 10 or 15 per cent. more to foreigners than to citizens of the United States. To appreciate the effects which

this state of things will produce, we must take a brief review of the operations and present condition of the Bank of the United States.

By documents submitted to Congress at the present session, it appears that on the 1st of Jan. 1832, of the 28 millions of private stock in the corporation, 3,405,500 dollars were held by foreigners, mostly of Great Britain. The amount of stock held in the nine Western and South-western States, is 140,200 dollars: and in the four Southern States, is 5,623,100 dollars; and in the Middle and Eastern States is about 13,522,000 dollars. The profits of the bank in 1831, as shown in a statement to Congress, were about 3,455,598 dollars; of this there accrued in the nine Western States about 1,640,048 dollars; in the four Southern States about 352,507 dollars; and in the middle and eastern States about 1,463,041 dollars. As little stock is held in the west, it is obvious that the debt of the people in that section to the Bank, is principally a debt to the eastern and foreign stockholders; that the interest they pay upon it is carried into the eastern States and into Europe; and that it is a burden upon their industry; and a drain of their currency, which no country can bear without inconvenience and occasional distress. To meet this burden and equalize the exchange operations of the Bank, the amount of specie drawn from those States through its branches within the last two years, as shown by its official reports, was about 6,000,000 dollars. More than half a million of this amount does not stop in the eastern States, but passes on to Europe to pay the dividends of the foreign stockholders. In the principle of taxation recognised by this act, the western States find no adequate compensation for this perpetual burden on their industry, and drain of their currency. The Branch Bank at Mobile made last year, 95,140 dollars; yet, under the provisions of this act, the state of Alabama can raise no revenue from these profitable operations, because not a share of the stock is held by any of her citizens. Mississippi and Missouri are in the same condition in relation to the branches at Natches and St. Louis; and such in a greater or less degree is the condition of every western State.

The tendency of the plan of taxation which this act proposes, will be to place the whole United States in the same relation to foreign countries which the western States now bear to the eastern. When by a tax on resident stockholders the stock of this Bank is made worth ten or fifteen per cent. more to foreigners than to residents, most of it will inevitably leave the country.

Thus will this provision, in its practical effect, deprive the eastern as well as the southern and western States, of the means of raising a revenue from the extension of business and great profits of this institution. It will make the American people debtors to aliens in nearly the whole amount due to this Bank, and send across the Atlantic from two to five millions of specie every year to pay the Bank dividends.

In another of its bearings the provision is fraught with danger. Of the twenty-five Directors of this Bank, five are chosen by the Government and twenty by the citizen stockholders. From all voice in these elections the foreign stockholders are excluded by the charter. In proportion, therefore, as the stock is transferred to foreign holders, the extent of suffrage in the choice of Directors is curtailed. Already is almost a third of the stock in foreign hands, and not represented in elections. It is constantly passing out of the country, and this act will accelerate its departure. The entire control of the institution would necessarily fall into the hands of the few citizen stockholders, and the ease with which the object would be accomplished, would be a temptation to designing men to secure that control in their own hands by monopolizing the remaining stock. There is danger that a President and Directors would then be able to elect themselves from year to year, and without responsibility or control manage the whole concerns of the Bank during the existence of its charter. It is easy to conceive that great evils to our country and its institutions might flow from such a concentration of power in the hands of a few men irresponsible to the people.

Is there no danger to our liberty and independence, in a Bank that in its nature has so little to bind it to our country? The President of the Bank has told us, that most of the State Banks exist by its forbearance. Should its influence become concentred, as it may be, under the operation of such an act as this in the hands of a self-elected Directory, whose interests are identified with those of the foreign stockholder, will there not be cause to tremble for the purity of our elections in peace, and for the independence of our country in war? Their power would be great whenever they might choose to exert it; but if this monopoly were regularly renewed every fifteen or twenty years, on terms proposed by themselves, they might seldom, in peace, put forth their strength to influence elections or control the affairs of the nation. But if any private citizen or public functionary should interpose, to curtail its powers or prevent a renewal of its privileges, it cannot be doubted that he would be made to feel its influence.

Should the stock of the Bank principally pass into the hands of the subjects of a foreign country, and we should unfortunately become involved in a war with that country, what would be our condition? Of the course which would be pursued by a Bank almost wholly owned by the subjects of a foreign power, and managed by those whose interests, if not affections, would run in the same direction, there can be no doubt. All its operations within, would be in aid of the hostile fleets and armies without; controlling our currency, receiving our public monies, and hold-

ing thousands of our citizens in dependence, it would be more formidable and dangerous than the naval and military power of the enemy.

If we must have a bank with private stockholders, every consideration of sound policy, and every impulse of American feeling, admonishes that it should be *purely American*.

Its stockholders should be composed exclusively of our own citizens, who at least ought to be friendly to our Government, and willing to support it in times of difficulty and danger. So abundant is domestic capital, that competition, in subscribing for the stock of local Banks, has recently led almost to riots. To a Bank, exclusively of American stockholders, possessing the powers and privileges granted by this act, subscriptions for two hundred millions of dollars could be readily obtained. Instead of sending abroad the stock of the Bank, in which the Government must deposit its funds, and on which it must rely to sustain its credit in times of emergency, it would rather seem to be expedient to prohibit its sale to aliens under penalty of absolute forfeiture.

It is maintained by the advocates of the Bank that its constitutionality in all its features ought to be considered as settled by precedent, and by the decision of the Supreme Court. To this conclusion I cannot assent. Mere precedent is a dangerous source of authority, and should not be regarded as deciding questions of constitutional power; except where the acquiescence of the people and the States can be considered as well settled. So far from this being the case on this subject, an argument against the Bank might be based on precedent. One Congress in 1791 decided in favour of a Bank; another in 1811 decided against it. One Congress in 1815 decided against a Bank, another in 1816 decided in its favour. Prior to the present Congress, therefore, the precedents drawn from that source were equal. If we resort to the States, the expressions of legislative, judicial, and executive opinions against the Bank, have been probably to those in its favour as four to one. There is nothing in precedent, therefore, which, if its authority were admitted, ought to weigh in favour of the act before me.

If the opinion of the Supreme Court covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the co-ordinate authorities of this Government. The Congress, the Executive, and the Court, must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the constitution. Each public officer who takes an oath to support the constitution swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the supreme judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judge, and on that point the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive, when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve.

But in the case relied upon, the Supreme Court have not decided that all the features of this corporation are compatible with the constitution. It is true that the court have said that the law incorporating the Bank is a constitutional exercise of power by Congress. But, taking into view the whole opinion of the court, and the reasoning by which they have come to that conclusion, I understand them to have decided that, inasmuch as a Bank is an appropriate means for carrying into effect the enumerated powers of the general Government, therefore, the law incorporating it is in accordance with that provision of the constitution which declares that Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying those powers into execution." Having satisfied themselves that the word "necessary" in the constitution, means "needful," "requisite," "essential," "conducive to," and that "a Bank" is a convenient, a useful and essential instrument in the prosecution of the Government's "fiscal operations," they conclude, that to "use one must be within the discretion of Congress," and that "the Act to incorporate the Bank of the United States is a law made in pursuance of the constitution:" "but," say they, "where the law is not prohibited and is really calculated to effect any of the objects entrusted to the Government, to undertake here to inquire into the degree of its necessity, would be to pass the line which circumscribes the judicial department, and to tread on legislative ground."

The principle here affirmed is that "the degree of its necessity," involving all the details of a banking institution, is a question exclusively for legislative consideration. A bank is constitutional; but it is the province of the legislature to determine whether this or that particular power, privilege, or exemption, is "necessary and proper" to enable the Bank to discharge its duties to the Government, and from their decision there is no appeal to the courts of justice. Under the decision of the Supreme Court, therefore, it is the exclusive province of Congress and the President to decide, whether the particular features of this act are "necessary and proper," in order to enable the Bank to perform conveniently and efficiently the public duties assigned to it as a fiscal agent, and therefore constitutional, or unnecessary and improper, and therefore unconstitutional.

Without commenting on the general principle affirmed by the Supreme Court, let us

examine the details of this act in accordance with the rule of legislative action which they have laid down. It will be found that many of the powers and privileges conferred on it cannot be supposed necessary for the purpose for which it is proposed to be created, and are not therefore means necessary to attain the end in view, and consequently not justified by the constitution.

The original act of corporation, section 21, enacts "that no other bank shall be established by any future law of the United States, during the continuance of the corporation hereby created, for which the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, provided Congress may renew the existing charters for banks within the district of Columbia, not increasing the capital thereof, and may also establish any bank or banks in said district, with capitals not exceeding in the whole six millions of dollars, if they shall deem it expedient." This provision is continued in force by the act before me, fifteen years from the 3d of March 1836.

If Congress possessed the power to establish one bank, they had power to establish more than one, if in their opinion two or more banks had been "necessary" to facilitate the execution of the powers delegated to them in the constitution. If they possessed the power to establish a second bank, it was a power derived from the constitution, to be exercised from time to time, and at any time when the interests of the country or the emergencies of the Government might make it expedient. It was possessed by one Congress as well as another, and by all Congresses alike, and alike at every session. But the Congress of 1816 has taken it away from their successors for twenty years, and the Congress of 1832 proposes to abolish it for fifteen years more. It cannot be "necessary" or "proper" for Congress to barter away or divest themselves of any of the powers vested in them by the constitution, to be exercised for the public good. It is not "necessary" to the efficiency of the Bank, nor is it "proper" in relation to themselves and to their successors. They may properly use the discretion vested in them; but they may not limit the discretion of their successors. This restriction on themselves and grant of monopoly to the Bank is therefore unconstitutional.

In another point of view, this provision is a palpable attempt to amend the constitution by an act of legislation. The constitution declares that the "Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever" over the district of Columbia. Its constitutional power, therefore, to establish banks in the district of Columbia, and increase their capital at will, is unlimited and uncontrollable by any other power than that which gave authority to the constitution. Yet this act declares that Congress shall not increase the capital of existing banks with capitals exceeding in the whole six millions of dollars. The constitution declares, that Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation over this district, "in all cases whatsoever;" and this act declares that they shall not. Which is the supremest law of the land? This provision cannot be "necessary," or "proper," or constitutional, unless the absurdity be admitted, that whenever it be "necessary and proper," in the opinion of Congress, they have a right to barter away one portion of the powers vested in them by the constitution as a means of executing the rest.

On two subjects only does the constitution recognise in Congress the power to grant exclusive privileges or monopolies. It declares that "Congress shall have power to promote the progress of science and the useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." Out of this express delegation of power have grown our laws of patents and copyrights. As the constitution expressly delegates to Congress the power to grant exclusive privileges in these cases as the means of executing the substantive power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts," it is consistent with the fair rules of construction to conclude that such a power was not intended to be granted as a means of accomplishing any other end. On every other subject which comes within the scope of Congressional power, there is an ever-living discretion in the use of proper means, which cannot be restricted or abolished without an amendment of the constitution. Every Act of Congress, therefore, which attempts by grants of monopolies, or sale of exclusive privileges for a limited time, or a time without limit, to restrict or extinguish its own discretion in the choice of means to execute its delegated powers, is equivalent to a legislative amendment of the constitution, and palpably unconstitutional.

This act authorises and encourages transfers of its stock to foreigners, and grants them an exemption from all state and national taxation. So far from being necessary and proper that the Bank should possess this power, to make it a safe and efficient agent of the Government in its fiscal operations, it is calculated to convert the Bank of the United States into a foreign bank to impoverish our people in time of peace, to disseminate a foreign influence through every section of the republic—and in war, to endanger our independence.

The several States reserved the power at the formation of the constitution to regulate and control titles and transfers of real property, and most, if not all of them, have laws disqualifying aliens from acquiring or holding lands within their limits. But this act, in disregard of the undoubted right of the States to prescribe such qualifications, gives to aliens, stockholders in this Bank, an interest and title, as members of the corporation, to all the real property it may acquire within any of the States of the Union. This privilege granted to aliens is not "necessary" to enable the Bank to perform its public duties, nor in any

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sense "proper," because it is vitally subversive of the rights of the States.

The Government of the United States have no constitutional power to purchase lands within the States, except "for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings," and even for these objects only "by consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be." By making themselves stockholders in the Bank, and granting to the corporation the power to purchase lands for other purposes, they assume a power not granted in the constitution, and grant to others what they do not themselves possess. It is not necessary to the receiving, safe keeping, or transmission of the funds of the Government, that the Bank should possess this power, and it is not proper that Congress should thus enlarge the powers delegated to them in the constitution.

The old Bank of the United States possessed a capital of only eleven million of dollars, which was found fully sufficient to enable it, with dispatch and safety, to perform all the functions required of it by the government. The capital of the present Bank is thirty-five millions of dollars—at least twenty-four more than experience has proved to be necessary to enable a Bank to perform its public functions. The public debt which existed during the period of the old Bank, and on the establishment of the new, has been nearly paid off, and our revenue will soon be reduced. This increase of capital is, therefore, not for public but for private purposes.

The Government is the only "proper" judge where its agents should reside and keep their offices, because it best knows where their presence will be "necessary." It cannot therefore be "necessary" or "proper" to authorize the Bank to locate branches where it pleases, to perform the public service, without consulting the Government, and contrary to its will. The principle laid down by the Supreme Court concedes, that Congress cannot establish a bank for purposes of private speculation and gain, but only as a means of executing the delegated powers of the general Government. By the same principle, a branch bank cannot constitutionally be established for other than public purposes. The power which this act gives to establish two branches in any State without the injunction or request of Government, and for other than public purposes, is not "necessary" to the due execution of the powers delegated to Congress.

The bonus which is exacted from the Bank is a confession upon the face of the act that the powers granted by it are greater than are "necessary" to its character of a fiscal agent. The Government does not tax its officers and agents for the privilege of serving it. The bonus of a million and a half, required by the original charter, and that of three millions proposed by this act, are not exacted for the privilege of giving "the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place, within the United States, or the territories thereof, and for distributing the same in payment or the public creditors, without changing commission or claiming allowance on account of the difference of exchange," as required by the act of incorporation, but for something more beneficial to the stockholders. The original act declares, that it (the bonus) is granted "in consideration of the exclusive privileges and benefits conferred by this act upon the said Bank," and the act before me declares it to be "in consideration of the exclusive benefits and privileges continued by this act to the said corporation for fifteen years as aforesaid." It is, therefore, for "exclusive privileges and benefits" conferred for their own use and emolument, and not for the advantage of the Government, that a bonus is exacted. These surplus powers, for which the Bank is required to pay, cannot surely be "necessary," to make it the fiscal agent of the Treasury. If they were, the exaction of a bonus for them would not be "proper."

It is maintained by some that the Bank is a means of executing the constitutional power "to coin money, and regulate the value thereof." Congress has established a mint to coin money, and passed laws to regulate the value thereof. The money so coined, with its value so regulated, and such foreign coins as Congress may adopt, are the only currency known to the constitution. But if they have other power to regulate the currency, it was conferred to be exercised by themselves, and not to be transferred to a corporation. If the Bank be established for that purpose, with a charter unalterable, without its consent, Congress have parted with their powers for a term of years, during which the constitution is a dead letter. It is neither necessary nor proper to transfer its legislative powers to such a bank, and therefore unconstitutional.

By its silence, considered in connexion with the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of M'Culloch against the state of Maryland, this act takes from the States the power to tax a portion of the banking business carried on within their limits, in subversion of one of the strongest barriers which secured them against federal encroachments. Banking, like farming, manufacturing, or any other occupation or profession, is a *business*, the right to follow which is not originally derived from the laws. Every citizen, and every company of citizens in all of our States, possessed the right until the State Legislatures deemed it good policy to prohibit private banking by law. If the prohibitory State laws were now repealed, every citizen would again possess the right. The State Bankers are a qualified restoration of the right which has been taken away by the laws against banking, guarded by such provisions and limitations as, in the opinion of the State Legislatures, the public interest requires. These corporations, unless there be an exemption in their charter, are, like private bankers and banking companies, subject to state taxation. The manner in which these taxes shall be laid depends

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wholly on legislative discretion. It may be upon the Bank, upon the stock, upon the profits, or in any other mode which the sovereign power shall will.

Upon the formation of the constitution, the States guarded their taxing powers with peculiar jealousy. They surrendered it only as it regards imports and exports. In relation to every other object within their jurisdiction, whether persons, property, business, or professions, it was secured in as ample a manner as it was before possessed. All persons, though United States officers, are liable to a poll tax by the States in which they reside; the lands of the United States are liable to the usual land tax, except in the new States, from whom agreements that they will not tax unsold lands, are exacted when they are admitted into the Union: horses, waggons, any beasts or vehicles, tools or property, belonging to private citizens, though employed in the service of the United States, are subject to state taxation. Every private business, whether carried on by an officer of the general government or not, whether it be mixed with public concerns or not, even if it be carried on by the government of the United States itself, separately or in partnership, falls within the scope of the taxing power of the State. Nothing comes more fully within it than banks and the business of banking, by whomsoever instituted and carried on. Over this whole subject matter, it is just as absolute, unlimited, and uncontrollable as if the constitution had never been adopted, because in the formation of that instrument it was reserved without qualification.

The principle is conceded that the States cannot rightfully tax the operations of the general Government. They cannot tax the money of the Government depository in the State Banks, nor the agency of those Banks in remitting it; but will any man maintain that their mere selection to perform this public service for the general Government would exempt the state Banks and their ordinary business from State taxation? Had the United States, instead of establishing a Bank at Philadelphia, employed a private banker to keep and transmit their funds, would it have deprived Pennsylvania of the right to tax his Bank and his usual Bank operations? It will not be pretended. Upon what principle, then, are the banking establishments of the Bank of the United States, and their usual banking operations, to be exempted from taxation? It is not their public agency or the deposits of the Government which the State claims a right to tax, but their banks and their banking powers, instituted and exercised within State jurisdiction for their private emolument—those powers and privileges for which they pay a bonus and which the States tax in their own banks. The exercise of these powers within a State, no matter by whom, or under what authority, whether by private citizens in their original right, by corporate bodies created by the States, by foreigners or the agents of foreign Governments located within their limits, forms a legitimate object of State taxation. From this and like sources, from the persons, property, and business, that are found residing, located, or carried on under their jurisdiction, must the States, since the surrender of the right to raise a revenue from imports and exports, draw all the money necessary for the support of their governments and the maintenance of their independence. There is no more appropriate subject of taxation than banks, banking, and banking stocks, and none to which the State ought more pertinaciously to cling.

It cannot be necessary to the character of the Bank, as a fiscal agent of the Government, that its private business should be exempted from that taxation to which all the State banks are liable; nor can I conceive it "proper" that the substantive and most essential powers reserved by the States should be thus attacked and annihilated, as a means of executing the powers delegated to the general Government. It may be safely assumed that none of those sages who had an agency in forming or adopting our constitution, ever imagined that any portion of the taxing powers of the States, not prohibited to them nor delegated to Congress, was to be swept away and annihilated, as a means of executing certain powers delegated to Congress.

If our power over means is so absolute that the Supreme Court will not call in question the constitutionality of an act of Congress, the subject of which is "not prohibited, and is really calculated to effect any of the objects entrusted to the Government," although, as in the case before me, it takes away powers expressly granted to Congress, and rights scrupulously reserved to the States, it becomes us to proceed in our legislation with the utmost caution. Though not directly, our own powers and the rights of the States may be indirectly legislated away in the use of means to execute substantive powers. We may not enact that Congress shall not have the power of exclusive legislation over the district of Columbia, but we may pledge the faith of the United States, that, as a means of executing other powers, it shall not be exercised for 20 years, or for ever. We may not pass an act prohibiting the States to tax the banking business carried on within their limits, but we may, as a means of executing our powers over other objects, place that business in the hands of our agents, and then declare it exempt from State taxation in their hands. Thus may our powers and the rights of the States, which we cannot directly curtail or invade, be frittered away and extinguished in the use of means employed by us to execute other powers. That a Bank of the United States, competent to all the duties which may be required by the Government, might be so organised as not to infringe on our own delegated powers, or the reserved rights of the States, I do not entertain a doubt. Had the Executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an insti-

tation, the duty would have been cheerfully performed. In the absence of such a call, it was obviously proper that he should confine himself to pointing out those prominent features in the act presented, which, in his opinion, make it incompatible with the constitution and sound policy. A general discussion will now take place, erecting new light and settling important principles; and a new Congress, elected in the midst of such discussion, and furnishing an equal representation of the people, according to the last census, will bear to the capital the verdict of public opinion, and I doubt not, bring this important question to a satisfactory result.

Under such circumstances, the Bank comes forward and asks a renewal of its charter for a term of fifteen years, upon conditions which not only operate as a gratuity to the stockholders of many millions of dollars, but will sanction any abuses, and legalize any encroachments.

Suspicions are entertained and charges are made of gross abuse and violation of its charter. An investigation unwillingly conceded and so restricted in time as necessarily to make it incomplete and unsatisfactory, discloses enough to excite suspicion and alarm.

In the practices of the principal Bank partially unveiled, in the absence of important witnesses, and in numerous charges, confidently made, and as yet wholly uninvestigated, there was enough to induce a majority of the committee of investigation, a committee which was selected from the most able and honourable members of the House of Representatives, to recommend a suspension of further action upon the bill, and a prosecution of the inquiry. As the charter had yet four years to run, and as a renewal now was not necessary to the successful prosecution of its business, it was to have been expected that the Bank itself, conscious of its purity and proud of its character, would have withdrawn its application for the present, and demanded the severest scrutiny into all its transactions. In their declining to do so there seems to be an additional reason why the functionaries of the Government should proceed with less haste and more caution in the renewal of their monopoly.

The Bank is professedly established as an agent of the executive branches of the Government, and its constitutionality is maintained on that ground. Neither upon the propriety of present action, nor upon the provisions of this act, was the Executive consulted. It has had no opportunity to say that it neither needs nor wants an agent clothed with such powers and favoured by such exemptions. There is nothing in its legitimate functions which makes it necessary or proper. Whatever interest or influence, whether public or private, has given birth to this act, it cannot be found either in the wishes or necessities of the Executive department, by which present action is deemed premature, and the powers conferred upon its agent not only unnecessary, but dangerous to the Government and country.

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of Government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under any just Government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth, cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven, and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law. But when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages, artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer, and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society, the farmers, mechanics, and labourers, who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favours to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government.

There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and as Heaven does its rains, shower its favours alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the Act before me, there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles. Nor is our Government to be maintained, or our Union preserved by invasions of the rights and powers of the several States. In thus attempting to make our general Government strong, we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and states as much as possible to themselves, in making itself felt, not in its power, but in its beneficence, not in its control but in its protection, not in binding the States more closely to the centre, but leaving each to move unobstructed in its proper orbit.

Experience should teach wisdom. Most of the difficulties our Government now encounters, and most of the dangers which impend over our Union, have sprung from an abandonment of the legitimate objects of government by our national legislation, and the adoption of such principles as are embodied in this Act. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by Act of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires, we have in the results of our legislation, arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man, in a fearful commotion, which threatens to shake the foundation of our Union. It is time to pause in our career, to renew our principles, and if possible, revive that devoted patriotism and spirited compromise which distinguished the sages of the revolution, and the fathers of our Union. If we cannot at once, in justice to interests vested under improvident legislation, make our Government what it ought to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, against any prostitution of our Government, to the advancement of the few at the expense

of the many, and in favour of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy.

I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow-citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me, ample grounds for contentment and peace. In the difficulties which surround us, and the dangers which threaten our institutions, there is no cause for either dismay or alarm. For relief and deliverance, let us firmly rely on that kind Providence, which I am sure watches with peculiar care over the destinies of our republic, and on the intelligence and wisdom of our countrymen. Through his abundant goodness and their patriotic devotion, our liberty and union will be preserved.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Washington, July 10, 1832.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPT. 7, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

COLLINS, J., Pulborough, Sussex, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BLAINE, H. G., East-street, Manchester-square, builder.
BRADWELL, W. D., Gower-st., boarding-house-keeper.
BROWN, A. W., J. T. Bailey, J. Smith, T. Pierce, and H. Grueber, Liverpool, oil-manufacturers.
HUDSON, J., Gale, Lancashire, calico-printer.
MATHER, J., Hindley, Lancashire, innkeeper.
SCHONSWAR, G., Ferriby, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.
SPENCER, J. and W., New Sheffield, Northumberland, steel-manufacturers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

STEEL, W., Glasgow, writer.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 11, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

CLARKE, J., Margaret-street, Spa-fields, ginger-beer-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SHAW, H., Billericay, Essex, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

CORP, M., Liverpool, cattle-dealer.
CURETON, J. R., Cannon-street, fishing-rod-manufacturer.
DAVIS, W. J., Bristol, music-seller.
SCOBELL, J., Prince's-street, Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road, carpenter.
TAY, T., Redditch, Worcestershire, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

M'NIVEN and Crawford, Green-vale, near Glasgow, acid-manufacturers.
TENNENT, J., Croftfoot, Lanark, miller.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, SEPT. 10.—We had a large show of new wheat from Essex this morning, with a fair supply from Kent and Suffolk, but having several buyers for shipping to the northern counties, independent of the wants of our own millers, nearly the whole was cleared off. A few superfine samples sold 2*s.* per qr. higher, and the rest were disposed of on full as good terms as on this day se'nnight. Fine fresh old wheat is 2*s.* per qr. dearer, but the principal demand was for shipping to Yorkshire. Upwards of 54,000 qrs. of foreign wheat and 6,000 barrels of American flour were entered for home consumption in the week ending last Wednesday, in consequence of the advancing rate of duty. A few samples of new barley appeared this morning of various qualities, the finest of which obtained 40*s.*, but 37*s.* to 38*s.* were the general prices for the best runs from Essex and Suffolk.

New white peas sold freely at last week's prices. Notwithstanding the large arrivals of oats during last week, and several fresh cargoes from Ireland to-day, there was a firmness in the trade, and although the sales were not brisk, yet the terms of last Monday were fully supported. In beans and other articles there is no alteration.

Wheat	60s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	28s. to 30s.
—— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
—— Boilers	38s. to —s.
—— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
—— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
—— Feed	21s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	42s. to 46s. per cwt.
—— Sides, new	50s. to 54s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
—— Carlow	80s. to —s.
—— Cork	76s. to 80s.
—— Limerick	76s. to 78s.
—— Waterford	74s. to 76s.
—— Dublin	76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire	52s. to 78s.
—— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 60s.
—— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
—— Edam	40s. to 48s.
—— Gouda	40s. to 46s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 80s.

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SMITHFIELD.—Sept. 10.

This day's supply of beasts was, for the time of the year, great; of sheep, lambs, and calves, moderately good; of porkers, but limited. The trade was, throughout, dull: with beef and mutton, with the exception of the prices of the most inferior kinds remaining stationary, either on account of their being scarce or of improved quality, at a depression of 2*d*., lamb 4*d*., per stone: with veal and pork at barely Friday's quotations.

A full third of the beasts were Irish, about a sixth short-horned steers and heifers, with some few cows, fattened—the former, for the most part, in Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and the London marshes; the latter in the two shires last mentioned. Full two-sixths, about equal numbers of Hereford, Devons, and Welsh runts, principally from our midland districts; and the remainder about equal numbers of Scots, Staffords, and Town's-end cows, with a few Sussex steers and heifers. Full three-fourths of the sheep and lambs were about equal numbers of Downs and new Leicesters, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Lincolns, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few horned Aberdeens, Welsh, &c. The quality of the sheep and beasts was exceedingly good.

Beasts, 3,120; sheep and lambs, 21,960; calves, 191; pigs, 210.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 14.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	84⅛	83¾	85	84⅝	84⅛	84⅜

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealers, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS, Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of men of business.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers and Newsmen throughout the Empire.

"The 'Mark-Lane Express,' a new paper devoted to the agricultural and commercial interests, as well as to general intelligence and politics. It is well printed, and apparently well conducted, and promises to be a useful newspaper to persons in trade."—*Edinburgh Chronicle.*

"An excellent weekly paper, which should be in the possession of every corn-merchant and general trader."—*Lancaster Herald.*

"A new agricultural paper, very appropriately named, and very well conducted."—*Mechanics' Magazine.*

This day is published, price Sixpence,

EYE-WATER for the use of ELECTORS IN GENERAL, and of those of LONDON IN PARTICULAR.—By I. K. HENDY, Oculist.

"Ye have eyes and see not."

London:—Published by Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(*Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.*)

BEG to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, of Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats		16	0
Figured ditto ditto		18	0
Valencia ditto		12	0
Barogan Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 77.—No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22ND, 1832. [*Price* 1*s.* 2*d.*

MY WORKS IN LANCASHIRE.

Oldham, 15. *September*, 1832.

1. Nothing is so easy as to get *into* Lancashire, and nothing so difficult as to get *out of it*; and I shall not now be able to take my leave of it before the 19th instant, at soonest, when I shall set forward for NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, which will be my head quarters for about a week; and then I shall push on to "MODERN ATHENS," in order to receive any payment that the people there may have to offer of that "*national debt of revenge*" which a vile newspaper fellow said that the Scotch owed me, and which he will have the mortification to see them pay me, with kindness as great as that with which I was received on the southern edge of the land of England.

2. I finished my thirteen public harangues at MANCHESTER on Tuesday, the 11th of September, on which day I made a speech in the dining-room of the Exchange, to two thousand persons, or thereabouts; whose marks of applause amply repaid me for all the insolence which the rich and tyrannical ruffians of that town had shown towards me in the years 1819 and 1826. The contrast was very striking; many of the ruffians were present; but oh, how changed was the state of things! I was now the person applauded; it was now my turn to triumph, if I had chosen to do it; I did not choose to do it: I was content with the effect of my speech, and with exhibiting before the face of these ruffians, that those who had brought me forward upon this occasion were justified in the choice that they had made.

3. Upon this occasion, the POTTERS, of whose sneaking and foul conduct I shall have to say more by-and-by, could not for their lives let slip an opportunity of giving the people a practical proof of their spite, their folly, and their insignificance. After I had concluded my speech, RICHARD POTTER put into my hand a paper which he requested me to read to the meeting, as my voice was better adapted for the purpose than his was. It was a THREATENING LETTER addressed to Mr. Phillips's committee, devoting them to destruction of some sort or another, if they opposed my being elected for MANCHESTER. I, at first, objected to the reading of this paper, saying that I had nothing to do with it; but being further solicited, I rose, and told the meeting that at Mr. POTTER'S pressing request I was about to read a paper to them, which I did; and then I observed, "This paper, gen-
"tlemen, has no name to it, and there
"is nobody here that can tell me who
"wrote it; it may have been written
"in earnest; it may have been written
"in jest; it may have been written by
"some person who is angry with the
"conduct of Mr. PHILLIPS'S committee;
"but were we not all so well acquaint-
"ed with the *great wisdom* and the
"*perfect honour* of the members of that
"committee, we might be led to suspect
"that *they had written the paper them-*
"*selves;* for the very silly purpose of

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"bringing it forward upon this occasion, "in order to cast obloquy on those who "do me the honour to surround me." Having said this, I returned the paper to RICHARD POTTER and went away, leaving him hackering and stammering out something, in order, I suppose, to *defend himself* against the imputation which his stupid spite had certainly excited in the minds of the people; and, I believe, *justly* excited; for I verily believe that this ill-written and ill-spelled paper, which bore evident marks of its parent, was written by himself, or by some one at his suggestion. Possibly it might have been the joint production of him, his brother THOMAS, and those two conceited prigs, SHUTTLEWORTH and BAXTER, all of whom have now herded with a common mountebank player, as will hereafter be seen.

4. On Wednesday, the 12th, I was conducted to OLDHAM by the gentlemen of my committee at MANCHESTER, who had provided two carriages-and-four for the purpose. Upon arriving at OLDHAM, and being met by the gentlemen of the committee there (having stopped on the way to address the people in OLDHAM-STREET, MANCHESTER), I was conducted to a large open space, where the people were assembled for the purpose of my addressing them, which I did. After this, we went to dinner at the Albion inn, where both committees met together with other gentlemen. On Thursday and Friday I visited the *out-townships* at noon and in the evening, and addressed the people there. On Saturday, in the evening, Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, the other candidate, who had been too ill to attend on the former days, came from TODMORDEN, to the great satisfaction and joy of the people, who assembled to receive us both on the same spot where they had assembled to receive me on the Wednesday. The place is a sort of large open field, containing about six or seven statute acres. The weather was fair, and there was no wind. A wagon, with boards across the raves, was the hustings; and round the wagon was the very finest sight that my eyes ever beheld. Fifteen thousand men, at the lowest estimate; all as silent, and a great deal more attentive, than I have ever seen the hearers of a sermon. This was a day of business. We had to have pledges put to us; and to give our answers. Mr. FIELDEN'S state of health made it necessary that I should be the spokesman in giving the answers to these pledges. The pledges together with the answers were as follows:

1. Will you endeavour to procure the immediate abolition of all our sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and the reduction of our public salaries to the American standard?
Answer.—YES.

2. Will you endeavour to get our standing army *reduced*, and, as soon as possible, a militia substituted in its stead?
Answer.—To make it unnecessary, and to *discharge* it.

3. Will you endeavour to annihilate our public debt on the most equitable principles which existing circumstances will admit?
Answer.—YES.

4. Will you endeavour to obtain a repeal of the taxes on malt, hops, sugar, tea, coffee, soap, and all the other common necessaries of life?
Answer.—YES.

5. Will you endeavour to procure the repeal of all the taxes on *the diffusion of useful knowledge*, and also the law which deems *truth a libel*?
Answer.—To the first, to *abolish all stamp duties*; to the second, YES.

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6. **Will you endeavour to procure the abolition of the tithes, and the resturation of the church and crown lands to the public service?**
Answer.—YES.

7. **Will you endeavour to procure the abolition of the corn-laws, and of *banking*, trading, and all other *monopolies*?**
Answer.—To the first, as soon as the taxes on *malt, hops, and soap, are repealed*, and the *tithes abolished*; to the second, YES.

8. **Will you endeavour to procure the repeal of the *law of primogeniture*, and all the laws for the preservation of game?**
Answer.—To the latter, YES; to the former, NO, unless with great qualifications, seeing that, amongst other consequences, it would set aside the heiress apparent to the throne.

9. **Will you endeavour to procure the removal of all property qualifications from members of the Commons House, and also from those who elect them?**
Answer.—YES.

10. **Will you endeavour to procure an Act of Parliament which shall enable those who elect representatives in Parliament to vote by ballot, and also to shorten Parliaments to one or two years?**
Answer.—YES.

11. **Will you endeavour to procure an Act of Parliament which shall effectually shorten the hours of labour in all mills or factories, so as not to exceed ten hours on any day, and only eight hours on Saturdays?**
Answer.—YES.

12. **Will you pledge yourselves to move, or support, a motion for the adjournment of the House, every day it meets, before candle-light; or, in other words, will you insist that *no business shall be done by the House by candle-light*?**
Answer.—YES.

13. **Will you promise to resign your seat in Parliament, whenever a majority of your constituents shall request you so to do?**
Answer.—YES.

5. With respect to the former part of the 8. pledge, I explained to the meetings that a considerable part of the landed property of the kingdom, descended, by law, to the *youngest son*, and not to the *eldest son*; so that here the object would not be obtained; that the crown descended by the law of primogeniture, and that I was very sure that the people of OLDHAM did not mean to call upon us to make any alteration in that matter, and, in the present case, to set aside the little lady who will, if she live, be the Queen of this kingdom; that their object was, doubtless, to prevent property from being drawn together in such immense masses; that this had been occasioned by the taxes and the paper-money working together; that it was not the law of primogeniture that induced fathers to throw all their younger children upon the public to keep, but because the enormous taxation afforded them the means of such keep; and that the way to put an end to the evil which they wished to put an end to, was to *take away the taxes*.

6. With respect to the 13. pledge, I promised, not only to resign my seat at the request of a majority of the electors, but at the request of a majority of the whole of the people in the borough above twenty-one years of age, who would put their names to a paper for that purpose; that, before such a request would be made, there would naturally be the grounds of it stated to me; that I should have to reason with them upon the subject; that, for instance, if they were to desire me to vote for a repeal of the corn-laws, and to leave the malt, hop, and soap taxes, and tithes to remain as they are, I should endeavour to convince them, that, in seeking imaginary relief to three millions of people, they would inflict ruin, more or

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less, on seventeen millions of people, and inflict injury on themselves at the same time; that I would not do that; and that, if they still remained unconvinced by my representations, I would then resign my seat into their hands; because, though I detested the corn-laws, I knew that it was madness to think of abolishing them, while the land was loaded, as it now is, with taxes and with tithes.

7. After we had gone through the pledges, Mr. FIELDEN addressed the meeting; told them how inconvenient it would be to him to fill the post to which they had nominated him; how painful it would be to him to be taken from his family and his affairs; how ungenial to his taste were the scenes to which they proposed to send him; and that he had consented to be put in nomination only in the expectation that his so doing might tend to secure the return of Mr. COBBETT to Parliament; that he had had solicitations from several boroughs, but that he had always refused until a solicitation came from this borough accompanied with the announcement of the intention of the borough to choose Mr. COBBETT also; and that, upon that assurance he accepted the offer. He gave his reasons for this line of conduct on his part; but these reasons it is unnecessary for me to state. To be sure, if any thing were still wanting to soothe me for the calumnies and injuries of thirty years, for viperous stings of the base BURDETT and his followers, the POTTERS and SHUTTLEWORTHS, and the like; being thus spoken of by Mr. FIELDEN, who has actually rejected the offer of several seats, would be ten thousand times more than sufficient.

8. Besides this, however, I deem Mr. FIELDEN'S presence in Parliament as of the greatest possible importance to the country. His greatness as a manufacturer; his well-known great skill and science; his great integrity and humanity; the respect which is universally borne him throughout these industrious counties; his perfect freedom from all stain and all touch of the monopolizing sharks of paper-money; these, with his conciliating manners, his extensive knowledge of all the interests of the country, and that impartiality and justice which would make him feel for the land-owner and the farmer as anxiously as for the manufacturers: these qualities and propensities, which every one would discover in him, would give to his words a weight to be hoped for in those of hardly any other man; and, in making choice of him, the borough of OLDHAM has done itself an honour, such as it is not easy to describe.

9. In proceeding to other matters, I ought first to notice an address which was presented to me soon after my arrival, by a deputation from the POLITICAL UNION OF THE WORKING CLASSES. I will here insert the address, together with the preface to it from the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* of this day, the 15th of September.

MR. COBBETT AT OLDHAM.

"On Thursday Mr. Cobbett went to "Oldham, where he met with a most "enthusiastic reception, and where he "remains till this evening. He was "accompanied by as many as three-"and-twenty friends from Manchester, "including Mr. Croft, Mr. Johnson, "Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Joshua Fielden, "(Mr. John Fielden, we regret to state, "was prevented by indisposition from "accompanying him) Mr. Clegg, and "others. Mr. Cobbett, soon after his

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" arrival, addressed the electors on some " of the topics which his addresses in " Manchester embraced, on the open " space behind the Albion inn. After " the conclusion of Mr. Cobbett's ad- " dress, a large company adjourned " from the field to the Albion inn, " where an excellent dinner was served " up. Mr. Cobbett and other gentle- " men frequently addressed the com- " pany; we have only room to give the " following well-judged and beautiful " address from the Political Union of " the Working Classes, which was " presented to him after dinner :"—

Sir,—Amid the many voluntary testimonies of public approbation which a grateful country are now pouring at your feet, we also feel ourselves called upon to express our sincere thanks for the mighty efforts you have made to improve the conditions of the labouring classes.

The prosperity of a nation can only be fairly estimated by the degree of comfort and happiness enjoyed by the working portion of it.

The splendour of the court, the extravagance of the nobility, their magnificent palaces and costly furniture, their numerous retainers and ostentatious charities, are but so many proofs of bad government and unprincipled exaction, when contradistinguished with the appalling destitution and poverty of those whose ingenuity and industry have produced all.

The objects of your great political labours are worthy the patriot and the legislator; you have nearly banished apathy and ignorance from the habitations of the poor, and opened the eyes of the deceived and deluded to a just and comprehensive knowledge of their rights, as citizens, and men. You have set a tremendous machine in motion: you have excited an injured nation to demand the full restitution of their ancient privileges, while the moral effect of such a movement must be felt in the remotest corner of Europe.

Extensive as are the benefits conferred upon your country by the various talented publications produced by your pen, we entertain the animating hope that the sphere of your usefulness will be greatly enlarged by your introduction into the reformed House of Parliament.

It is but just you should occupy the House you have so eminently contributed to erect.

Allowing ourselves to judge of your future exertions, by your previous successful endeavours to emancipate your fellow-men from the shackles of ignorance and slavery, we may venture to predict, without incurring the imputation of flattery, that in you we behold the victorious champion of civil and religious liberty.

In contemplating your character and services, we are naturally led to examine your principles and opinions, and we there discover that you have avoided all idle speculations and useless theories, that you have directed your powerful mind to the root of the evil, and only advocated such remedies as are truly practicable.

Much has already been effected, and much still remains to be done. Convinced that no government can be established on a permanent foundation, which does not recognise the right of all men to assist in the choice of representatives, we beg leave to recommend to your early consideration the absolute necessity of universal suffrage, short Parliaments, and the vote by ballot, as the only sure and effectual means to avert the dangers of anarchy and confusion, and to establish the institutions of the country upon such a basis as will defy the shocks f time and circumstances.

We beg to conclude by expressing our highest esteem and admiration of your matchless talents, hoping that you may live to witness the consummation of your great exertions to the cause of true liberty, surrounded by the regards of your grateful country.

Signed, on behalf of the Union,
WILLIAM SPIER,
FRED. TAYLOR,
JAMES MILLS,
JAMES GREAVES.

10. This address was preceded by a very clever speech made by one of the deputation. The ceremony took place in the room where the committees of Oldham and of Manchester were assembled.

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to dine, and where I had to give my answer at once upon the spot. What this answer was I cannot now recollect; but I am quite sure that it was, in point of elegance, far inferior to the address itself. I take the above from the print; but I have the original, which I shall keep as a specimen of neat handwriting, and of correct grammatical composition. And, is it men like these whom the arrogance and insolence of rank and of wealth represent as *unfit* to be intrusted with the power of choosing their representatives in Parliament? Really, when one looks at these clever men, and contemplates the penury in which they are kept by the wastefulness and stupidity of those who have heretofore had the making of the laws; when one looks at them, and reflects, that, by these stupid and arrogant and insolent lawmakers, not only are these men deprived of three-fourths of the fruit of their labour, but that their children in the cradle are doomed to the same fate: when one thus observes, and thus reflects, it is impossible not to entertain the conviction, *that this thing cannot go on*, and that a day of awful retribution is at hand!

11. On Saturday night, the 15th instant, I proceeded, with Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, to his house at TODMORDEN, which is fifteen miles distant from OLDHAM, and is just on the borders of the West Riding of Yorkshire. But, I must here stop to relate certain transactions which took place at MANCHESTER and OLDHAM, and which arose out of the spite, envy, and other base feelings of the two POTTERS, SHUTTLEWORTH, and BAXTER, at MANCHESTER. On Monday, the 10th September, after I had finished addressing the people on ST. PETER'S field, at noon, on a cart on the skirts of the meeting arose a stout broadfaced, brazen-faced fellow, who, in an accent which one of our friends called a rich Irish brogue, said, that he was prepared to show my incompetence to be a member of Parliament, and that he would do it if I would meet him in a room; and he stated the ground of his proceeding to be, that I had attacked Mr. POULETT THOMSON. He said, that he had been some time editor of the *Lincoln and Newark Times* newspaper; that he was now a student at law (the fellow appears to be forty years of age, at least); and that he was acquainted with one, at least, of my sons, belonging, as he did, to the same Inn of Court, namely, the INNER TEMPLE. This proved him to be an impostor at once, neither of my sons ever having belonged to any but LINCOLN'S INN. The people called upon him to proceed to his showing upon the spot; a sort of hubbub ensued; he escaped with some difficulty, and was traced from the field into the *town-house of the* POTTERS. On the next day, when I addressed the people in the Exchange dining-room, this fellow was there, perched up at the other end of the room, surrounded by a band of retainers of the POTTERS, SHUTTLEWORTH, BAXTER, and DYER, and the rest of that set. After I had finished my address, and the ridiculous exhibition of RICHARD POTTER, as before described, had taken place, I went away; he was then brought forward by the knot of poor envious creatures whom I have so often named; but there were working men to answer him and put him down; and, I understood, that he now got off with whole bones, solely in consequence of the interference of Mr. WHITTLE. On Friday, the 14th, he was, by the underlings of the MANCHESTER PRIGS,

which term I apply to the Potters, Shuttleworth, Baxter, Dyer, and their set; the word *prig*, according to Johnson, meaning a creature made up of pertness, arrogance, emptiness, and, above all things, self-conceit. A placard announced that he was to hold forth in the Grammar-school-house. After, however, the band had got into an inn, they found it much safer to remain there than to venture to the school-house; and, therefore, admitting no persons, except by ticket, which had been done also in the Exchange dining-room in Manchester, on Wednesday, the 12th, to work he went in this room at the inn, not daring to put his head out of the window, where there were constantly about five or six thousand men in the street. In spite of their precautions, some men, and particularly Mr. Fitton, of Royton, got into the room, and were ready to debate the matter with him. The room was principally filled with the desperate underlings of the PRIGS, the PRIGS themselves hoping to be able to keep quite out of sight; in which hope, however, as we shall presently see, they were, and will be, completely disappointed. After these underlings of the PRIGS had been cheering him on for more than four hours, stuffing him with wine, cakes, oranges, and grapes, of which he largely swallowed at intervals, then came into the room a working machine-maker of Manchester, who works for Fairburn and Lilley of that town, and who is there a fellow-workman with Shuttleworth's *son*, who is an apprentice to this man's employers. This machine-maker, whose name is Randall M'Donald, got upon the table, told the PRIGS' orator that he knew him well, and had known him for many years; that he knew him to have been born in the parish of Tinan, in the county of Monaghan; that he knew him first at Belfast, when he belonged to Cook's company of strolling players, who used to play upon a stage, in the open air, in the manner of mountebanks, and that he had seen him playing in that manner many times in Ireland; that he afterwards saw him playing in the same company, and in the same manner, in the open air, at Lincoln, Newark, Grantham, Spalding, and Nottingham; that, ten years after this, he knew him when he lodged at *the Black Bull* in St. Giles's, *London*, and got his living in one of the minor theatres in London; that, at this time, Mr. Lilley knew him; and that he referred to Mr. Lilley, he being a friend of Mr. Shuttleworth; that the Black Bull was kept by M'Donald's own brother-in-law, and that, therefore, he knew all the circumstances well; and, finally, that he had seen him, not more than *a month ago*, canvassing at Newark, for SERGEANT WILDE! Mr. M'Donald not only made this statement in the room, challenging the PRIGS' orator to answer him, but he made this declaration distinctly to me, in the presence of credible witnesses, I taking down his words in writing.

12 As soon as Mr. Randall M'Donald appeared, the orators of the PRIGS decamped, and got securely fastened into a back room of the inn. Towards the close of his harangue, whether from hearing the menaces in the street, or from the effects of wine with which the PRIGS had furnished him, he professed himself to be an Ultra-Radical; to detest both Whigs and Tories, and the former rather more than the latter; to abhor all aristocratical distinctions, and to be the unflinching advocate of annual parliaments,

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universal suffrage, and vote by ballot. During the whole of the time that this fellow, who calls himself WILKINS, was in the inn at OLDHAM, there were many thousands of men in the street opposite the inn. In the evening the number became prodigious, and the anger against him increased at a great rate. The question now was, how he was to be *got off the stage*, this stage being of a very different nature from that on which he had so long been accustomed to act. Rumours were set about to make the people believe that he was *gone*; that he had gone out of the back door, and the like. He had to do, however, in this case, with a people difficult to deceive, and still more difficult to tire; how he, and his gang did escape at last, I know not; but, I believe, that he was got out of the house in disguise about midnight, and got into a chaise, the swift going of which outstripped the agility of his pursuers.

13. And, now, there only remains to trace this man clearly back to the POTTERS, SHUTTLEWORTH, BAXTER, and the whole association of PRIGS at MANCHESTER. We trace him back clearly to SERGEANT WILDE'S employ at NEWARK. We are not sure that POULETT THOMSON *sent him down*, though the first time he opened his mouth was in the praise of that *tallow-man Privy Councillor*. But, whether the POTTERS and the rest of the PRIGS had a hand in his *bringing down*, here he was in *perfect connexion* with them, they upholding him upon all occasions, backing him on, and being in fact his cronies and bottle companions. To prove this, clearly, we have the following facts. 1. That SHUTTLEWORTH, while I was addressing the multitude in St. PETER'S field, where this open-air stage-player afterwards made his appearance; while I was going on with my speech, SHUTTLEWORTH, who was amongst my hearers, told Mr. JOHNSON, who was standing by him, that there was a person present who intended to put some questions to me when I had done; and that, therefore, this PRIG was apprised beforehand of the player being there and of his intention; 2. That this player-man was in a cart along with several of the well-known underlings of the PRIGS; 3. That after the player of the open-air had got away from the people, he went into the town-house of the POTTERS; 4. That at the *ticket-meeting* in the Exchange dining-room, on the 12th of September, the player was surrounded and supplied with wine, &c. by RICHARD POTTER, by SHUTTLEWORTH, by BAXTER, and by several others of underling importance; 5. That SHUTTLEWORTH dined with the player, at the Legs-of-Man public-house, and there exchanged with him songs and toasts, and retailed his scraps of conversation with this noble lord and that right honourable gentleman; 6. That, on Sunday, the 9th of September, THOMAS POTTER had this *player at his country-house at* PENDLETON, and that, on the same day, he (POTTER) knowing that I was at the country-house of his near neighbour, Mr. CROFT, and seeing two of Mr. CROFT'S little boys going to church, invited them to come to his house to have fruit in the afternoon, which they did, and being there, were taken into the parlour, feasted with fruit, and *pumped* with regard to who came to their father's house to see me, what I drank, at what hour I went to bed, at what hour I got up, and as to all other matters relating to me, my companions, and my demeanour. On

which conduct I shall only observe, that, different countries have different customs, that, if this fellow had done this thing in the south of England, the thong of a good *horsewhip*, and if he had done it in VIRGINIA, the best end of a *cow-kin*, would have saluted those brawny shoulders of his, made by nature for a knot or a pack. Whether the player were present at this *pumping*, or not, I cannot say. POTTER says he was not; but, at OLDHAM, the player said that he was at POTTER's country-house that day, which POTTER does not deny; but denies that he dined with him. Now all these facts are wholly undeniable; and I believe it is equally undeniable that BAXTER *paid for the room at the Exchange*, on Wednesday, the 12th of September.

14. Such being a true statement of the facts, look, now, at the baseness of this priggish crew of MANCHESTER, whom I must first describe, and then give the history of their conduct as far as relates to me and to this coming election. The two POTTERS came to MANCHESTER from TADCASTER in Yorkshire, where they had been born and brought up in a very humble way. They are two men of huckstering manners; but, though extremely illiterate, have been amply supplied by nature with those gifts which enable men to make money by traffic. They are traffickers in cotton goods, which they buy and sell; and, having recently become paper-money makers also, their benevolence has been amply supplied with the means of accommodating *distressed manufacturers*; and they thus carry on the double trade of manufacturing of paper-money and of purchasing and selling of cottons. SHUTTLEWORTH is a buyer and seller of raw cotton. BAXTER was what is called a MANCHESTER-merchant, carrying on the trade of buying and selling of goods. DYER is the patentee of a carding-machine, is an American by birth, not naturalized in England, and is to all intents and purposes a foreigner. These men have, for many years, been the leaders of the *Reform-party* in MANCHESTER. Conceited beyond description, puffed up with the applauses of the multitude, figuring away at all populous meetings, the POTTERS currying popularity by their personal inquiries into the state of the suffering poor, and, possibly, sincere in these their exertions; but, the predominant, the overwhelming passion of the whole group, has been that of *inordinate self-conceit*; in other words, ungovernable vanity. Instead of ascribing the plaudits which they have so long been receiving; instead of ascribing these to the CAUSE that they were the humble instruments in advocating, the silly creatures have ascribed those plaudits to their own superior and wonderful talent and merit! Well was it said by DAVID WILLIAMS, that the devil's choice means of destroying the souls of otherwise good men, was sending vanity into their hearts. Never was there a truer remark, and never one more amply justified than in the instance which we now have before us. This is a group of men by no means to be called BAD: they are moral men; the POTTERS particularly, have given undeniable proof, upon many occasions, not only of their humanity, but of their really active benevolence; and though this has been accompanied with unremitted exertions to accumulate wealth, it is not, on that account, less worthy of praise; praise which I have always bestowed upon it; praise which I repeat now,

and which nothing that the spite, that the groundless malice, that their execrable vanity may urge them to do against me, shall ever make me recall. I do not know, that BAXTER, SHUTTLEWORTH, and DYER, are not equally benevolent. So that I have nothing to say against them, except that which arises out of their present conduct, and which conduct will, I trust, be found fully to justify.

15. In the year 1830, when I was in MANCHESTER, RICHARD POTTER and SHUTTLEWORTH came to dine with me, at my friend Mr. JOHNSON'S at SMEDLEY; they expressed for me the strongest friendship and the greatest respect; they applauded my great exertions for the public good; they listened to my opinions with the greatest apparent attention and approbation; they expressed their pleasure that my health and perseverance had enabled me to triumph over the calumnies and persecutions of a quarter of a century; and they both *congratulated me on the approach of the day when I should be in Parliament.* RICHARD POTTER begged it as a great favour that I would dine at his house, which I at first declined; and Mr. JOHNSON will be my witness, that it was only to oblige him that I consented to go, observing, that I wished to avoid associating myself closely with any persons remarkably rich. At RICHARD POTTER'S house I met his brother THOMAS; and something passed between him and me which I shall by-and-by have to state. But there was another gentleman to whom I was introduced upon this occasion by RICHARD POTTER, namely, Mr. WHITTLE; and if I were to catch RICHARD POTTER with a razor in his hand ready to cut my throat while I was asleep, I, remembering this great favour, would let him escape, even without reproach, the injury being meditated only against myself.

16. Well, then, what have I done to offend the POTTERS and SHUTTLEWORTH since that time? Have I abandoned any of the principles which they then so much applauded? Have I slackened in any of those exertions which they then extolled as so praiseworthy and so wonderful? In what have I shown myself less fit for that seat in Parliament which they then expressed so much anxiety to see me fill? What, then, can have been the ground of this their present viperous hostility to me? Wanting the courage to plant themselves before me face to face, they have, from the foregoing facts, manifestly hired this stroller to come to calumniate me in the ears of the people of MANCHESTER. They manifestly urge him to utter against me things which they know to be false; to cast on me imputations which they know, and have a hundred times declared, to be groundless; to revive and recirculate all the lies of the *Times* newspaper, which they know to have been a thousand times refuted; and oh, immeasurable baseness, they stand by this refuse of mankind, clap him upon the back, and feed him with wine and with grapes, while he is uttering against me the infamous lie promulgated by the *dastardly* BURDETT! Gracious God! they, who received me with open arms in 1830; they who knew that BURDETT'S lie originated in 1818; they who knew that that dastard had, in 1824 and again in 1826, *offered to subscribe money to put me into Parliament*; they who in 1830 expressed their abhorrence of the malignant and cowardly conduct of BURDETT; these men now stand at the back

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of a hired and fed calumniator, and feed him and *cheer* him while he is uttering this calumny, the most base and malignant ever hatched by mortal man!

17. Such, oh damnable vanity, are thy effects upon the human breast! Until I was named as a candidate for MANCHESTER, all was praise of these men with regard to me. From that moment, urged on by their accursed vanity, they began to plot even my destruction, if that should be necessary for their purpose. Upon the thing being mentioned to TOM POTTER, he declared his resolution to Mr. WHITTLE *to sell his coat from his back* rather than that I should be member for MANCHESTER; and, I believe he said, that he did not know but what he might be a candidate himself! Poor soul! A power-loom, or a spinning-jenny, would have been just as efficient as he. But, there was a cause (and I must now relate it) for a change in these men towards me. Since the year 1830, they have become *paper-money makers!* When I dined at RICHARD POTTER'S, TOM POTTER took me aside and asked my opinion, relative to a *Joint-Stock-Banking Company* at Manchester, which he and others had an intention of setting up. I very frankly told him that my opinion was that no really honest man would have anything to do with such a matter; that the "*accommodation*" to persons in business, which he professed to look upon as its good, was in fact a very great evil; that it supplied the parties with false means of trading, and gave the parties borrowing from them the means of plundering them; that it was a combination of rich men to prey upon those distresses which their false issues first served to create; that, in fact, they would lend nothing, and, by the means of pretended loans of money, would *get men's goods away at half price*; that it was a calling at war with every principle of morality and religion; that at best it was usury, and that in fact it was usury and robbery combined; that it must tend to make the rich more rich, the poor more poor, and to add to the dangers of the country and the miseries of the people; that, in the end, the monstrous system must blow up, and, that justice would have taken its departure from the earth, if the parties who had grown rich by such villany were not compelled to disgorge.

18. What hand this so explicitly expressed opinion of mine may have had in bringing SERGEANT WILDE'S player to MANCHESTER, I must leave the people of MANCHESTER to judge. Certain I am, that the POTTERS will not deny anything that I have here said; and being unable to deny it, let them, if they can, find an excuse for their present conduct. Such men are *cunning*; but cunning is not quite enough in cases like the present. The PRIGS (all of whom are, I believe, *joint-stock-company* fellows), thought to set the player at work and to keep themselves out of sight! They thought to lie snugly hidden under their old cloaks of benevolence and reform, while the player was carrying on the work against me. The player, brazen as he is, I dare say, could not get on a step without somebody at his back. The underlings of the PRIGS were not sufficient to keep the thing in countenance; and, they have, therefore, been compelled to come out in their proper persons, openly to associate with this stroller; to identify themselves with him and with all his characteristics and all his proceedings; to take to themselves

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a share of that dirt which the good sense and the justice of the people are flinging upon him; and, I venture to predict, that, even before the election shall commence, they, covered all over with the dirt that they have stirred up, will, in the moments of their retirement, sit wondering how it is, that they, lately so much applauded by the people, are become objects of their universal execration. Little do they dream of what is to be their final fate. They are now in open hostility with the great body of their townsmen; their base attempts to thwart whose choice, will now become visible to all eyes. They have no refuge but *in associating themselves with the oppressors of the people;* and, the "last end" of these vain and greedy upstarts will be worse than the first. The rest of their lives they are doomed to pass in the practice of the lowest hypocrisy; in vain attempts to make the people believe that they are their friends; in tricks as contemptible as those of the profession of the player that they have brought to their aid; and, finally, while they are augmenting their bags, existing in constant and just fear of ending their days in beggary and misery. For my own part I now set the mark of my reprobation upon these men, and hold them entitled to the full force of my hostility. I did not obtrude myself upon Manchester; I was *invited* to be a candidate; I came to MANCHESTER, where I fully and frankly stated the terms upon which I would accept the invitation; I said, and I did, nothing to provoke their anger, nor to offend them; their hostility to me is unprovoked; their mode of pursuing it the most base and malignant; the most viperous and the most dastardly that ever was heard of amongst men; their own villanous propensities will place them completely within my reach; and then as MACDUFF says of MACBETH, "If *they escape*, may God forgive them, too."

WM. COBBETT.

Bolton, 18. *September*, 1832.

19. From TODMORDEN I came to BOLTON yesterday at noon, and made a speech to the people assembled before the inn, at which I was, regretting very much, that I had not to meet the FULL-PAY man, who is the editor of a newspaper in London while he is STATIONED at CHATHAM barracks. Mr. Eagle was expected here, I understood after my arrival; but he is not now expected until next week. I regard his election here as certain, if he come and fully explain to the people his views and principles. But my chief business yesterday was to accompany Mr. WHITTLE to WIGAN, ten miles farther to the west, for which borough one THICKNESSE, a paper-money man, and that miserable, simpering and drivelling and stammering DICK POTTER, are the candidates, and to the people of which Mr. WHITTLE is determined to give an opportunity of making this reform something more than a *sham*. We were met at a mile and a half distant from the town by a band of music and other the usual appendages of such an occasion; having got into the town, in a broad place nearly opposite the Town-hall, and having been provided with a stage, such as DICK POTTER's new friend and companion used to act upon, Mr. WHITTLE, who is, and deservedly, a great favourite here as well as everywhere else, introduced me to the good people of WIGAN, whom I reminded that, when I saw them last winter, I cautioned them against choosing

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hackering, stammering creatures, with an everlasting simper on their idiot-like faces, and with the drivel running out of the corners of their mouths; and then, amidst their applause, I drew a contrast (not half to the life) between those drivellers and the gentlemen who stood by my side. Mr. WHITTLE then addressed them, expressing his determination not to suffer WIGAN to act the part of a villanous rotten borough; stating to them the grounds upon which he proceeded; but neither of us did what I shall do here; namely, to insist that any man who has promised his vote to POTTER, is now *freed from that promise*, unless he can distinctly contradict the facts which I have alleged against him, and which allegation I will take care to convey to the people of WIGAN. They promise their votes to him, believing him to be that which he had always professed; a friend to their freedom and an enemy to corruption. I have proved him to be the contrary: I have proved him to be a low, malignant, selfish creature; when planked down by the side of Mr. WHITTLE, he will prove himself to be worthless in point of talent; and, therefore, it is not the same man to whom they promised their votes. His *addresses to the people of* WIGAN *were written by* Mr WHITTLE; Mr. WHITTLE *wrote the speech for him that he made to the people of* WIGAN: but Mr. WHITTLE did this, because POTTER had promised to support my election for MANCHESTER! I now, therefore, strip this jackdaw of the plumes with which he has been decked out. Let him now go to WIGAN along with the mountebank player: let him no longer play the part of the *impostor*: let him stand before the people of WIGAN in his true colours and shape; and then, if they have a mind to cover themselves with everlasting disgrace, let them send to Parliament this pitiful and drivelling thing.

From WIGAN I came back to BOLTON, in order to get ten hours' sleep, which I have had. I shall go to TODMORDEN this afternoon; thence I shall go off right away to NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, where I expect to be on the 20th.

THE MONEY AFFAIR.

DELIGHTED as I am with their confusion, I have no time now to laugh at it. At my ready acquiescence in the *seventh* OLDHAM pledge, I mean the last part of it, we had prodigious laughing! I declared that we were enemies to "all monopolies," especially that of "*banking*;" and that so few things were so near to my heart, as to see the "monopoly of the Bank of England" broken up. I concluded by exclaiming, with Mr. DYER of MANCHESTER, "free trade in banking by all means." Only let us have that, and it will be hard, indeed, if we have not paper enough to light our pipes with. TOM POTTER and DYER say, "that nothing can save the coun-"try, but an improved system of bank-"ing!" In short the fools are going to knock the thing to pieces themselves: it is going to pieces; but these asses must needs drive it along.

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TO THE ELECTORS

OF THE

BOROUGH OF ROCHDALE.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING received a requisition from a number of the electors of your borough, inviting me to stand in nomination as your representative, I beg to express my warmest gratitude for the honour conferred upon me by this invitation.

As our family has long been known as radical reformers, I esteem this public request a strong proof of the progress of those principles which we have so long adhered to, and as a fair promise of the ultimate triumph of our views, in a free, fair, and full representation of the people. Being thus invited, it would be acting inconsistently with my past character and professions as a reformer, and ungratefully to my friends, did I, on frivolous grounds, refuse to comply with their wishes. I have therefore decided on soliciting your votes, and should I be returned, I will endeavour to promote the interests, and urge the wishes of my constituents, with zeal and fidelity, according to the ability which God hath given me.

And though my political sentiments are well known to most of you, yet as a thorough understanding between the representative and his constituents is of the greatest importance, I beg leave to state, briefly and explicitly, what are the principles which I will stand pledged to support in Parliament.

1st. A total repeal of the corn-law, as a cruel and oppressive tax on the labourer, and as an obstacle to foreign trade.

2nd. A repeal of the taxes on agriculture, viz.: *the tithes, the taxes on malt, hops, candles, soap, &c.*

3rd. A repeal of most of the taxes which oppress the middle and labouring classes of society.

4th. And to meet this reduction in taxation, an equitable adjustment of the national debt—

5th. A total abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions—

6th. A reduction of the army and navy, to the strength which is absolutely necessary to support our colonies and foreign relations—

7th. And such a reform in the Church of England, as will allow all its members the just privilege of *choosing* and *supporting* their own ministers.

8th. Such a reform in the law as will cause every man to have impartial justice done him in his own town *free of expense.*

9th. A total abolition of all monopolies.

10th. An effectual reform of the local abuses of the town.

11th. A repeal of the law of primogeniture.

12th. A total abolition of the slave trade.

13th. And to preserve the purity of representation, annual parliaments, universal or household suffrage, and vote by ballot.

These, gentlemen, are the principles which, if returned as your representative, I will advocate. The limits of this address will not admit of any further comment upon them. But to show that these are not "wild or unprincipled innovations," they will be explained and defended on the hustings, in open discussion with any individual who may feel disposed to object to them.

I am, gentlemen,
Very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,
JAMES TAYLOR.

TITHE-BATTLE.

IT is good to put these things upon record, though the events so nearly resemble each other; and, therefore, I beg my reader's attention to the whole of the following article; and, when he has done, I beg him to put to himself the following question: "Do you think that this system can last for another year?"

IRELAND.

(*From the Cork Constitution.*)

THE ATTACK ON THE MILITARY AND POLICE AT CASTLETOWNROCHE.

In a supplementary bulletin to our publication of Thursday, we communicated the painful intelligence of one of those affrays between the country people and the military, headed by the magistrates, which are among the deplorable consequences that follow from anti-tithe combinations, from seditious public meetings, incendiary harangues, and the insurrectionary diatribes in which those transactions are related by the revolutionary press. The scene of the calamity alluded to was Castletownroche, a place little notorious for habits of observance of the laws or respect for persons. It is but few weeks since an armed multitude assembled at this place while the magistrates were holding their petty sessions, to demand that one of their body should be delivered up to them for immediate destruction; while six persons, armed with scythes, presented themselves in the van of the crowd, as the executioners of the intended victim.

There have been various statements of the unfortunate assault upon the magistrates, and the small force which was placed under their command in the instance before us. We shall endeavour to lay the substance of those before our readers, with such adventure to the cause out of which this transaction arose, as may be necessary to a clear conception of it. The Reverend Mr. Gavin was obliged, in compliance with the law, to proceed to the valuation of a small district, out of which tithes had been paid time out of mind. We understand that the name of the place is Wallstown, in the neighbourhood of Castletownroche. As no doubt could be entertained of the intention to prevent by force the valuation from taking place, General Barry, General Annesley, Admiral Evans, Garrett Nagle, Brazier Creigh, and George B. Low, Esquires, as magistrates, appeared with a small party of police, and soldiers of the 92nd Highland and 14th regiments, to protect the valuators, and to preserve peace, supposing that so many magistrates, with the influence ordinarily belonging to men of their station and weight in the country, would render any appeal to force altogether unnecessary. In this humane supposition they were mistaken; resistance to the law, to the magistrates' authority, and to the force ready to sustain both, was determined on, and it was persevered in, in contempt of reiterated remonstrances. As soon as the magistrates appeared, a farmer of the name of Doyle, one of those who do not live to repent of their temerity, according to some accounts, assured them, in coarse and strong terms, that he would oppose any attempt on his farm with open force, and upon the magistrates proceeding to cover with their authority the proceeding of the valuators, the signal was given by Doyle, and, with a surprising celerity, crowds showed themselves upon the adjacent high grounds, and proceeded to approach the position which was occupied by the magistrates and the military. When they had reached to within a short distance of this spot, they were warned against any attempt to close upon the troops: but to this admonition they appeared to pay no other regard than to cast stones, which they did with some effect. The riot act was then read by General Barry; and during the reading of it, as well as during the time allowed by law for the dispersion of the crowd, the throwing of stones did not cease; until at length the crowd, though continuing the assault as described, made a movement in advance, evidently with the intention of opposing the small body opposed to them. At this critical moment the alternative was plain, and accordingly the order was given to repel the assailants—twenty men fired, and nineteen shots took effect. Four fell dead, among whom was Doyle already mentioned; 15 were wounded, of which number one died in a short time. After this the crowd, which consisted of many thousands, gave way, and such severe wounds and bruises

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had been inflicted upon the soldiers, that they were well-disposed to take some summary, and it must be allowed under the circumstances, excusable satisfaction; but the magistrates interposed their authority, and the men, who had behaved with such unrivalled coolness and courage, were ready at once to comply with a demand of mercy. So close did the assailants approach the troops, that one of them seized the musket of a Highlander who was prostrated by a blow from a stone, and carried it off, though he received a bayonet wound, into the mass of the crowd, were he was lost sight of. Another fellow, who had his reaping hook round the neck of the Rev. Mr. Gavin, was intercepted in the execution of his intended murder only by a blow from the butt end of a soldier's musket. Such are the particulars which have reached us; and take it for all in all, they afford a melancholy illustration of the sort of *passive resistance* which the Government of the country have to deal with.

So far we have followed one of the most circumstantial of the statements transmitted by our correspondents—another mentions that the number of the military employed on this occasion amounted to forty-five; that thirty shots only were fired in the whole—and that the Highlanders charged with the bayonet, which threw the crowd into a complete flight. The following day the farmers and others of a still superior class of the inhabitants of the place, came forward to express their warm commendations of the surprising patience evinced by the magistrates and the soldiers; and to testify fully of the state of their danger, had they not appealed to force in the last necessity. Mr. George B. Low was struck with a stone in the back, which, had it hit him on the head, would have killed him on the spot, in all human probability, and others received severe contusions. The country people were exasperated to excess at not finding any of those come forward whom they were led to consider as chieftains and leaders, ready to head them. Many of them are said to have been very bitter and personal on some of the *Orators*.

Yesterday the few troops that were at Castletownroche and the neighbourhood received considerable reinforcements. As soon as intelligence had reached Fermoy of what had taken place, the commanding officer of the 92d sent a detachment forward without loss of time.

WALLSTOWN AFFAIR—CORONER'S INQUEST.

(*From a Correspondent of the Cork Reporter of Saturday.*)

MALLOW, FRIDAY NIGHT.—Two days have elapsed since those tragic events, of which I gave you a hurried outline yesterday morning, occurred in the parish of Wallstown, near Doneraille, and the impressions which they had then created in my mind, by hearsay, have been a hundred-fold fortified by the sad realities since presented to my view.

An express policeman having reached here yesterday morning from Major Miller, of the police, requesting the immediate attendance of R. Jones, Esq. our county coroner, that gentleman, accompanied by his brother, instantly proceeded to Skanakilly, a place contiguous to the scene of slaughter, where they were invited by the people to view the mangled remains of James Roche, one of the victims to the accursed tithe system. There were but six persons present, and they were, with one exception, women. This man was shot by one of the police. The ball entered his chest, and escaped through the back. The wretched people who surrounded the corpse seemed to be worked up into dark sullenness; not a word escaped them; but it required little penetration to discover that their minds were actuated by deep and determined feelings of an avengeful nature. But it were a fruitless task to describe the scenes which everywhere presented themselves. The next house visited was that in which lay the body of Daniel Regan, a fine youth about 17. He was stretched upon a table, and there was but one person, a young woman, present! Desolation and misery seemed to pervade

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the place; all was quiet—not a man appeared; there was a fearful silence abroad; the unreaped crops, although more than ripe—the splendid scenery around; why, if ever the despoilers of the wretched peasantry could be imbued with a sentiment of commiseration, it was at this moment. At this moment a large military and police force appeared on the top of the next hill. With them were Admiral Evans, G. Bond Low, Esq., Garrett Nagle, Esq., —— Smith, Esq., Castle Wildenham; with Major Miller, Inspector-General of Police, from Fermoy.

Notwithstanding the melancholy occurrences of which this devoted spot had been the theatre, the process of valuing the parish, in order to afford the rector a precise account of his share of the produce of the industry of the oppressed cultivators of the ground, was in active progress. The son of the rev. Gentleman acted as the appraiser on the occasion—but how describe the feelings of the incensed peasantry? Four of their friends lay dead!!!! they *seemed* to look on with indifference; but they manifested a settled-down, determined resolve to do that which they this day expressed openly—namely, "to lose the "last drop of their blood before they "would submit to be any longer contri-"butors to the support of a church from "which they derived no benefit, and in "the interests of which they could feel "no sympathy."

These circumstances gave little promise to the coroner that he would complete the preliminary arrangements that day for the investigation of so important a transaction. The "authorities" were ready, but there was an absence of a single person of or upon the part of the people. If their own feelings were consulted, they would have left the inquiry with the military and the magistrates; but their friends represented to them the absurdity of their resolution. Several of their friends had been deprived of life—numbers wounded, and eighteen or twenty made prisoners; surely to look on apathetically during such an inquest would not be more ridiculous than reprehensible. "Oh, but," argued the people, "where's the use of our "coming forward? The magistrates "have the power, and the soldiers and "police the ball-cartridge. We are "oppressed by rack-rents, and rendered "furious by insolent overbearing tithe "proctors—'tis all equal to us how the "matter ends." Thus they reasoned; however, although, as reported, warrants were issued for the apprehension of some 60 or 80 of them, by the interference of the Roman Catholic clergy and the assurance of the Coroner, that he would render invalid all arrests pending the inquest, they consented to take part in the proceeding, and the following day was appointed for holding the inquisition.

FRIDAY.—The excitement throughout the entire district during this day has been very alarming indeed. Motives of a very obvious nature dictate to me the propriety of suppressing the uncloaked and loudly-suppressed expression of the people. Desperation—vengeance—and recklessness seemed to mark their black, dark countenances. They mustered thinly at the inquest; but the funerals of the victims were attended by vast crowds. Here, too, there was a settled-down sullenness in the people—not a *keen** was heard as the cavalcade passed the open field where the inquest was being held—but there was a look of dark scorn; nor did the magistrates omit to notice the circumstance.

After a good deal of conversation and challenging, the following highly respectable Jury were sworn;—Watkins Roberts, Esq. of Shanballymore; E. Connellan, Esq. of Ballynamona; Quayle Wellstead, Esq. of Ballywalter; H. Cole Bowen, Esq. of Bowen's Court; G. Smith, Esq. of Castletownroche; J. Mellew, Esq. of Johnsgrove; G. Stawell, Esq. of Crobeg; G. Crofts, Esq. of Kilbrack; Arundel Hill, Esq. Doneraile; J. Roberts Norcott, Esq. Hermitage; W. Hume Franks, Esq. Carig: and W. Mellew, Esq. Johnsgrove.

The first witness examined was Lieut. Alexander William Grierson of the 14th

* This is the well-known Irish cry.

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Infantry. He stated that on the morning of Wednesday, the 5th instant, he was sent with a detachment of his regiment to assist the magistrates and the civil power in the valuation of the tithes of the parish of Wallstown. He was accompanied from the Glebe House by Admiral Evans, George Bond Low, and Garrett Nagle, Esqrs., magistrates of this county. On approaching the hill to the rear of the Rector's house, where a crowd of people were collected, he heard Admiral Evans order them to disperse in the King's name. At that moment there were about 150 persons present. On descending the hill, he saw a party of policemen in the act of charging the crowd, who were about thirty yards distant from their bayonets. The witness then received directions from the magistrates to follow the people, who repaired to the top of the adjoining hill. On the arrival of witness's party, Admiral Evans took off his hat, and addressing the multitude, said, "I am going to read the Riot Act." He (the Admiral) then took a paper out of his pocket, and read the contents of it to the people, "ordering them to disperse in the name of the King," which mandate was peremptorily refused to be complied with. The Admiral then assured them, that if they did not instantly disperse, the military would be brought to bear upon them, or words to that effect. At this moment there was a general cry among the people of "No tithes, no tithes"!—and they refused to stir an inch. At this time there were no stones thrown, or breach of the peace committed. The Admiral then ordered the party (31) to load; they did so, and, in compliance with the order of the magistrate, he desired them in a loud voice to charge with ball cartridge, with a view of intimidating the people. The witness here cautioned his men, if he should be driven to the extremity by the magistrates, to fire by sections.

Mr. George Bond Low: From whom, sir, did you receive such instructions?

Witness: As well as I can recollect, sir, from you.

Witness resumed: He heard Admiral Evans say to the people, "I'll go on my knees to entreat of you to go home, and allow the persons to proceed in valuating the parish." Many voices replied, "Yes, let us go away." On witness proceeding to the lower road, where the valuators were about estimating a field, he saw them checked by the people. Then it was he saw the police assume a charging position. The mob at this time had increased to about 200. Witness then entered the field with his men. The opposition given was so great that the valuators left the field; the mob was rapidly increasing, lining the sides of the road inside the ditches, hallooing—being generally armed with pitchforks, bludgeons, reaping-hooks, and stones in their hands. The magistrates and police then approached them—the former remonstrating with the people on their improper conduct. At this moment the magistrates present were, George Bond Low, Garrett Nagle, Geo. W. B. Creagh, Gen. Annesley, Gen. Barry, and Admiral Evans. The violent and insulting language of the mob at this moment was such that the authorities halted. Here a boy from amongst the people neared the military, when a policeman told him to keep off; on which three or four of the most determined of the peasantry presented themselves with pitchforks, in a charging position, and said, "Strike him, strike him (the boy), if you dare—if you do, by — we'll run you through." The people pressed on the three men—the magistrates expostulated, but ineffectually—the mob increased in daring, and Admiral Evans ordered the soldiers to present their guns to the "ready." Again they were warned to disperse in the name of the King. At this time 16 men of the 92d joined witness's party. General Annesley called witness and Lieutenant Ormsby of the 92d, aside, and told them to prepare to resist the mob, and ordered the latter officer to go to the bottom of the road, and charge the people in the rear. Soon after witness saw the party of the 92d charging the people up the hill with fixed bayonets. The police were making prisoners; stones were now thrown in the direction of the police and magistrates.

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Then the police fired. The magistrates in the rear of witness's party called out "Fire, fire, fire!" Witness never gave the word fire; but in consequence of the general call of the Magistrates, the party fired. As he believes, the 92d did not fire; his party did not fire in the air. When witness came to examine the muskets of his party, he found that nine or ten out of the 31 didn't fire at all! and there was but one discharge from the party. The lives of the magistrates, he thinks, were considerably endangered. Several of the people said to his party, "We'll not harm you, but we will these—Peelers." The greatest number present was about 800.

The Rev. John Gavan, rector of the parish of Wallstown, sworn and examined: he deposed that he was obliged to call on the Government for protection to assist him in valuing the tithes of said parish, having previously failed in doing so himself, in consequence of his men having been prevented from making the valuation; that he left his own house on the morning of the 5th instant, in company with his valuators, his son, and a party of police and military, and three magistrates—namely, Admiral Evans, Mr. Low, and Mr. Nagle; that on going into the field of one Jas. Blake, he saw a great number of people assembled, about fifty, one of whom took off his hat and shouted to the others to "hurry on, hurry on;" that the police thereupon formed themselves into square, and after that proceeded into the public road and advanced. The crowds increased in hundreds, and commenced shouting in a tumultuous manner, "No tithes—No church rates—No church—No minister." The magistrates addressed the people in the most forcible language that could be used on the absurdity of their proceedings, and on going contrary to law. The people, after that, became more furious. Several of them were armed with pitchforks, reaping-hooks, oak-poles, and the women with stones in their aprons, and the men with them also in their hands; the people did not hold the hooks in a menacing manner; about two hours were spent with the magistrates in remonstrating with the people, but when such remonstrances had no effect, the Riot Act was read by General Barry, a magistrate of the county. He read it in a loud and audible voice, and accompanied it with observations—that if they did not disperse in a quarter of an hour, the military should be obliged to do their duty. This had no effect but to increase their violence. He saw several persons arrested and handcuffed before the firing, and also several rescued, and heard a general order for firing by the magistrates; before that order was given, he saw stones thrown in the direction of the magistrates and military, and in a few minutes after he heard a general order to fire, and saw one man dead afterwards; cannot say how often the Riot Act was that day read; heard General Annesley and Admiral Evans frequently desire the people to disperse in the name of the King, and they did not do so; about three hours elapsed from the time he left his own glebe until the firing commenced. The people continued following witness and his party from the time they left Blake's field, and their conduct was most furious and violent. Saw a printed paper in Gen. Barry's hand, which he (Gen. Barry) declared to be the Riot Act; heard the Riot Act read three times that day; there was an interval of one hour between the first and second reading of the Riot Act and between the second and third reading an interval of about 50 minutes, and during each of said intervals the magistrates requested and entreated the people to retire, or that the consequence would be grievous.

Coroner: Could the military disperse the people without the effusion of human blood?—Witness: I don't think they could.

Coroner: If you had ceased the valuation, would not the people have dispersed?—Witness: I think they would, and that the military and police were drawn off.

Coroner: Was it possible for the police and military parties to have made prisoners without the sacrifice of human life?—Witness: I don't think

it was. Heard the people say, they would sooner spill the last drop of their blood than allow the parish to be viewed. He considered his own life to be in imminent danger, as also the lives of the magistrates; and that the magistrates acted in the most humane and kind manner to the people. Did not see any of the magistrates struck or knocked down.

This witness was cross-examined on the part of the people, and also by the Rev. Mr. Tooney, P. P.

Witness: Swears positively he did not at any time collar any of the people, or offer any violence whatever before or after the firing.

Henry Gavan, son to the Rev. John Gavan, accompanied his father about ten o'clock in the morning of the 5th instant, with the valuators and a party of the police. Witness went into a field of Mr. Stawell's to value tithes; there was a mob, consisting at first of about fifteen or twenty, which was afterwards increased, some with reaping-hooks, and others with stones; saw one of them them throw a stone at the police, and desired them to be off —that the tithes were down, and that they should not value them, in consequence of which the viewers were obliged to return, fearing bodily injury. While in the act of returning, two magistrates, Mr. Low and Mr. Nagle, got into the field and remonstrated with the people; they were joined by Admiral Evans; witness then went to Mr. Grierson and his detachment of the 14th Foot, and brought them up by order of the magistrates, and on his return found the magistrates remonstrating with the people in the most kind and humane manner on the illegality of their proceedings. The people declared they would not permit the tithes to be valued; one of the magistrates, whom witness cannot particularise, asked the officer if his party were loaded, and witness then heard the officer give directions to the men, and used the word "ball," which he (witness) understood to be ball-cartridge, and the men loaded accordingly. Previous to this time, Admiral Evans took off his hat, and said he was going to read the riot act; heard him at three separate intervals, of five or six minutes between each, calling on the people in the King's name to disperse, and each and all of the magistrates called on the women to disperse and go away, as they would be hurt. The magistrates said they only came there for the protection of the people who were valuing the tithes, and not to value themselves. Heard Adm. Evans say, addressing the people—"I am glad you have given way and will allow the valuation to go on—boys, go home." The people thereupon said—"We will allow you to value Mr. Stawell's, but none other." After valuing Mr. Stawell's without any further interruption, they proceeded to James Blake's fields. Witness had valued about three fields, and was in the last field, when about 20 or 50 persons, at different points, surrounded Blake's ground. The military at this time were coming on. He heard one man in particular, armed with a reaping-hook, say—"Now, boys, is your time!" The people closed on the police. The magistrates came into the field, after witness privately completed the valuation. He was returning; and on leaving the field, the people cried out "No proctors! no tithes!" and used very opprobrious epithets to his father. On proceeding further, the people's demonstration of resistance became more violent, some of them being armed with reaping-hooks, pikes, pitchforks, and stones, and long heavy wattles. The valuators were going into a field belonging to a man named Ryan, when the people came before them, and said they would not allow the valuation to go on; and sooner than permit it they would spill the last drop of their blood. They then cried out, "Hurrah for O'Connell; if we had him here we would chair him." The magistrates again entreated of the people to desist, and Mr. Creagh Brazier, one of the magistrates, entreated of them for God's sake to retire; for if the military should act, they would be the sufferers. A detachment of the 99d regiment shortly after came up, and witness was

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directed by Mr. Low to go on with the valuation; when in the act of doing so, one of the people made an attempt to strike witness with a stick; the magistrate then called on the police to seize the man, but witness himself did so, when he was immediately rescued by a number of men armed with pitchforks and reaping-hooks, and another body of people made an attack at the same time upon the police, who then put themselves into a charging position, when witness saw Mr. Low ride up, and cried out, "Police, police!" whereupon witness saw a stone thrown, which struck Mr. Low on the right shoulder. Deponent heard General Barry read the Riot Act; one of the police had a man in custody then; at the same time one of the 92d soldiers brought another prisoner, saying he was near stabbing his officer with a pitchfork. He (deponent) saw several stones thrown at the magistrates and police, and the firing commenced immediately after. Witness saw one man dead on the road; he considered his own life and the lives of the magistrates and police in imminent peril.

This witness was cross-examined by the Rev. Mr. Toomey, but nothing differing from the direct examination was elicited.

It was now six o'clock, and the Coroner declared the inquiry adjourned to the following day.

The Inspector of Police suggested that the adjournment should be until Monday, in order to afford full time for the arrangement of further evidence.

The Coroner dissented. Independently of the duty which his office imposed on him of promptitude in an inquity of such magnitude as that before the court, there was abroad a feeling of deep excitement—a feeling that was participated in throughout the entire county and city of Cork, and the sooner that was allayed by the result being made known the better. The investigation must, therefore, proceed on the next day.

The court was accordingly adjourned to the following day, the proceedings of which day I shall take care to furnish you with with all possible dispatch.

Perhaps it would not be out of place if I mentioned one little circumstance —little, did I say?—No, no, a fearfully moving one. Roche, who was a young man of excellent character, and much respected by his neighbours, was to have been married on the evening of the fatal Wednesday. Nothing could exceed the painful scene which his half-covered-in grave exhibited this day. An intelligent decent-looking young woman was stretched down at full length on the earth which barely covered the coffin, calling out, as I stopped to hear her, "James, James, won't you come to your own poor girl, who left her father and mother for you? Oh! James, if I staid with you I would have been shot, and then we would be both dead; but you are taken, and I am left!" 'Twas, indeed, an agonizing spectacle.

ARREST OF CAPT. JAMES LUDLOW STAWELL, CANDIDATE FOR KINSALE.—This popular gentleman was arrested at Innoshannon yesterday, for having attended at some anti-tithe meetings. The arrest was made by the Chief of Police; and so far as courtesy could be coupled with such a proceeding, Captain Stawell had nothing to complain of. He will give bail at the Court of Sessions at Bandon, on Monday, and has already sent off to secure the services of Mr. O'Connell in his defence, at the approaching Assizes.—*Cork Reporter of Saturday.*

ARREST OF FEARGUS O'CONNOR, ESQ, CANDIDATE FOR THE COUNTY.—Feargus O'Connor, Esq., Candidate for the County, was also arrested this day, for having attended seven meetings of a like character, in this county. The necessary bail, we believe, was at once entered into. Mr. O'Connor, who had only arrived in town a few minutes before he was arrested, represents his canvass of the county to be so successful as not to leave him in doubt of being returned.—*Ibid.*

TITHES.—It is said that troops are gathering into the Queen's County, preparatory to a vigorous enforcement of

the Tithe Act; and that the Castle of Maryborough, with the adjoining premises, have been given up as a depot for the corn and stock, which the agents of the Government attached to the commissariat service are authorised to buy in. As it is now known that Government are resolved in good faith to abolish tithes as an exclusive possession of the church, and apply the fund to purposes which cannot fail to be acceptable to the public, it is not easy to comprehend the drift of these proceedings.—*Dublin Plain Dealer.*

PARISH OF WALLSTOWN,—The flock of the Rev. Mr. Gavan, in the parish of Wallstown, which has just got such a bloody notoriety, consists of *one* Protestant, exclusive of the Reverend Pastor's family—and there is no church in it!

The Right Honourable Spring Rice arrived in town on Saturday, from Mount Trenchard. Mr. Rice visited the Cork Institution on his arrival in that city from Bristol, when the managers presented an address of thanks for procuring the old Custom House for that Institution, of which Mr. Rice is elected an honorary member.—*Limerick Chronicle.*

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THIS book is now published, and is for sale at *Bolt-court*, and at the book-shops in general. So large and expensive a book, including forty-three maps, never was sold for less than twice the price before. Here all the new divisions of counties, and everything else relating to the new parliamentary distribution, is to be found in the smallest compass, and in an arrangement the most commodious. I here again insert THE TITLE and the explanatory preface. The reader will be astonished at the mass of matter; and when he sees the book, he will think that we are got into cheap times indeed, when such a book can be sold for twelve shillings. But it was my desire to bring it within the compass of book-clubs of the working people.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into COUNTIES, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with *a map*, showing how the counties are locally situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into CIRCUITS, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into

DECREES; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the *cities*, *boroughs*, *market-towns*, *villages*, *hamlets*, and *tithings*, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of *the county*, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the *English counties*, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the *Welsh counties*, in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a map, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market-towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a *monastic establishment*, the nature and value of it are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The *distance from London* is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the *nearest* city, borough, or market-town, are stated; and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are *markets* or *fairs*, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure places, of which we want a knowledge. How many scores of places have I received letters from, and there being no post-mark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a transaction at *Tilford*, how are we to know where TILFORD is, and what sort of a place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of SURREY; but one should not know whether it were a town or village, or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index*, tells us that it is in SURREY; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a TITHING, that it is in the parish of FARNHAM, and that Farnham is a MARKET-TOWN, distant therefrom in a NW. direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from London; and the *county-map* shows us, that this market-town lies at the WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases *the parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of SURREY, *Bagshot* is a hamlet, the distance of which from CHERTSEY, the nearest town, is not stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of WINDLESHAM, and that that village is 7½ miles from CHERTSEY; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things; which, if left unexplained, might lead to error. FIRST, under the name, in the Dictionary, of each county, is given the *number of parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out *townships*, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come to a correct know-

ledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, *the parishes*, so called, have, in the statistical table as well as in the Dictionary, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. SECOND, as the *Dictionary part* was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the *number of members of Parliament* returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and which it is now my business to describe.

IX. Next after the Dictionary comes a STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles, its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes the population of each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*, and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In TABLE No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order, and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in Parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities* and *boroughs* are, in the Table No. II. not accompanied by a statement of their population, TABLE No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from

that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, *and the number of voters which they formerly had*, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove tiresome to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the VERY ROOM in which Dr. JOHNSON wrote his plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toil.

FRENCH BOOKS

FOR SALE, OR RATHER TO BE GIVEN AWAY.

BY an accident I became possessed of the following French books. I have had them five or six years. They were sent to me in mistake, and I was finally obliged to keep them, in the stead of a parcel of my French Grammars (printed at Paris), in the year 1825. They were the subject of disputed claim for two or three years; "the *honourable* Board of Customs" made them and the Grammars a subject for a display of their literal and judicial powers! In other words, this crew of Jacks-in-office, who allow a case of the Grammars to be *imported into London*, would not allow a case of the *very same Grammars* to be imported *into Liverpool!* When I moved my shop from Fleet-street into this court, the case of books was *removed*: they had a change of domicile, at any rate. Luckily for those who will have the good fortune to get these books, the case containing them was *large*, and I wanted the *room*! So that, at last, out they have come for sale, or, rather, for making presents; for I have looked for the greater part of the books in the CATALOGUE OF DULAU AND CO. of Soho-square; I have seen the *prices* of the same books in that CATALOGUE; and I have here put against each book JUST HALF *the price specified in the catalogue*. There is but *one copy* of each work; and therefore "*first come first served.*" The books are all in excellent order, having never been exposed to dust or to handling. My descriptions of them are perfectly correct. I wish to get these books out of my way, but I will never sell any one of them to anybody for *less* than is here stated.

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intrinsic merits; it is amusing to the lovers of natural history, and instructive to those who are practical in their researches, or who are gardeners or farmers. This work is in 10 vols., and comes down to 1823. It is in form, paper, print, and binding, precisely like the preceding; and the professors are the same, with the exception of two, Messrs. Cordier and Brongniart, who have succeeded to Messrs. Hauy and Faujas-Saint-Fond. Price 10*l.*

"HISTOIRE NATURELLE DES OVI-"PARES ET DES SERPENS. Par M. le "Comte de Lacépède, Garde du Cabinet du "Roi, &c. &c. &c." This work is in two vols., 4to., the first containing 650 pages and forty-two plates, and the second 527 pages and twenty-four plates. The plates in this work are engravings of the different animals described in the text; and it is a work, as the title indicates, giving some account of every oviparous (egg-born) animal, and of every serpent. The paper is not very handsome, but it is thick and strong, like the generality of French paper; the print is excellent; the plates are not badly executed, but there appears to have been so many copies printed off that these have become very much used, and the impressions are somewhat dim.—Printed at Paris, 1779. It is sewed. Price 3*l.*

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From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPT. 14, 1832.

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BANKRUPTS.

DAINES, J., High Holborn, trunk-maker.
NIXON, A., Bath, milliner.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

WAUGH, R., Edinburgh, farmer.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 18, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

FLIGHT, B., and J. Robson, St. Martin's-lane, organ-builders.
JONES, W., and W. Baucutt, Soho-square, and Tottenham-court-road, drapers.
M'FARREN, G., Howland-street, St. Pancras, bookseller.
WIDDOWSON, J., Fleet-street, goldsmith.

BANKRUPTS.

BLACK, A., Huddersfield, corn-dealer.
CLARKE, J., Margaret-street, Spa-fields, ginger-beer-dealer.

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DUNSTAN, W., Penryn, Cornwall, flour-factor.
HASLAM, J., New Basford, Notts, lace-manuf.
LEIGH, E., Ashton-under-Line, Lancashire, and Dukenfield, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.
ROWLEY, W., Great Queen-st., Lincoln's-inn-fields, saddlers' ironmonger.
STONEHILL, J., Witney, Oxfordsh., slater.
STANLEY, J. B., King-street, Tower-hill, ship-chandler.
WOODS, G., Portsea, saddler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

STEWART and Coats, Glasgow, cotton-yarn-merchants.
THOMSON, J. sen., Cupar, Fife, dairymen.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, SEPT. 17.—The supply of wheat being very large this morning from the home counties, and but little disposition evinced by the millers to purchase more than their immediate wants required, occasioned a heaviness in the trade, and what sales were made of the first runs were at a decline of full 2*s.* per quarter from the quotations of this day se'nnight; but a pretty large quantity remained on hand at the close of the market, which could not be got off at the above reduction. In free foreign wheat there was scarcely anything doing, as there was no demand except for the finest samples of Dantzic, which supported last week's prices, but all other descriptions may be noted 2*s.* per quarter cheaper.

We had a large show of new barley for the season, the quality of which was very various, that which was got in before the rains, and fit for malting, obtained from 34*s.* to 38*s.*; but the discoloured, sprouted, and mow-burnt sorts, were sold for grinding at from 28*s.* to 32*s.*, without being able to effect a clearance at those prices.

White peas are full 2*s.* per quarter dearer, in consequence of a demand for shipping, as well as for the supply of a Government contract.

The large arrival of oats from Ireland has produced an increased depression in the trade, as sales to a very limited extent could only be made at an abatement of from 6*d.* to 1*s.* per quarter.

In beans and other articles there is no alteration.

Wheat	60s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	28s. to 30s.
—— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
—— Boilers	38s. to —s.
—— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
—— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
—— Feed	21s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	42s. to 46s. per cwt.
—— Sides, new	50s. to 54s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
—— Carlow	80s. to —s.
—— Cork	76s. to 80s.
—— Limerick	76s. to 78s.
—— Waterford	74s. to 76s.
—— Dublin	76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire	52s. to 78s.
—— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 60s.
—— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
—— Edam	40s. to 48s.
—— Gouda	40s. to 46s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 80s.

SMITHFIELD.—Sept. 17.

This day's supply of beasts was great; of sheep, lambs, calves, and porkers, moderately good. The trade with prime small mutton, lamb, veal and pork, was somewhat brisk; with the larger, as also the middling and inferior kinds, and each kind of beef, very dull, at little, if any, variation from Friday's prices.

A full third of the beasts were Irish oxen, steers and heifers, principally the two former; fattened chiefly in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire; about a sixth short-horns ditto, chiefly from the sea-side marshes, situated to the northward and eastward of Boston; and the remaining three-sixths, about equal numbers of Welsh runts, Devons and Herefords, and Town's-end cows, with a few Scots, Staffords, &c.

Full two-thirds of the sheep and lambs were about equal numbers of pure South Downs and Leicester half-breds; a sixth about equal numbers of Kents and Kentish half-breds; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters and Lincolns, with a few horned Dorsets, Welsh, Aberdeeners, &c.

In the early part of the day, the white backs of the Irish beasts gave the bullock part of the supply the appearance of being covered by patches of white frost.

Beasts, 3,315; sheep and lambs, 20,570; calves, 168; pigs, 220.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 21.

The arrivals this week are fair. The market dull, but without any alteration in prices.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	84¾	85	85	84⅞	84½	84⅝

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CATTLE. HUSBANDRY.

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

On October 1st will be published, by Baldwin and Cradock, No. I., price 6*d*., of

A TREATISE ON CATTLE.

And on Oct. 15th, No. I. of

BRITISH HUSBANDRY.

†‡† A number of each of these works will be published alternately, viz., on the 1st and 15th of every month.

In the announcement of the Division of the Library of Useful Knowledge called the Farmer's Series, the Society promised a work on the History and Treatment of those Animals which aid the power of Man; and another on the General Principles of Agriculture. Of these, a very comprehensive volume on THE HORSE has been some time completed, the unprecedented demand for which has sufficiently evinced the public opinion in its favour. To acquire from living sources all the information necessary to complete their design with regard to other parts of this Series, has occupied more time than was at first contemplated; but this being effected, the publication of the above Treatises will immediately commence.

☞ In a volume similar to that of the HORSE, it is intended to present an account of the OX. Its early history; the rise of the prevailing breeds in the different districts; their distinguishing character, improvement, or deterioration, with the different systems of management in the various counties, will occupy the early part of the volume, and form a new and interesting feature in the work. This will be illustrated by figures of the principal breeds, drawn by Harvey, from living specimens in the possession of the most eminent agriculturists: after which will follow a consideration of the structures of cattle as connected with their usefulness for the various purposes for which they are bred, their diseases, general treatment, and management. In fact, the plan to be pursued will be precisely that which was adopted with regard to the HORSE, and the writer will be the same.

The Treatise on British Husbandry, which will occupy two volumes, will comprise everything connected with the management of the soil; the improvement and increase of its productions; the leasehold tenure of land; farm buildings, and machinery; together with the various modes of working and fattening cattle, according to the most approved systems adopted in different counties—reserving only the breeding, diseases, and treatment of the animals employed and raised thereon, to the separate works already mentioned; and it is intended to present a comprehensive, yet condensed view, of the actual agriculture of the United Kingdom, in a compendious form, divested of all merely speculative reasoning, and calculated altogether for the use of practical farmers.

The several parts will be submitted to competent judges of known experience, previous to publication; and Cuts will be given whenever such illustrations can be of use.

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealers, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

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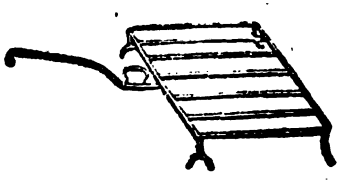
VOL. 77.—No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29TH, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.



PROGRESS IN THE NORTH.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 23. September, 1832.

FROM BOLTON, in Lancashire, I came, through BURY and ROCHDALE, to TODMORDEN, on the evening of Tuesday, the 18. September. I have formerly described the valley of TODMORDEN as the most curious and romantic that was ever seen, and where the water and the coal seem to be engaged in a struggle for getting foremost in point of utility to man. On the 19. I stayed all day at Todmorden to write and to sleep. On the 20. I set off for LEEDS by the stage-coach, through HALIFAX and BRADFORD; and as to *agriculture*, certainly the poorest country that I have ever set my eyes on, except that miserable *Nova Scotia*, where there are the townships of HORTON and of WILMOTT, and whither the sensible suckling statesman, Lord HOWICK, is wanting to send English country girls, lest they should breed if they stay in England! This country, from TODMORDEN to LEEDS, is, however, covered over with population, and the two towns of HALIFAX and BRADFORD are exceedingly populous. There appears to be nothing produced by the earth but the natural grass of the country, which, however, is not bad. The soil is a sort of a yellow-looking, stiffish stuff, lying about a foot thick, upon a bed of rocky stone, lying upon solid rock beneath. The grass does not seem to burn here; nor is it bad in quality; and all the grass appears to be wanted to rear milk for this immense population, that absolutely covers the whole face of the country. The only grain crops that I saw were those of very miserable oats; some of which were cut and carried; some standing in *shock*, the sheaves not being more than about a foot and a half long; some still standing, and some yet *nearly green*. The land is very high from HALIFAX to BRADFORD, and proportionably cold. Here are some of those "Yorkshire hills" that they see from Lancashire and Cheshire.

I got to Leeds about four o'clock, and went to bed at eight precisely. At five in the morning of the 21st, I came off by the coach to NEWCASTLE, through HARROWGATE, RIPON, DARLINGTON, and DURHAM. As I never was in this part of the country before, and can, therefore, never have described it upon any former occasion, I shall say rather more about it now than I otherwise should do. Having heard and read so much about the "Northern harvest;" about the "Durham ploughs," and the "Northumberland system of husbandry," what was my surprise at finding, which I verily believe to be the fact, that there is not as much corn grown in the North-Riding of Yorkshire, which begins at Ripon, and in the whole county of Durham, as is grown in the Isle of Wight alone. A very small part, comparatively speaking, is *arable* land; and all the outward appearances show, that that which is arable was formerly pasture. Between DURHAM and NEWCASTLE there is a pretty general division of the land into grass fields and corn fields; but, even here, the absence of *homesteads*, the absence of barns, and of labourers' cottages, clearly show, that agriculture is a sort of novelty; and that nearly all was pasturage not many years ago, or at any rate, only so much of the land was cultivated as was necessary to furnish straw for the horses kept for other purposes than those of agriculture, and oats for those horses, and bread corn sufficient for the graziers and their people. All along the road from LEEDS to DURHAM

I saw hardly any wheat at all, or any wheat stubble, no barley, the chief crops being oats and beans mixed with peas. These everywhere appeared to be what we should deem most miserable crops. The oats, tied up in sheaves, or yet uncut, were scarcely ever more than two feet and a half long, the beans were about the same height, and in both cases the land so full of grass, as to appear to be *a pasture*, after the oats and the beans were cut.

The land appears to be divided into very extensive farms. The corn when cut, you see put up into little stacks of a circular form, each containing about *three* of our southern wagon-loads of sheaves, which stacks are put up round about the stone house and the buildings of the farmer. How they thrash them out I do not know, for I could see nothing resembling a barn, or a barn's door. By the corn being put into such small stacks, I should suppose the thrashing places to be very small, and capable of holding only one stack at a time. I have many times seen one single rick containing a greater quantity of sheaves than *fifteen or twenty of these stacks;* and I have seen more than twenty stacks, each containing a number of sheaves equal to, at least, fifteen of these stacks; I have seen more than twenty of these large stacks, standing at one and the same time, in one single homestead in Wiltshire. I should not at all wonder if TOM BARING's farmers at MICHELDEVER had a greater bulk of wheat-stacks standing now than any one would be able to find of that grain, especially, in the whole of the North-Riding of Yorkshire, and in one half of Durham.

But this by no means implies that these are beggarly counties, even exclusive of their waters, coals, and mines. They are not *agricultural* counties; they are not counties for the producing of bread; but they are counties made for the express purpose of producing meat; in which respect they excel the southern counties, in a degree beyond all comparison. I have just spoken of the *beds of grass* that are everywhere seen after the oats and the beans have been cut. Grass is the natural produce of this land, which seems to have been made on purpose to produce it; and we are not to call land *poor* because it will produce nothing but meat. The size and shape of the fields, the sort of fences, the absence of all homesteads and labourers' cottages, the thinness of the country churches, every thing shows that this was always a country purely of pasturage. It is curious, that, belonging to every farm, there appears to be a *large quantity of turnips*. They are sowed in drills, cultivated between, beautifully clean, very large in the bulb, even now, and apparently having been *sowed early in June, if not in May*. They are generally the white globe turnip, here and there a field of the Swedish kind. These turnips are not fed off by sheep and followed by crops of barley and clover, as in the South, but are raised, I suppose, for the purpose of being carried in and used in the feeding of oxen, which have come off the grass lands in October and November. These turnip lands seem to take all the manure of the farm; and, as the reader will perceive, they are merely an adjunct to the pasturage, serving, during the winter, instead of hay, wherewith to feed the cattle of various descriptions.

This, then, is not a country of farmers, but a country of graziers; a country of pasture, and not a country of the plough; and those who formerly managed the land here were not husbandmen, but herdsmen. FORTESCUE was, I dare say, a native of this country; for he describes England as a country of shepherds and of herdsmen, not working so very hard as the people of France did, having more leisure for contemplation, and, therefore, more likely to form a just estimate of their rights and duties: and he describes them as having, at all times, in their houses, plenty of flesh to eat, and plenty of woollen to wear. ST AUGUSTINE, in writing to the Pope an account of the character and conduct of his converts in England, told him that he found the English an exceedingly good and generous people; but they had one fault, their fondness for flesh-

meat was so great, and their resolution to have it so determined, that he could not get them to abstain from it, even on the fast-days; and that he was greatly afraid that they would return to their state of horrible heathenism, rather than submit to the discipline of the church in this respect. The Pope, who had more sense than the greater part of bishops have ever had, wrote for answer: "Keep them within the pale of "the church, at any rate, even if they "slaughter their oxen in the church-"yards: let them make shambles of "the churches, rather than suffer the "devil to carry away their souls." The taste of our fathers was by no means for the potato; for the "nice *mealy* potato." The Pope himself would not have been able to induce them to carry "*cold potatoes in their bags*" to the plough-field, as was, in evidence before the special commissions, proved to have been the common practice in Hampshire and Wiltshire, and which had been before proved by evidence taken by unfeeling committees of the boroughmonger House of Commons. Faith! these old papas of ours would have burnt up not only the stacks, but the ground itself, rather than have lived upon miserable roots, while those who raised none of the food were eating up all the bread and the meat. Brougham and Brougham, and the rest of the Malthusian crew, are constantly at work preaching *content to the hungry and naked.* To be sure, they themselves, however, are not content to be hungry and naked. Amongst other things, they tell the working-people that the working-folks, especially in the North, used to have no bread, except such as was made of oats and of barley. That was better than potatoes, even the "*nice mealy ones*;" especially when carried cold to the field in a bag. But these literary impostors, these deluders, as far as they are able to delude; these vagabond authors, who thus write and publish for the purpose of persuading the working-people to be quiet, while they suck luxuries and riches out of the fruit of their toil; these literary impostors take care not to tell the people, that these oat-cakes and this barley-bread were always associated with great lumps of *flesh-meat*; they forget to tell them this, or rather these *half-mad*, perverse, and perverting literary impostors suppress the facts, for reasons far too manifest to need stating.

The cattle here are the most beautiful by far that I ever saw. The sheep are very handsome; but the horned cattle are the prettiest creatures that my eyes ever beheld. My sons will recollect that when they were little boys I took them to see the "Durham Ox," of which they drew the picture, I dare say, a hundred times. That was upon a large scale, to be sure, the model of all these beautiful cattle: short horns, strait back, a taper neck, very small in proportion where it joins on the small and handsome head, deep dewlap, small boned in the legs, hoop-ribbed, square-hipped, tail slender. A great part of them are white, or approaching very nearly to white: they all appear to be half fat, cows and oxen and all; and the meat from them is said to be, and I believe it is, as fine as that from Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, Romney Marsh, or Pevensey Level; and I am ready, at any time, to swear, if need be, that one pound of it fed upon this grass is worth more, to me at least, than any ten pounds or twenty pounds fed upon oil-cake, or the stinking stuff of distilleries; aye, or even upon turnips. This is all *grass-land*, even from Staffordshire to this point. In its very nature it produces grass that fattens. The little producing-land that there is even in Lancashire and the West-Riding of Yorkshire, produces grass that would fatten an ox, though the land be upon *the tops of hills*. Everywhere, where there is a sufficiency of grass, it will fatten an ox; and well do we Southern people know, that, except in mere vales and meadows, we have no land that will do this; we know that we might put an ox up to his eyes in *our grass*, and that it would only just keep him from *growing worse*: we know that we are obliged to have *turnips and meal* and cabbages and parsnips and potatoes, and then, with some of our hungry hay for them

to *pick their teeth with*, we make shift to put fat upon an ox. Yet, so much are we like the beasts which, in the fable, came before Jupiter to ask him to endow them with faculties incompatible with their divers frames and divers degrees of strength, that we, in this age of "*waust improvements, Ma'um*," are always hankering after laying fields down in pasture, in the South, while these fellows in the North, as if resolved to rival us in "improvement" and perverseness, must needs break up their pasture-lands, and proclaim defiance to the will of Providence, and, instead of rich pasture, present to the eye of the traveller half-green starveling oats and peas, some of them in blossom in the last week of September. The land, itself, the earth, of its own accord, as if resolved to vindicate the decrees of its Maker, sends up grass under these miserable crops, as if to punish them for their intrusion; and, when the crops are off, there comes a pasture, at any rate, in which the grass, like that of Herefordshire and Lincolnshire, is not (as it is in our Southern countries), mixed with weeds; but, standing upon the ground as thick as the earth can bear it, and fattening everything that eats of it, it forbids the perverse occupier to tear it to pieces. Such is the land of this country; all to the North of Cheshire, at any rate, leaving out the East-Riding of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, which are adapted for corn in some spots and for cattle in others.

These Yorkshire and Durham cows are to be seen in great numbers in and about London, where they are used for the purpose of giving milk, of which I suppose they give great quantities; but it is always an observation that, if you have these cows you must *keep them exceedingly well*; and this is very true; for, upon the food which does very well for the common cows of Hampshire and Surrey, they would dwindle away directly and be good for nothing at all; and these sheep, which are as beautiful as even imagination could make them, so round and so loaded with flesh, would actually perish upon those downs and in those folds where our innumerable flocks not only live but fatten so well, and with such facility are made to produce us such quantities of fine mutton and such bales of fine wool. There seems to be something in the soil and climate, and particularly in the soil, to create everywhere a sort of cattle and of sheep fitted to it; Dorsetshire and Somersetshire have sheep different from all others, and the nature of which it is to have their lambs in the fall instead of having them in the spring. I remember when I was amongst the villages on the COTSWOLD-HILLS, in Gloucestershire, they showed me their sheep in several places, which are a stout big-boned sheep. They told me that many attempts had been made to cross them with the small-boned Leicester breed, but that it had never succeeded, and that the race always got back to the COTSWOLD breed immediately.

Before closing these rural remarks, I cannot help calling to the mind of the reader an observation of LORD JOHN SCOTT ELDON, who, at a time when there was a great complaint about "*agricultural distress*" and about the fearful increase of the poor-rates, said, "that there was no such distress in "*Northumberland*, and no such increase "of the poor-rates:" and so said my dignitary, Dr. BLACK, at the same time: and this, this wise lord, and this not less wise dignitary of mine, ascribed to "the bad practice of the farmers o' the "Sooth paying the labourers their "wages out of the poor-rates, which "was not the practice in the North." I thought that they were telling what the children call *stories*; but I now find that these observations of theirs arose purely from that want of knowledge of the country, which was, and is, common to them both. Why, LORD JOHN, there are no such persons here as we call farmers, and no such persons as we call farm-labourers. From CHESHIRE to NEWCASTLE, I have never seen *one single labourer's cottage by the side of the road!* Oh, Lord! if the good people of this country could but see the endless strings of vine-covered cottages and flower-gardens of the labourers of Kent,

Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire; if they could go down the vale of the AVON in Wiltshire, from *Marlborough* Forest to the city of SALISBURY, and there see *thirty* parish churches in a distance of thirty miles; if he could go up from that city of SALISBURY up the valley of WYLLY to WARMINSTER, and there see one-and-thirty churches in the space of twenty-seven miles; if he could go upon the top of the down, as I did not far (I think it was) from ST. MARY COTFORD, and there have under the eye, in the valley below, *ten parish churches within the distance of eight miles*, see the downs covered with innumerable flocks of sheep, water meadows running down the middle of the valley, while the sides rising from it were covered with corn, sometimes a hundred acres of wheat in one single piece, while the stack-yards were still well stored from the previous harvest; if JOHN SCOTT ELDON'S countrymen could behold these things, their quick-sightedness would soon discover why poor-rates should have increased in the SOUTH and not in the NORTH; and, though their liberality would suggest an apology for my dignitary, Dr. BLACK, who was freighted to London in a smack, and has ever since been impounded in the STRAND, relieved now and then by an excursion to BLACKHEATH or CLAPHAM COMMON; to find an apology, for their countryman, Lord JOHN, would be putting their liberality to an uncommonly severe test; for he, be it known to them, has chosen his country abode, not in the STRAND like my less-informed dignitary, Dr. BLACK, nor in his native regions in the North; but has, in the beautiful county of DORSET, amidst valleys and downs precisely like those of Wiltshire, got as near to the sun as he could possibly get, and there, from the top of his mansion he can see a score of churches, and from his lofty and ever-green downs, and from his fat valleys beneath, he annually sends his flocks of long-tailed ewes to APPLESHAW fair, thence to be sold to all the southern parts of the kingdom, having L. E. marked upon their beautiful wool; and, like the two factions at MAIDSTONE, all tarred with the same brush. It is curious, too, notwithstanding the old maxim, that we all try to get as nearly as possible in our old age to the spot whence we first sprang. Lord JOHN'S brother WILLIAM (who has some title that I have forgotten) has taken up his quarters on the healthy and I say beautiful COTSWOLD of Gloucestershire, where, in going in a post-chaise from STOWE-IN-THE-WOLD to CIRENCESTER, I thought I should never get by the wall of his park; and I exclaimed to Mr. DEAN, who was along with me, "Curse this Northumbrian "ship-broker's son, he has got one half "of the county;" and then all the way to CIRENCESTER I was explaining to Mr. DEAN *how the man had got his money*, at which DEAN, who is a Roman Catholic, seemed to me to be ready to cross himself several times.

No, there is no apology for Lord JOHN'S observations on the difference between the poor-rates of the South and the North. To go from London to his country-houses, he must go across Surrey and Hampshire, along one of the vales of Wiltshire, and *one of the* vales of Dorsetshire, in which latter county he has many a time seen in one single large field, *a hundred wind-rows* (stacks made in the field, in order that the corn may get quite dry before it be put into great stacks); he has many a time seen, on one farm, two or three hundred of these, each of which was very nearly as big as the stacks which you see in the stack-yards of the North-Riding of Yorkshire and of Durham, where a large farm seldom produces more than ten or a dozen of these stacks, and where the farmer's property consists of his cattle and sheep, and where little, very little, agricultural labour is wanted. Lord JOHN ought to have known the cause of the great difference, and not to have suffered such nonsense to come out of a head covered with so very large a wig.

I looked with particular care on the sides of the road all the way through Yorkshire and Durham. The distance, altogether, from OLDHAM in Lancashire, to NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, is about a

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hundred and fifty miles; and, leaving out the *great* towns, I did not see so many churches as are to be seen in any twenty miles of any of the valleys of Wiltshire. All these things prove that these are by nature counties of pasturage, and that they were formerly used solely for that purpose. It is curious that there are none of those lands here which we call "*meadows*." The rivers run in *deep beds*, and have generally very steep sides; no little rivulets and occasional overflowings that make the meadows in the South, which are so very beautiful, but the grass in which is not of the rich nature that the grass is in these counties in the North: it will produce milk enough, but it will not produce beef. It is hard to say which part of the country is the most valuable gift of God; but every one must see how perverse and injurious it is to endeavour to produce in the one that which nature has intended to confine to the other. After all the unnatural efforts that have been made here to ape the farming of Norfolk and Suffolk, it is only *playing at farming*, as stupid and "loyal" parents used to set their children *to play at soldiers during the last war*. If any of these sensible men of NEWCASTLE were to see the farming in the South downs, and to see, as I saw in the month of July last, four teams of large oxen, six in a team, all ploughing in one field in preparation for wheat, and several pairs of horses, in the same field, dragging, harrowing, and rolling, and had seen on the other side of the road from five to six quarters of wheat standing upon the acre, and from nine to ten quarters of oats standing along side of it, each of the two fields from fifty to a hundred statute acres; if any of these sensible men of NEWCASTLE could see these things, they would laugh at the childish work that they are going on here under the name of farming; the very sight would make them feel how imperious is the duty on the [illegible] giver to prevent distress from visiting the fields, and to take care that those who [illegible] all the labour produced all the food and all the raiment, shall not be fed upon potatoes and covered with rags; contemplating the important effects of their labour, each man of them could say as I said when this mean and savage faction had me at my trial, "I "would see all these labourers hanged, "and be hanged along with them, "rather than see them live upon po- "tatoes."

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 24. September, 1832.

Since writing the above I have had an opportunity of receiving information from a very intelligent gentleman of this county, who tells me, that in Northumberland there are some lands which bear very heavy crops of wheat; that the agriculture in this county is a great deal better than it is farther south; that, however, it was a most lamentable thing that the paper-money price of corn tempted so many men to break up these fine pastures; that the turf thus destroyed cannot be restored probably in a whole century; that the land does not now, with present prices, yield a clear profit, anything like what it would have yielded in the pasture; and that thus was destroyed the *goose with the golden eggs*. Just so was it with regard to the *downs* in the south and the west of England, where there are hundreds of thousands of acres, where the turf was the finest in the world, broken up for the sake of the paper-money prices, but now left to be *downs again*; and which will not be *downs* for more than a century to come. Thus did this accursed paper-money cause even the fruitful qualities of the earth to be anticipated, and thus was the soil made *worth less* than it was before the accursed invention appeared! This gentleman told me, that this breaking up of the pasture-land in this country had made the land, though covered again with artificial grasses, *unhealthy for sheep*; and he gave as an instance the facts, that three farmers purchased a hundred and fifty sheep each, *out of the same flock*; that two of them, who put their sheep upon these recently broken-up lands, *lost their whole flocks by the rot*, with the exception of *four* in the one case and four in the other, out of the three hundred: and that the third farmer, who put his sheep

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upon the old pastures, and kept them there, *lest not a single sheep out of the hundred and fifty!* These, ever accursed paper-money, are amongst thy destructive effects!

I shall now, laying aside for the present these rural affairs, turn to the politics of this fine, opulent, solid, beautiful, and important town; but as this would compel me to speak of particular transactions and particular persons, and as this *Register* will come back to NEWCASTLE before I am likely to quit it, the reader will see reasons quite sufficient for my refraining to go into matters of this sort, until the next *Register*, which will in all probability be dated from EDINBURGH. With respect, however, to matters in which I myself have been and am concerned, and in giving account of which it will not be necessary for me to speak of the character or conduct of other parties, I am at liberty to proceed freely; and, indeed, justice to myself, justice to my friends, and justice to our cause, demand of me that I discharge this duty without loss of time.

I have to relate then, that, while at MANCHESTER, I received an invitation to lodge while here, at the house of a friend, of whom I shall have to speak more fully hereafter; but every demonstration of respect and kindness met me at the door of the coach in which I came from LEEDS, on Friday, the 21. September, that in the early part of Saturday, the 22. a deputation of gentlemen, with Mr. LARKIN, the surgeon, at their head, waited upon me with an *address*, which I shall presently insert. Let the readers, in my native county and parish, remember, that I am now at the end of thirty years of calumnies poured out incessantly upon me from the poisonous mouths and pens of three hundred mercenary villains, called newspaper editors and reporters; that I have written and published more than a hundred volumes in those thirty years; and that more than a thousand volumes (chiefly paid for out of the taxes) have been written and published for the sole purpose of impeding the progress of those truths that dropped from my pen; that my whole life has been a life of sobriety and labour; that I have invariably shown that I loved and honoured my country, and that I preferred its greatness and happiness far beyond my own; that, at four distinct periods, I might have rolled in wealth derived from the public money, which I always refused on any account to touch; that, for having thwarted this Government in its wastefulness of the public resources, and particularly for my endeavours to produce that reform of the Parliament which the Government itself has at last been compelled to resort to; that, for having acted this zealous and virtuous part, I have been twice stripped of all my earnings by the acts of this Government; once lodged in a felon's jail for two years, and once driven into exile for two years and a half; and that, after all, here I am on a spot within a hundred miles of which I never was before in my life; and here I am receiving the unsolicited applause of men amongst the most intelligent in the whole kingdom, and the names of some of whom have been pronounced accompanied with admiration, even to the southernmost edge of the kingdom.

The ADDRESS, which was preceded by a speech of Mr. LARKIN, was delivered to me printed on *white satin*; and I will take care that it shall be preserved in a suitable manner, not only for my life-time, but for the life of one, at least, that shall come after me. Upon occasions like this I always think what base and degenerate dogs those must be, who, while the world is looking at them with scorn, can crawl upon their bellies to obtain marks of approbation from ministers and kings. I will now insert first, the speech of Mr. LARKIN, and then the address, together with all the signatures, being well assured that my excellent friends in LONDON, at OLDHAM, at MANCHESTER, and everywhere else, will think this the best answer to be given to the sneaking and base PRIGS of MANCHESTER, and to their not less base instigators at WESTMINSTER.

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MR. LARKIN'S SPEECH.

To MR. COBBETT.

"SIR,—I am deputed by the gentlemen who have signed this address, an address of congratulation on your arrival in this town, to present it to you. To me this is an office which I perform with sentiments of pride and gratification which language is inadequate to express; and I embrace with eagerness the opportunity it affords of acknowledging the deep debt of gratitude which, as a Catholic, I owe to the historian of the Protestant Reformation. Sir, you conclude your English Grammar with the following sentences of advice to your son: 'Never esteem men merely 'on account of their riches or their 'station. Respect goodness, find it 'where you may. Honour talent 'wherever you behold it unassociated 'with vice; but honour it most when 'accompanied with exertion, and especially when exerted in the cause 'of truth and justice; and, above all 'things, hold it in honour when it 'steps forward to protect defenceless 'innocence against the attacks of 'powerful guilt.' We, Sir, on this occasion are actuated precisely by the sentiments you have so well expressed in these beautiful lines. In you we honour talent not only unassociated with vice, but attended with great virtues; not only attended with great virtues, but accompanied with great exertions; not only accompanied with great exertions, but with exertions that have uniformly been in the cause of truth and justice; and, above all things, we honour you, because you have never failed to step forward to protect defenceless innocence against powerful guilt. To us it is peculiarly pleasing to have this opportunity of laying before you our unaffected sentiments of admiration and esteem, because in addressing you we cannot be suspected of flattery, nor accused of hypocrisy. You, Sir, have not riches, nor places, nor pensions, nor honours, nor stars, nor ribands, nor garters, at your disposal; what motive then can we have in presenting an address to you but that of giving expression to our feeling in the simplicity and sincerity of our hearts? You have made not only individuals, but a nation your debtor. There is not one of us who has not personally experienced the advantages of your exertions. In your admirable Grammars of the French and English languages, what useful instruction and how pleasingly conveyed! in your 'Advice to Young Men,' what excellent lessons, and what incentives to virtue and independence! in your agricultural works, what knowledge of rural affairs! in your 'Cottage Economy,' what knowledge of domestic concerns! in your *Political Register*, what knowledge of the economy of nations! In these works what a versatility and variety of talent do we behold! What evidence of a mind at once comprehensive and minute in its views, embracing things of vast and gigantic magnitude, and not disdaining those that appear little and unimportant. We are proud of you as our countryman; and regard with admiration a genius that has elevated you from the guidance of the plough to a fitness to guide a kingdom. I have now, Sir, the honour to read to you the following address."

He then put the address into my hands, which I received with greater pride than I ever received anything in my life; and as I knew nothing of what the address was to be, I returned a short extempore answer, which I am afraid was a very awkward affair, compared with the matter as well as with the manner of that which had been uttered by Mr. LARKIN.

THE ADDRESS.

"SIR,—We, the undersigned, gladly take this opportunity, by many of us long desired, of conveying to you our respect and our congratulations on your arrival in this town. We respect you, sir, less for the unrivalled talent of your writings than for the

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" utility of those writings, especially re-
" garding them as directed to better the
" condition and improve the minds of
" the labouring class; that class, which,
" if honours were rightly distributed,
" ought to be held the highest, as all
" the rest depend upon it. There is,
" however, sir, another feature of your
" writings, in our eyes, even more im-
" portant than that to which we have
" just alluded; your strictures upon the
" money affairs, or currency of this
" great kingdom. In your views on
" this most momentous matter you
" have, in our opinion, been right from
" first to last; and so deeply and
" thoroughly convinced are we of the
" truth of your doctrines, that we em-
" brace this opportunity of declaring,
" that on one essential point we take
" your advice. We declare, sir, (and
" your reasonings are the cause of the
" declaration,) that if any alteration
" whatever in the currency be attempt-
" ed, every one of us, who have monies
" either lodged in savings banks, or
" otherwise similarly invested, will, on
" hearing of such attempt, immediately
" turn such money into gold, and keep
" it so.

" We further congratulate you, sir,
" on the passing of the Reform Bill,
" inasmuch as it will inevitably bring
" about, in the fulness of time, the suc-
" cess of those great measures of which
" you, during a long life, have been the
" most able and most unwearied advocate.
" Your admission into Parliament, we
" have no doubt, will be one of the
" consequences of that bill; and we
" shall esteem your advocacy in Parlia-
" ment of those great measures which
" you have so long advocated out of it,
" as the surest evidence that the reform,
" which we have hailed as real, is real
" indeed.

" We wish you, sir, health and happi-
" ness, and that you may have the
" felicity of witnessing, and carrying
" into effect, that full consummation of
" national regeneration; to the success
" of which you have been, by your
" writings in our opinion, the greatest
" contributor.

" *Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sept.* 19, 1832."

Jonathan Wooler
Eneas Mackenzie
A. Turnbull
John Wright
James Richardson
William Headley
Benjamin Thew, jun.
Thomas Hoggett
G. Bagnall
James Thompson
John Harley
Henry Sibbet
James Dow
Henry Hart, Hexham
George Hutton
William Dent
Junius Mackenzie
Henry Weir
William Foster
John Etridge Wilkinson
John Wilson
Charles Larkin
W. Davie Wright
John Carr
Thomas Alderson
William Charlton
Robert Dixon
Thompson Pearson
John Winter
Thomas Brown
William Hodgson
George Abbutt
William Tweedy
John Hodgson
John Dixon
Thomas Robson

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Mark Wardle
John Fenton
William Gilchrist
Metcalf Rose
Arthur Weir
George Spencer
William Wright
B. C. Wright
Moses Marshall Young
Edward Fleming
William Campbell
Joseph Thew
John Gray
Richard Haddrick
Elihu Robinson
Hugh Brennan
Nicholas Walker
John Hewison
Edward Elliott
R. H. Wright
James Kirker
William Blacklock
John Paterson
Henry Robson, printer
David Jackson
Robert Bone
John Headlem
Thomas Tucker
Henry Scott
John Lister, jun.
Robert Atkinson
Robert Lister, jun.
James Scott
Oswald Robson
John Todd
Thomas Burdon
Nicholas Andrews
Robert Haswell
Charles P. Rippon
Hugh Wilson
William W. Wilson
George Gray
William Bowts
William Walker
Thomas Hawdon

Christopher Brennan
John Wardropes
John Bainbridge
George Hall
George Nicholson
William Hymers
John Lister
Isaac Tucker
Robert Lister
Isaac Tukes, sen.
William Joyce
John Nixon
James Beydon
Michael Robson
William Humble
John Robson
John Renton
James Hann
William Hodgson
William Bainbridge
George Mather
John Donkin
James Liddell
Robert Jackson
William Heslop
William Gibson
William Wilson
John Hanning
William Tucker
John Tucker
Mark Maddison
Ebenezer Sinclair
Andrew Naylor
William Holmes
Robert Pratt
Robert Jobling
David Scott
Robert Moody
Andrew Kay
John Gray
Richard Mort
John Hedspeth
William Mather
Thomas Watson
John Pyle

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William Summers
William White
William Watson
S. Jopling
J. Handyside
Joseph Palley
L. Haslam, of Widdrington
H. Haslam
W. L. Murphy
Thomas Youngson
William Haswell
John Snow
John Gallon
George Cooper
John Emerson
William Hogg
James Blanckley
William Kidd
William Magnay
George Smith
John Wilson
William Mason
John Airey Robson
William Garret
Richard Long
Thomas Race
John Moore
Thomas Cree
John Aynsley
Hugh Wilson
William Marshall
Thomas Brown Nicholson
Robert Sutherland
Thomas Galloway
Thomas Thompson
Robert Wright
George Sayers
William Hall
James Church
George Wardle
W. B. Smith
John Hogg
Thomas Johnson
G. Andrews
Henry Silversides
Charles Winter

Robert Hogg
Thomas Easton
Joseph Laing
Robert Archer
John Reid
W. Shotton
Joseph Robson
Robert Rutherford
John Wilson
Charles Sobers
William Sobers
Thomas Bond
Mark Wardle
Thomas Snowdon
Henry Hogg
Thomas Wright
John Walker
James Rogers Williams
John Trotter
William Sinton
Henry Robertson
James Johnston
Christopher Liddell
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Isaac Bickerstaff
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Thomas Caraby
Thomas Thompson
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John Sherwood
David Waldin
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Austin Cuthberts
Charles James
Ralph Carnaby
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Robert Munro
Charles Macnay
James Owen
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William Thompson
John Ramsay
Joseph Fallow
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James Thomson
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William Montgomery
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Michael Rutter
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Mark Wright
John Paget
Lionel Wood
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Rogers Edwards
Hector Wright
John Jones
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John Hodgson
Charles Tarlton
David Watson
William Watson
John Hogg
Saunders Tweedale
Bowes Wilson
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James Anderson
J. Robinson
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Thomas Storey
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Michael Grinwell
William Clark
Thomas Clark
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Joseph Rosby
John Rosby
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THE following title and preface will speak for themselves, and I have only to add, that I have directed some of the pamphlets to be sent to OLDHAM, to MANCHESTER, to NEWCASTLE, and to EDINBURGH.

The Mischiefs and Iniquity of Paper-Money, and of the present System of Banking and Funding; in three Letters, showing how Manufacturers have been brought to ruin, and their working-people brought to want and misery, by the joint operation of the taxes and the paper-money.

BY JOHN FIELDEN.

PREFACE

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 22. September, 1832.

IT will be recollected by the readers of the *Register*, that, early in February last, there was published in the *Register*, and was repeated the next week, a report of the speech made by Mr. JOHN FIELDEN at the dinner given to me at Manchester on the 30. of January last. That speech, on account of its intrinsic merits, attracted great attention all over the country; and, in Lancashire and Yorkshire especially, on account of the high reputation of the speaker, whether as to public and private virtue, or as to skill, experience, and every sort of excellence and eminence as a manufacturer.

That speech, however, striking, as it did, at the very root of the present system of banking and of funding; setting forth, as it did, the mischiefs and the iniquity of paper-money; showing, as it did, how, by these fraudulent means, master-manufacturers had been brought to ruin, and their working-people brought to want and misery by the joint operation of oppressive taxes and of paper-money: that speech, setting forth these things in plain and simple language, and with a clearness of ideas that could not fail to implant the truths inculcated in it in the minds of its readers; that speech, so full of fairness towards the owners and cultivators of the land, so free from all local and trading partiality; that speech could not fail to stir the gall of the paper-money tribe, and particularly those of MANCHESTER, who had been, who were, and who still are, preying upon the distresses of the manufacturers, and taking part of the miserable meal from the working-people, and who, like all usurers, from the beginning of society to the present day, resemble those vermin which fatten upon diseased bodies of animals, or those other vermin which are seen on the branches of no trees but those which are blighted or perishing at the root.

There is, at MANCHESTER, a newspaper, called the *Guardian*, which, while its proprietors are the organs of these vermin, they are also their co-operators. The vermin were silent for some time; but at last, finding the effect which Mr. FIELDEN's speech was producing, they made, through the partial and polluted channel just mentioned, an attempt to decry that which they had at first hardly dared to look at. This attempt was made in the very vile publication before-mentioned, on the 18. of February. Mr. FIELDEN, thinking the opportunity favourable for more fully stating his opinions, and for producing proof of their truth, addressed three letters to the proprietors of the *Guardian*, in answer to their criticism on his speech. The two first they inserted, but the third they *refused to insert*, which was therefore published in the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*. These letters bear date on the 21. of February, the 8. of March, and the 3. of April, 1832. During the time that they were publishing I was in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Warwickshire, and they missed me; so that they never were inserted in the *Register*. I have now got copies of them; and I send them forth to the public, as more worthy

of general attention and study than almost any thing that I ever before sent from the press in my pretty nearly forty years of publishing. Here Mr. HUME and Sir HENRY PARNELL will learn the effects of what is called "*an expansion of the currency*;" here they will learn what "*benefits*" are conferred on trade by what they call the "*facilities*" of paper-money; here my Lord HOWICK will learn how the profits of trade and the comforts of the workmen are augmented by a "*cheap currency*;" and here his father, the First Lord of the Treasury, will learn, that if he have a mind (which I am not unjust enough to affect to believe) to foster this fraudulent system, until legitimate manufacturers, merchants, and ship-owners, aye, and land-owners, too, be swallowed up by bands of usurers, practising their frauds through this false and delusive instrument; if he have a mind that the working classes, their mental powers sharpened by their wants, and their angry passions pushed on to rage by a due sense of their wrongs, till, at one tremendous levy, they shall sweep away the laws, and make every estate the prize of the strongest; if my Lord GREY have a mind to do this, he will here learn, from the mildest and clearest accents of reason, and from the most ample experience, that he has only to listen to those who are now urging him on to seek relief for the country in fostering and extending the system of paper-money, banking, and funding.

That his Lordship and the public may have the whole matter fairly before them, I begin this compilation with Mr. FIELDEN'S speech, made at MANCHESTER, on the 30. of January last. Then follows the criticism, before spoken of, made by the *Guardian* newspaper on that speech. Then come the THREE LETTERS of Mr. FIELDEN. It being desirable that some persons in every rank of life should possess this publication, I send it forth at the price of ONE SHILLING, having prefixed to it the foregoing title, which I think is the proper title, as it describes, pretty fully, the objects and the tendency of the publication. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER AND OLDHAM.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 24. Sept., 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

SINCE I wrote the last *Register*, I heard, at LEEDS, that which convinces me, that the player-man of the PRIGS is in regular pay of the THING up at London. I find that he was at HULL, after the last dissolution of Parliament, to defend the Whigs against the Radicals, who finally drove him away in as much disgrace as the wretched creature experienced at OLDHAM. He afterwards appeared at BRADFORD, in Yorkshire, with the intention of thwarting Mr. SADLER; and now he has been sent down to assist the POTTERS and the other PRIGS at MANCHESTER, and the *blue-cholera ruffians* at OLDHAM. With the *blue-cholera ruffians* we shall have to deal hereafter; for when we get a just Parliament there will be a long account of pounds, shillings, and pence, to settle with them. In the meanwhile, the PRIG party at Manchester, particularly the POTTERS, are making a pretty figure throughout the country! Little did their TADCASTER progenitors think of their attaining to such eminence. In the more than a thousand towns of Great Britain, there were, on Sunday the 23. of Sept., 1832, more than fifty thousand men laughing at them all at one and the same moment! So that they are become *famous*, at any rate, with somewhat the same sort of merit which obtained fame for the *youth* who set fire to the temple of DIANA: and a couple of *blithe* youths these POTTERS are! 'Tis pity that there is no VIRGIL alive to put into immortal verse, a description of the lovely persons of these amiable swains of the three golden balls. I find that I had been somewhat misinformed relative to the POTTER-peerage. TOM, I understand, did not intend to ground his pretensions on the precedent furnished in the case of SMITH CARRINGTON; but, at the time when the very *ample batch* was in contemplation, TOM ex-

pected to be one, as a matter of course, along with SERJEANT WILDE, DRAYTON the auctioneer, COOKEY DENMAN, that son of cleanliness, CHARLEY PEARSON, and my cats'-meat Lord Mayor. It is said that TOM was at a loss whether to take his title from TADCASTER, the place of his birth, or from his present place of country residence, which has long gone by the name of "PIPKIN-HALL." So that, if the *batch* had taken place, HOBHOUSE was, it is said, to have been BARON BUNG of the dominion of ARCOT; CHARLEY PEARSON, BARON BRASS, of *Soap-and-Water-Alley, City of London*; DRAYTON and WILDE were to have had titles arising out of *some places in Wales*; and TOM, after a great deal of difficulty in giving up the place of his birth, but resolved not to give up his family name, so famous, and so clearly descended from the Normans, resolved upon the style and title following: THOMAS BARON POTTER, of PIPKIN-PLACE, in the parish of PENDLETON, *Custos Rotulorum* of the three golden balls. "PIPKIN-PLACE" is a pretty and rather grand affair. It is situated on an eminence; it has *porters'-lodges* and everything indicative of the style-noble. It was to this mansion that TOM got the two little sons of his neighbour, Mr. CROFT, to give them fruit, and to pump out of them what was passing in their father's house, especially with regard to me. Faith! if TOM should be ennobled, he must take care how he plays these tricks, or the cudgelling he will get will not be exceeded by the receipts of any jackass in Lancashire. A letter from MANCHESTER informs me that these PRIGS are *exceedingly galled* at Mr. WHITTLE'S letter to BAXTER. I dare say that it made them scratch where they did not itch; but if that be the case, I would advise them to cut their nails pretty short, or, before *I have done with them*, I will make them tear off their skins, if not the very flesh from their bones. What! my honest and sincere friends, are these mean and spiteful and dastardly creatures; these false pretenders to patriotism; these base and creeping tools of a greedy and unprincipled faction in power; are these reptiles to be suffered to *lie snugly behind the bush*, and thence to fire off their hired and brazen ruffians at me? Are they to be the feeders and drenchers, and, *in secret*, the pot-companions of this player-man; and are they not to be answerable for the infamous and insolent lies which he is putting forth? Are they to pass for *gentlemen* while they are thus acting the part of the dirtiest blackguards on earth? Oh, no, none but a very stupid dog flies at the stick, instead of flying at the hand that wields it. This wandering player is a mere stick in the hands of these spiteful PRIGS. To the PRIGS, therefore, will I betake myself; them will I drag out from their hiding-places; on them will I lay the lash till I make them afraid to put their heads out of their windows or their doors. For anything that they might have done under their own names and in their own persons, I could have forgiven them; but, for the baseness of thrusting forward this tool to calumniate the man whom they had praised and caressed, keeping themselves out of sight and disowning the tool, there is no degree of punishment nor degradation that can be too great.

Having been by nature favoured with a rather thick skin, TOM, comforting himself with the profits of the concern at the three golden balls, may still enjoy his retirement at "PIPKIN-PLACE." But oh, my good fellows of WIGAN, Dick, who is "eloquenter," you know, will have to go up *to London*, there to face me in his proper person, and not in the brass of a mountebank actor! Oh! what a fuss there will be when the members for Lancashire shall enter the house! What a buzz! "Which is *he*? which is DICK:" "There (don't point, for God's sake); that is *he*: that's the great Richard!" "The devil it is," says one: "Why he has got a head like one of the three golden *balls!*" "No matter," says another; "it is the contents of the head; it is that which 'cometh out of the man' as St. PAUL says."

But description is impossible; and when DICK shall rise to speak, what "*intensity*" of expectation! What more

than HIBERNIAN "*intensity!*" Hush! gently moving round will seem to say, "Dumb be every tongue, palsied, for the "time, every hand and every foot." DICK speaks. Oh, God! the words come out, not like bits of paper that they wet with their spittle, and put into an alder pop-gun; not point blank, like bullets or slugs out of the mouth of a blunderbuss; nor like the sort of hasty-pudding joggled out of the split of a paper-making machine; but, out of his conveniently distended orifice of utterance, the words will proceed in an unbroken course, in easy, mellifluent folds, just like the cotton that so beautifully issues out of the mouth of the tin funnel of a spinning-jenny, and having in them much about as much sense, as you would be able to discover by an analysis of the result of two hours' work of one of those funnels!

Ah! DICK, when you were exultingly showing your *canvass*-book at BOLTON, the other day, and bragging, that *nothing could prevent your being elected for* WIGAN, you seemed to have forgotten that *the being elected* was not the "be and the "end all." You seem to have forgotten the couplet of HUDIBRAS:

"What mighty mischiefs do environ
The man that meddles with cold iron!"

And had you recollected this, you would have perceived that to meddle with elections, and to hire mountebanks to assist you, was pretty nearly as dangerous as that of meddling with cold iron. When the people of WIGAN shall be made thoroughly acquainted with your character and conduct, especially your conduct in the affair of this mountebank, I cannot believe that they will have the baseness to elect you: and, if they should do it, you shall do your duty; you shall vote for the repeal of the malt-tax, and the abolition of tithes; though you hypocritically pretend to believe that I go too far, *you shall go as far as I*, or you shall never dare to show your face at WIGAN again, as long as there are mud, dead dogs and cats, or rotten eggs, left upon the face of the earth.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. As many of the Cobbettites in various parts of the kingdom must wish to *remonstrate* with these PRIGS at MANCHESTER, it may be convenient for them to be informed, that TOM PORTER's address is at "Pipkin-place, Pendleton, near Manchester," or, at the sign of the three golden balls in that town. The latter, however, is merely *figurative*; the former is literal and substantial. "PIPKIN-PLACE, MANCHESTER," is as well known as "*Balm of Gilead Lodge*" is in the neighbourhood of LIVERPOOL.

TO THE ELECTORS
OF THE
BOROUGH OF FINSBURY.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 24. Sept, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

I LEARN from the newspapers, that you propose to elect Mr. WAKLEY as one of your members in the reformed Parliament. I sincerely hope that you will do it: it is of the greatest importance that you should do it: scarcely one man in the whole kingdom who is so fit for the post as he is: he has knowledge, ability, resolution, and readiness. Hoping that you will succeed in this most laudable undertaking, I remain

Your faithful friend
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CURIOUS LIBEL AFFAIR.

THE following account, which I take from the *Leeds Patriot* of the 15. of September, ought to attract *the attention of the Parliament!* Here was Mr. FOSTER put to an expense of a hundred and twenty pounds, ready to prove that he had done no wrong, deprived of a trial, and compelled to *pay his own costs*, though he had done nothing wrong. I shall return another time to this subject; for here we see, that any

man may be ruined, and perfectly innocent of offence all the while.

YORKSHIRE SUMMER ASSIZES.

NISI-PRIUS COURT.

LIBEL CASE.—THORPE V. FOSTER.

This case came on on Thursday afternoon, before a Special Jury; Mr. Serjeant Jones was for the plaintiff, and Mr. Starkie; counsel for the defendant, Mr. Blackburn and Mr. Hall; but the learned Serjeant had only just commenced when he was stopped by the Judge, who requested to know if there was no way of getting the matter settled without occupying the court and the jury with such a pitiful case. Serjeant Jones said the object of the plaintiff was to clear himself from the imputation of cruelty as a master, and if defendant would admit that he did not impute cruelty to him, he would consent to withdraw a juror.

Mr. BLACKBURN—My client never did impute cruelty to the plaintiff, nor does the imputed libel say so.

The JUDGE—The plaintiff may go home quite satisfied as to his character.

Serjeant JONES—We want nothing more.

Mr. BLACKBURN—Then we take a verdict.

Serjeant JONES—No; we move that a juror be withdrawn.

Mr. BLACKBURN—You had better go on.

The JUDGE—My opinion is that a juror be withdrawn.

Mr. BLACKBURN—The defendant only replied to a letter imputing improper motives to him, and we had rather go on.

The JUDGE—I have given you my opinion, but go on.

Serjeant JONES—No, my Lord; we are satisfied with my learned Friend's admission.

Mr. BLACKBURN—My Lord, we have made no admissions; they only exist in the fertile mind of my learned Friend.

The DEFENDANT—I have been held up through the country as a libeller, and beg for trial.

The JUDGE—Let us proceed.

Serjeant JONES—No, my Lord; we are satisfied.

Mr. BLACKBURN—But we are not; nevertheless my client must bow to the opinion of the bench.

The JUDGE—I have given you my opinion, but am ready to go on.

Serjeant JONES—No, my Lord; we are satisfied with my learned Friend's admission.

Mr. BLACKBURN—We have made no admission.

The JUDGE—Shall we go on?

Mr. BLACKBURN—My client is anxious to proceed, but not against the opinion of the court.

When, after all the uproar about this mighty affair, a juror was withdrawn, contrary to the wishes of the defendant, who in a case of this kind was of necessity controlled by the opinion of the bench. The damages were laid at 500*l*.

THE LIBEL AFFAIR.

In another part of this paper will be seen the result of the action against us for imputed libel; and, in the name of the boasted liberty of Englishmen—in the name of common impartiality and fairness—but, more particularly, in the name of the press generally, we protest against the treatment we have received, as contrary in principle to every recorded opinion regarding the administration of justice. What are the facts of the case? The Editor of this Journal has advocated with all his heart and soul Mr. Sadler's Factory Bill—he has addressed thousands and tens of thousands on behalf of this measure of Christian precept and common humanity, at Leeds, Bradford, Keighley, Huddersfield, the great county meeting at York, Halifax, and several other places, in company with some of the best and wisest men their country can boast of possessing,—and how is he repaid? An obscure and presuming individual had the impertinence to impugn the motives of those gentlemen who were advocating this great measure, and wrote a letter in the *Leeds Mercury*, challenging them to the truth of what forsooth he calls their "declamation." The challenge is accepted,

and in two days a notice of prosecution from the man's attorney arrives; a cutting question is complained of as libellous, after his own most libellous letter against the advocates of the Factory Bill; and after his boasting challenge, the only arguments he possesses are *John Doe* and *Richard Roe*. He brings us into court, and we are ready to prove by twenty witnesses the truth even of our innuendo in the question complained of; but he will not proceed; puts on an air of amicability; will give up his pretended five hundred pounds damages and withdraw if we will say he is not an inhuman master; we reply we never did say so, and beg he will proceed to trial, when his counsel say they are satisfied; the Judge, with the most correct feeling, but not knowing our defence, thinks it also the best; the counsel all tired, it being about the last cause; the special jury wondering why the devil they were brought to York to try such a case; the defendant begging and entreating that the trial shall go on; his counsel thinking it better not, after the opinion of the judge; and thus a juror is withdrawn, the defendant saddled with heavy costs, for what he cannot comprehend as an offence, as he remains quite sure what he wrote was not a libel. And this is the boasted "*liberty of the press.*" Any man who is the proprietor of a public journal is liable to be ruined by persons labouring for a little popularity on any subject. Such persons have only to bluster, look big, and write a ridiculous letter, challenge anybody or anything, and then pounce upon the acceptor of their challenge with the iniquitous law of libel. We, however, as public journalists, cannot help ourselves, and our only remedy and protection is, the sympathy of our friends, and the scorn of the public against such proceedings.

CROMPTON POLITICAL UNION.

CROMPTON is one of the townships of the borough of OLDHAM. That the haughty and insolent may see whether the working classes be fit to choose members of Parliament, I am about to insert here the laws of the *Political Union* of this township; and then I defy the whole *six hundred and fifty-eight* of the present House of Commons to produce anything to surpass this writing, whether in wise views, knowledge of principles of legislation, or in manner of expression; and in justice to myself, that this UNION consists of one of the townships of those who intend me to have the honour of being one of their representatives.

The Objects, Laws, &c., of the Crompton Political Union, agreed to on Wednesday, the 20. June, 1832, at a Meeting of the Committee appointed for carrying the same into effect.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

The members of the Crompton Union, convinced that forgetfulness of and contempt for the rights of man, in a municipal state of society, are the only causes of the crimes and misfortunes of the world, have resolved to proclaim their sacred and unalienable rights, in order that they, by comparing the acts of the Government with the ends of every social institution, may never suffer themselves to be oppressed and degraded by tyranny—that the people may always have before their eyes the basis of their liberty and happiness—the magistrates the rule of their conduct and duty—and legislators the object of their appointment. They therefore acknowledge and proclaim to the world the following declaration of the RIGHTS OF MAN:

I. The end of society is the PUBLIC GOOD, and the institution of Government is to secure to EVERY INDIVIDUAL the enjoyment of his rights.

II. The rights of man in society are, liberty, equality before the laws, security of his person and property, and the full enjoyment of the produce of his labour.

III. Liberty is that power which belongs to a man of doing every thing that does not infringe upon the right of another. Its principle is nature; its rule justice; its protection the law; and its moral limits are de-

fined by this maxim, *Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.*

IV. The law is the free and solemn expression of the public will: it ought to be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes.

V. The right of expressing one's thoughts and opinions, either by the press or in any other manner; the right of assembling peaceably; and the free exercise of worship, cannot be forbidden.

VI. Instruction is the want of all: society and government ought, therefore, to do all in their power to favour the progress of reason and truth, and to place instruction within the reach of all.

VII. A people have always the right of revising, amending, and changing their constitution: one generation cannot subject to its laws the future generation.

VIII. Every adult member of society has an equal right to nominate those who legislate for the community; thereby concurring through his representatives in the enactment of the laws.

IX. Oppression is exercised against the social body when ONE of its members is oppressed; oppression is exercised against EACH MEMBER when the social body is oppressed.

X. When a Government violates the right of the people, resistance becomes the most sacred and the most indispensable of duties.

CONSTITUTION.

The constitution of this Union is essentially popular.

It admits as equal members all persons whatever whose names shall be registered in the books of the Union, so long as they shall conform to its rules and regulations.

It holds all its members eligible to office by right, and selects from its own body its own officers and managers, recognising only the following simple, rational, politic, and just principles in the determination of its choice; namely, *virtue, intelligence,* and *capacity for the performance of duties.*

It confides the administration of its government to a general committee, which committee derive their authority exclusively from the written and published laws of the Union, conformably to its letter and spirit.

That for every twenty members throughout the Union, one person to be elected yearly, to sit on the general committee or political council, five of whom, when met, shall form a quorum: they shall appoint their chairman at every meeting, and be empowered to elect a secretary and treasurer yearly, subject to the approval of the majority of the members of the Union.

That no business shall be brought before the meetings of the Union unless it first be submitted to the committee and receive its sanction. All persons having motions to bring forward shall give notice to the committee one week previous to the time of their discussion.

Two of the committee at least shall attend every general meeting.

They shall engage meeting rooms for the whole, or any part of their members.

They shall be empowered to nominate to the Union, for its approval or rejection, a list of such persons as may be recommended to them as fit for class-leaders or collectors, to the amount for one for every twenty-five members of the Union, or thereabouts.

They shall meet the class-leaders or collectors quarterly, to receive the subscriptions or collections of the members, and see them handed over to the treasurer.

They shall conduct their proceedings openly, before as many of the members as can be conveniently accommodated with room to witness their proceedings, and shall give every facility to the gentlemen of the press, or persons invested with government authority.

It declares a fund or capital essential to its strength and prosperity, it therefore imposes upon all its members, the obligation of contributing a sum not less than *threepence* per quarter, payable in advance; such fund to be exclusively applied to the interests of the

Union, and the promotion of its objects. But should a greater sum be required to meet any pressing exigency, the committee may call a general meeting of the members, to raise such subscription to a sum not exceeding *one shilling* per quarter.

The election of the committee shall be by a show of hands.

OBJECTS OF THE CROMPTON UNION.

1. The objects of the COMPTON UNION are,—First, to avail itself of every opportunity, in the progress of society. for securing, by degrees, those things specified in the preceding declaration of the rights of man.

2. To obtain for every man, unrestricted by unjust and partial laws, the full value of his labour, and the free disposal of the produce of his labour.

3. To support, as circumstances may determine, by all just means, every fair and rational opposition against the combination and tyranny of masters or their work-people, whenever either shall seek unjustly to influence the wages of labour, the character of which proceedings, in the estimation of the Union, shall be deemed vexatious and oppressive.

4. To obtain for Scotland and Ireland as effectual a reform as the bill which has recently passed into a law gives to England, so far as the different circumstances under which the three countries are placed may warrant; to give the whole a fair and impartial trial, and if it does not, in the first session of Parliament, give evident proof of its efficiency to produce a large reduction of taxes, and to secure to the people a cheap and good government, then to obtain a further extension of the suffrage; a shortening of Parliaments to a period not exceeding three years, and vote by ballot.

5. To prepare addresses, petitions, and remonstrances to the King and the two Houses of Parliament, when necessary, respecting the restoration and preservation of public rights; to procure the abolition of all injurious monopolies; the repeal of all taxes that press most heavily on the labouring classes; the repeal of taxes which affect the press and prevent the dissemination of knowledge; in short, to procure the repeal of all bad laws, and the enactment of good laws; and for this purpose to promote, by all lawful means, the return of upright and capable representatives of the people, at the first election under the Reform Bill.

6. To promote peace, union, and concord among all classes of people, and to guide and direct the public mind, into uniform, peaceful, and legitimate operations; instead of leaving it to waste its strength in loose, desultory, and unconnected exertions.

7. To collect and organize the peaceful expression of public opinion, so as to bring it to act upon the Houses of Parliament, in a just and effectual way.

8. To concentrate into one focus a knowledge of moral and political economy, that all classes of society may be enlightened by its radiation; this Union feeling assured that the submission of the people to misrule and oppression, arises from the absence of sound, moral, and political knowledge amongst the mass of the community.

9. To avoid all private or secret proceedings, all concealment of any of the views or objects of the Union, and to facilitate, for all persons invested with legal authority, a full and constant access to all the books, documents, regulations, and proceedings of the Union.

MEANS OF OBTAINING THESE OBJECTS.

The means proposed are:

1. By the creation of a fund, constituted by an equal subscription of all the members of the Union, and by donations.

2. By convening frequent meetings of the Union, for the purpose of agitating such measures as may relate to the principles specified in the declaration of rights; in the constitution, and in the objects of the Union.

3. By the instrumentality of the public press.

4. By the publication and dissemination of pamphlets, tracts, &c., &c.

5. By the active talent, zeal, and in-

dustry of the representatives of the Union, in the members of the general committee of the Union; and by such other means as may be deemed advisable.

GOVERNMENT.

1. The management of the affairs of the Union are intrusted to the general committee.

2. All persons desirous of becoming members of the Union must be proposed by some member of the committee, and his election will rest with the committee, who shall have power to expel any member, either from the committee or the Union; such member having the right of appeal to a general meeting.

3. The committee appoint collectors from among themselves, to receive the subscriptions of members; and the subscription shall be paid by the collectors to the persons appointed by the Union.

4. Every officer of the Union shall keep a true and proper account of all business transacted by him relative to the affairs of the Union, and a copy of such accounts shall be delivered to the secretary of the Union.

5. The members of the Union shall meet yearly, or whenever called upon by the general committee, or by a requisition signed by not less than forty of the members.

6. The general committee shall submit a report every three months to a meeting of the members of the Union; which quarterly report shall state the amount of receipts and expenditure, the balance of cash in hand, the increase or decrease of members, the nature of their correspondence, and the general results of their labours.

7. The accounts of the Union shall be examined every quarter by three auditors, who are not on the committee, to be chosen by the members from amongst themselves; the said auditors to possess the power of demanding all receipts, vouchers, and necessary explanations from the committee and servants of the Union.

8. All books, documents, &c. in the possession of officers of the Union, shall be produced when demanded by a general committee

9. The accounts of the Union shall be open to the inspection of the members at all reasonable times, whenever such inspection does not interfere with the progress of business.

10. That each member of the Union pay a half-penny for his card of admission, which must be produced, if required, at every general meeting.

11. That any member of the Union be allowed to introduce a stranger to any meeting, by previously obtaining the consent of two members of the committee; such stranger, however, to take no part in the proceedings of the meeting, except by consent of the meeting.

12. That all bills for payment be examined by the committee, and no money whatever shall be paid until the committee have so determined.

13. No person shall be allowed to enter any meeting of the Union or its committees who may be intoxicated; and every member is fully expected to do all in his power to promote te perate habits among his fellow-w men.

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DUTIES OF MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

1. To obey the laws of the land; and where they cease to protect the rights, liberties, and interests of the community, to endeavour to get them changed by just, legal, and peaceful means ONLY.

2. To present themselves at all general meetings of the POLITICAL UNION, as far as they conveniently can; to conduct themselves peaceably and legally at such meetings, and to depart to their respective homes as soon as the chairman shall leave the chair.

3. To choose only just, upright, and able men, as members of the political council or general committee, and to dismiss them, and elect others in their stead, whenever they shall cease to watch over and defend *the rights, liberties, and true interests of all classes of the people.*

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4. To obey strictly all the just and legal directions of the political council, as soon as they shall be made public, and so far as they can legally and conveniently be obeyed.

5. To bear in mind that the strength of our society consists in the PEACE, *order*, *unity*, and LEGALITY, of our proceedings; and to consider all persons as enemies who shall, in any way, invite or promote violence, discord, or division, or any illegal or doubtful measures.

DUTIES OF MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL COUNCIL.

1. To endeavour to the utmost of their power, to carry into effect the *objects* of the *Political Union*, by every just, legal, and peaceful means.

2. To use none other than just, legal, and peaceful means.

3. To seek no private objects of their own, and to use the funds of the society solely in promoting the objects of the society.

4. To watch closely the proceedings of the legislature, and to present petitions and remonstrances to the crown and legislative bodies, whenever the rights, liberties, and interests of the lower and middle classes of the community are invaded; or whenever they can be restored or secured.

5. To endeavour to devise the means of preserving the peace and order of this town and neighbourhood, during any political convulsions which may be brought upon the country, through the distress occasioned by the mismanagement of public affairs.

SEIZURES FOR TITHES.

PARISH OF SAINT GILES, WITHOUT CRIPPLEGATE.

FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS,

WITH the hope and belief that some beneficial results will follow an appeal to the House of Commons, constituted of the true representatives of the people, as I trust the next Parliament will be, I have made up my mind *to resist to the utmost*, the *unjust* and *oppressive* exaction of *tithes*. In pursuance to this resolve I have allowed the *Reverend* Vicar, W. HOLMES, to *distrain* and remove my goods from my house, to satisfy, in part, his *excessive demand* of 1,800*l.* per annum, as *compensation for tithes*.

I most cheerfully subscribe to the opinion, "*That every religious associa-*" *tion ought to depend for support on* " *the voluntary contributions of its mem-*" *bers*;" but *our* case is one of such *peculiar hardship*, that I beg your careful perusal of the following *facts*, and then leave you to say, whether you will "*go, and do likewise.*"

In 1802 the *Rev.* W. HOLMES was presented to the vicarage of this parish, at which time the customary payment for tithes did not exceed 400*l.* per annum, subject to all taxes, expenses of collection, stamps, &c. &c. he therefore undertook the "cure" of our souls with this knowledge. Eight years after, in 1810, he demanded an advance of tithes, under the statute 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 12, which allowed 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound in those parishes *only* which were liable to a composition, made 36 Hen. VI. of 3*s.* 5*d.* in the pound; thus the act, 37 Hen. VIII. was passed to relieve the citizens from the exactions of a *rapacious clergy*, and to reduce the demand from 3*s.* 5*d.* to 2*s.* 9*d.*; but, observe, this statute did not apply to any parish that paid *less* than 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound, as will appear by the following clause:

"Provided also, and it is decreed, "That where a less sum than after "16½*d.* in the 10-shilling rent, or less "sum than 2*s.* 9*d.* in the 20-shilling "rent, hath been accustomed to be paid "for tithes, that then in such places, "the said citizens and inhabitants *shall* "*pay but only after such rate as hath* "*been accustomed.*"

At the time this act passed, the customary payment for tithes in this parish, was about 3*d.* in the pound, and, consequently exempt from any claim under the act. In 1724, a worthy inhabitant carried on a contest on this point, with *a wolf in sheep's clothing*, the then *vicar of this parish*, when after seven years

litigation, and passing through the Exchequer Court, the King's Bench, the House of Lords, and the Court of Chancery, *our customary payment was confirmed by a decree in Chancery.* —See *Bennett* against *Trepas*, Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate. Gwillim on Tithes, p. 633.

With all the above evidence in this case before the eyes of WILLIAM HOLMES, he pressed his demand under the very statute that exempted us.

To accomplish this object, it was necessary to use a degree of *clerical cunning*, worthy of the *state teachers of the doctrines of the humble Jesus*; actions were commenced against several individuals, some of whom would have fought the battle, but the then *select vestry* proposed the payment to be increased to 1*s.* in the pound; this sum, R. L. JONES, Esq. has many times stated at meetings in the church, the Vicar had said, he would be satisfied with during his incumbency.

Now, pray fix your attention on what follows:

A customary payment, if departed from, after a certain number of years, is lost; and in 1826 the time had arrived, by the departure from the custom, when it afforded us no further protection against his demand of 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound, which he then made. We had thus, through *the agency of the select vestry*, lost our legal protection, and were placed between an avaricious clergy and a boroughmongering legislature, who were constantly taxing the people for the support of their *pauper relatives*. Under these circumstances the act of Parliament was obtained, by which the *Reverend* Vicar claims to receive the enormous sum of 1,800*l.* per annum, "free and clear from all deductions, and exempt from all taxes, rates, and assessments whatsoever, parliamentary, parochial, or otherwise."

Is it, then, too much to say, that *this act is unjust and oppressive*, and that we ought by every means in our power to endeavour to get it repealed? The whole of this statute, 7th of Geo. IV. will show the character of the parties who forced it on us; but one clause in particular I cannot help noticing, for the clergy who have had to do with it, have *kindly* inserted a proviso, that if any of the flock are so poor as not to be able to provide fleece sufficient for his demand, they shall be provided with a habitation for, at least, three months, in one of his Majesty's jails. The following is an extract from clause 14:

"In case after such distress, the proceeds thereof shall not be sufficient to pay such assessments, with the arrears due thereon, and all the said costs, charges, and expenses, then and in every such case, upon information given to any justice of the peace for the city, it shall be lawful for any such justice to issue a warrant under his hand for the apprehension of any such person or persons making default in the payment of such assessments, and to commit such person or persons to the common-jail, or house of correction of the said city, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for any time not exceeding the space of three calendar months."

Do you not think that eternal gratitude is due to the parties, for this specimen of their *godly and Christian kindness*? I fear that my free thoughts are awfully heterodox, for I cannot help thinking, that the Christianity taught now by the practice of the clergy, is not the Christianity taught by its Founder, when that divine and beautiful exclamation was made, "*I was in prison, and ye visited me.*"

I understand there has been issued during this year about 200 summonses and 42 warrants of distress for tithes in this parish; but that I may not tire your attention, I will now conclude, although not for want of matter, for more anon, but suffice it now to say, that I am ready to prove the above facts at the bar of the House of Commons, or in any court of justice.

Yours, faithfully,

JOSEPH NEWELL.

32, Whitecross-street,
Sept. 24, 1832.

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GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THIS book is now published, and is for sale at *Bolt-court*, and at the book-shops in general. So large and expensive a book, including forty-three maps, never was sold for less than twice the price before. Here all the new divisions of counties, and everything else relating to the new parliamentary distribution, is to be found in the smallest compass, and in an arrangement the most commodious. I here again insert THE TITLE and the explanatory preface. The reader will be astonished at the mass of matter; and when he sees the book, he will think that we are got into cheap times indeed, when such a book can be sold for twelve shillings. But it was my desire to bring it within the compass of book-clubs of the working people.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into COUNTIES, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with *a map*, showing how the counties are locally situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into CIRCUITS, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into DIOCESES; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the *cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets*, and *tithings*, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of *the county*, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the *English counties*, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the *Welsh counties*, in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a map, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market-towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a *monastic establishment*, the nature and value of it

are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The *distance from London* is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the *nearest* city, borough, or market-town, are stated; and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are *markets* or *fairs*, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure places, of which we want a knowledge. How many scores of places have I received letters from, and there being no post-mark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a transaction at *Tilford*, how are we to know where TILFORD is, and what sort of a place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of SURREY; but one should not know whether it were a town or village, or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index*, tells us that it is in SURREY; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a TITHING, that it is in the parish of FARNHAM, and that Farnham is a MARKET-TOWN, distant therefrom in a NW. direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from London; and the *county-map* shows us, that this market-town lies at the WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases *the parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of SURREY, *Bagshot* is a hamlet, the distance of which from CHERTSEY, the nearest town, is not stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of WINDLESHAM, and that that village is 7½ miles from CHERTSEY; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things; which, if left unexplained, might lead to error. FIRST, under the name, in the Dictionary, of each county, is given the *number of parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out *townships*, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come to a correct knowledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, *the parishes*, so called, have, in the statistical table as well as in the Dictionary, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. SECOND, as the *Dictionary part* was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the *number of members of Parliament* returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and which it is now my business to describe.

IV. Next after the Dictionary comes A STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles, its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes the population of each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are

unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*, and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In TABLE No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order, and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in Parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities* and *boroughs* are, in the Table No. II. not accompanied by a statement of their population, TABLE No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, *and the number of voters which they formerly had*, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove tiresome to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the VERY ROOM in which Dr. Johnson wrote his

plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toil.

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Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

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This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPT. 21, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BLACKSTONE, J. jun., Gainsford-street, Horslydown, lighterman.
TARDREW, T., Carmarthen, chemist.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

LOCKER, J., Hanley, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

COBB, T., Banbury and North Newton, Oxfordshire, paper-maker.
DENNIS, R., Westham, Essex, victualler.
FRY, J., Bath, carrier.
HOLMES, J., Liverpool, wine-merchant.
JACQUES, F., Kent-st. and Lambeth-walk, grocer.
LANE, J. jun., Gt. Yarmouth, Norfolk, tailor.
MASCORD, W., Oxford, grocer.
SADLER, W., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, and Newgate-street, provision-merchant.
SCOTT, G., and J. Tomkinson, Birmingham, stationers.
SLOPER, J., Bath, shoemaker.
SMITH, E. O., Bucklersbury, merchant.
WALTON, J., Kingsthorp, Northamptonshire, maltster.
WITHERBY, J., and A. Foler, South Shields, Durham, ship-builders.
WOOLBERT, J. H., Southampton-row, Russell-square, jeweller.
YOUNG, H., Southampton, builder.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HARLEY, D. & Co., Edinburgh, spirit-dealers.
HOUSTON, D., Edinburgh, writer.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 25, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

ASHBY, G. and T., All Saints, Derbyshire, linen-drapers.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, G. W., Penchurch-street, and Leman-street, Goodman's-fields, grocer.
BRITAIN, J., Ripon, Yorkshire, grocer.
FREESTUN, H. N., Monkton Coombe, Somersetshire, dealer.
HOLLINS, T., Salford, Lancashire, saddler.
LEES, W., Greenacres-moor, near Oldham, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
SHEAM, C., Wildcombe and Lyncombe, Somersetshire, soap and barilla-manufacturer.
WATSON, G., Liverpool, publican.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, SEPT. 24.—We had a large supply of wheat this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, but the demand being very slack, the trade was exceedingly heavy at a reduction of 2*s.* per qr., for even at that decline a considerable quantity remained on hand at the close of the market.

The arrival of barley from Suffolk and Kent was rather large; a few fine bright samples that were got in previous to the rain, were readily disposed of to the maltsters at from 37*s.* to 39*s.*; those that were a little stained were taken off by the distillers at from 32*s.* to 34*s.*; and the discoloured, grown, and mow-burnt sorts were sold for grinding at from 26*s.* to 32*s.*, according to condition; several of the latter description came to hand in a very damp state.

White peas being in general request, and the supply small, have further advanced 2*s.*

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per qr., and grey ones may be noted from 1s. to 2s. per qr. dearer.

'Although the arrival of oats was considerably less than for some time past, yet the trade continues in a very dull state, and the prices of last Monday were with difficulty obtained, even in small quantities, to necessitous buyers.

'In beans and other articles there is no alteration.

Wheat	58s. to 60s.
Rye	33s. to 34s.
Barley	30s. to 33s.
——— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
——— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
——— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
——— Tick	32s. to 36s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to —s.
——— Feed	21s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new,	42s. to 46s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	50s. to 54s.
Pork, India, new	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	80s. to —s.
——— Cork	76s. to 80s.
——— Limerick	76s. to 78s.
——— Waterford	74s. to 76s.
——— Dublin	76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire	52s. to 78s.
——— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 60s.
——— Gloucester, Single	40s. to 48s.
——— Edam	40s. to 48s.
——— Gouda	40s. to 46s.
Hams, Irish	55s. to 80s.

SMITHFIELD.—Sept. 24.

This day's supply of beasts and calves was great; of sheep and lambs, good; of porkers, limited. The trade, with beef and veal, was very dull; with mutton, lamb, and pork, somewhat brisk, at Friday's quotations.

Full two-fifths of the beasts were Irish, principally steers and heifers, from Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire; about one-fifth Lincolns and Durhams, chiefly from Leicestershire and the Lincolnshire sea marshes; one-fifth about equal numbers of Welch runts and Hereford steers and heifers, from our midland districts; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Devons, Scots, and Town's-end cows, with a few Staffords, &c. from different quarters.

Full two-thirds of the sheep and lambs appeared to be about equal numbers of Downs and Leicester half-breds; about a sixth Kents and Kentish half-breds; the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters and Lincolns, with a few pens of horned Welch, Aberdeenshires, Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 3,357; sheep and lambs, 22,440; calves, 172; pigs, 210.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 28.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, and prices rather lower.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	84⅛	84⅛	83½	83⅝	83⅝	83⅝

Just published, by Keating and Brown, Paternoster-row, and Haddon and Fenton, Colchester, price 5s,

THE PILGRIM'S WAY-BOOK; being an Inquiry into the Moral and Physical Conditions of a Healthy Life and Happy Old Age: with Household Prescriptions. By T. FORSTER, F.L.S., M.D., F.R.A.S., &c. &c.

This work is highly useful in families, on account of the Domestic Prescriptions, which are so arranged as to afford reference to the part of the work which treats on different popular disorders, so as to enable parents of families and others to act in a great measure as physician to their own families. The book is also highly useful to travellers, as, when a person is taken ill on a journey, either in a foreign country or in England, he can refer to his complaint and the appropriate remedy, and can carry the prescriptions, already printed, to the nearest druggist.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(*Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.*)

BEG to present to the notice of the Public the List of Prices which they charge for Gentlemen's Clothing.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	14	6
Ditto, of Black or Blue	5	5	0
Ditto, Best Saxony	5	15	6
Plain Silk Waistcoats		16	6
Figured ditto ditto		18	0
Valencia ditto		12	0
Barogau Shooting Jackets	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4	4	0

LADIES' HABITS AND PELISSES, and CHILDREN'S DRESSES, equally cheap; in the manufacture of which they are not surpassed at the West-end of the Town.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

END OF VOLUME LXXVII.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

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AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH DAY AND TO $1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY OVERDUE.

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MAY 28 | Binder | JUL 1 1937
OCT 2 1941 | Brodhead | OCT 7 1941
OCT 3 1941 RECALLED
OCT 7 1941
OCT 1[illegible] 1941
NOV 27 1941 | Lissen | NOV 28 1941
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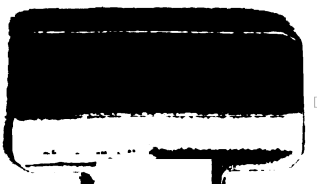

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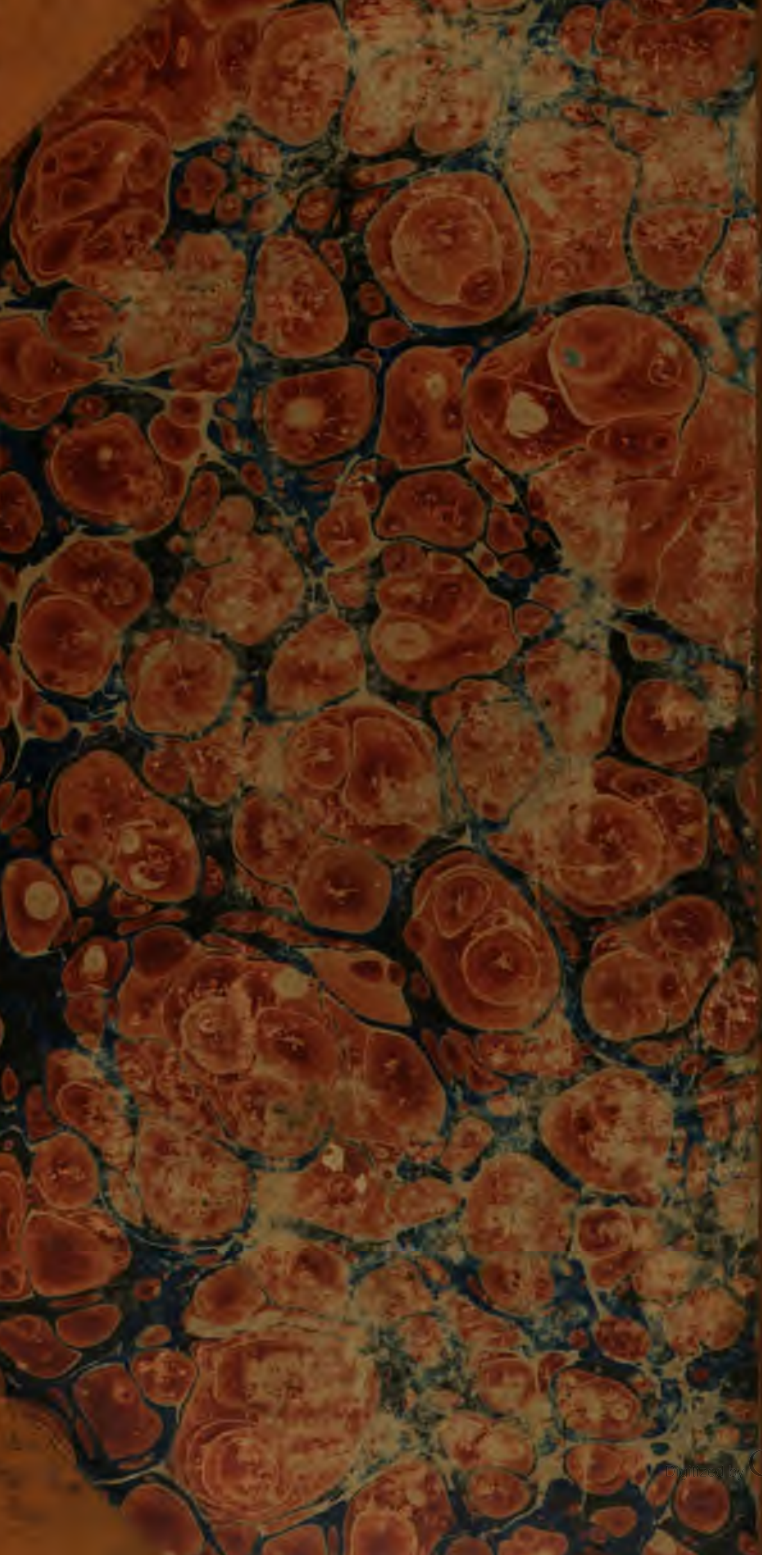
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